GUIDE TO THE RQ2 KAZAK FILE

[The RQ2 Kazak file contains specific data on the Kazak (Kirgiz-Kaisak) people and their culture. The Kirgiz-Kazaks are often erroneously referred to as Kirgiz. In the 19th century there were two related groups, nomads of the low steppe, the Kirgiz-Kazak, and nomads of the mountain pastures, the Kara-Kirgiz, or Kirgiz proper. The two groups were united by Russia in the Kirgiz Republic, but the two have since become separate republics within the Soviet Union. Traditionally the Kazaks were nomadic stock-breeders. Sources indicate that the name Kazak refers to people who separated from their rulers and established independent lives of their own. They were divided into three hordes or Ordas -- the Great Orda in the east, the Little Orda in the west, and the Middle Orda between them. The modern Kazak SSR is located between 50° - 80° east latitude and 40° - 50° north longitude, with the Russian SFSR on the north, China on the east, the Kirgiz SSR and the Uzbek SSR on the south, and the Caspian Sea on the west. The population of the Kazak SSR as of 1970 was 12,849,000. There was a drastic population decline in the earlier part of the 20th century, and Krader and Wayne estimated that perhaps only 40% of the population in 1955 were native Kazaks, and they projected a decreasing percentage. In 1939 the Russians estimated that there were about 400,000 Kazaks outside of the USSR. The Kazak language, which is closely related to Kirgiz, is a member of the Turkic family of the Altaic phylum.

There are six sources in the RQ2 file, three of which are in English. Numbers 4: Grodekov and 7: Sedel'nikov are

translations from Russian and 5: Levchine is a translation from French. The sources are not numbered continuously; there are no sources numbered 3 or 6 at this time. 1: Barthold is a short excerpt from the Encyclopedia of Islam on the origins of the Kazak. 2: Hudson is a well-documented study of social institutions. 4: Grodekov was written by a Russian general in the 19th century, and is concerned with customary law and the impact of the Russian conquest on native judicial customs. 5: Levchine, published in 1840, is a history of relationships between Russians and Kazaks, and of the Russian penetration of Turkestan in the 18th century. 7: Sedel'nikov, et al., is an historical account of the Central Asiatic area of the USSR from prehistoric times to the end of the 19th century, with general ethnographic information on the Kazak. 8: Krader and Wayne is a study prepared for the Department of the Army as a Background Study for Psychological Warfare, and it is based entirely on secondary sources. It is an analysis of the sources of conflict between Kazaks and Soviets.

For a cultural summary of the aboriginal Kazaks, see George Peter Murdock, "The Kazaks of Central Asia," in Our Primitive Contemporaries, New York, The MacMillian Company, 1934, pp. 135-162.

This seems to be a good general file with coverage of most basic categories. The time period covered is broad, from 1821 to 1955. Historical data and relationships with Russia have especially good coverage. The file was processed between 1956 and 1969.]

101 **ḲAZAḲ** (T.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xv^th^) century. During the civil turmoils under the Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *ḳazaḳ*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *ḳazaḳ* years (*ḳazaḳlīḳ*) of Sulṭān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *ḳazaḳ* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbeg, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Özbeg-Ḳazaḳ or simply Ḳazaḳ; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *ḳazaḳ* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xv^th^ century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *ḳazaḳ* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Ḳazaḳ, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian. (W. BARTHOLD)

[579]

P. 836 b

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol 121
social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been ac- 114
tive in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were 101
until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a seden-
tary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the
Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally [161]
they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little
Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language [197]
which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are
definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid [145]
admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, sub-
tribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are
not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the proc- 121
ess of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class strati-
fication, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and 122
a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to 104
avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 139–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgis-Kazaki*, 8.

HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their history, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.
101

According to Radlov[1] the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.[2] They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun[3] mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold[4] and Samoïlovich,[5] however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov[6] and Samoïlovich.[7] The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.[8]

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

[1] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.
[2] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 136.
[3] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.
[4] Bartold, *Kazak*.
[5] Samoïlovich, *O Slove "Kazak."*
[6] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.
[7] *Op. cit.* 13.
[8] *Idem*, 5–13.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between the Ural and Emba/Rivers.[9] 175

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.[10]

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:[11]

On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533–34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.[12] His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.[13] A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.[14] Asfendiarov suggests,[15] probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissable to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes. [101]

[9] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 141–42; Ibn Battūta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 1325–1354, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 222–40.

[10] Bretschneider, op. cit., 2: 142; Lane-Poole, op. cit., 238.

[11] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[12] Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

[13] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

[14] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 142.

[15] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77–81.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1931 RQ2 Kazak
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DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

121 I have introduced the following material on Mongol social organization for two reasons, first because it is interesting in itself as pointing out sources of direct historical information on the growth of Turco-Mongol culture and secondly because of the light it sheds on comparable patterns among the Kazak. Regarding the latter point, I consider it would be premature, at least for me, to indicate which of these patterns may be directly due to Mongol influence and which may represent a much older and more extensive culture stratum in which the "effect of leveling [has been] produced by long continued cross transmission."[1]

114 My obvious debt to Vladimirtsov has been acknowledged in the Introduction, although so far as they are available to me in translation I have myself used the sources. If in a few cases Vladimirtsov may seem to draw inferences from somewhat tenuous evidence, he will usually be found to have forestalled the critic by himself pointing out the shortcomings of the material. In general his analysis is distinguished by caution, completeness of documentation and freedom from theoretical bias.

ECONOMY

101 162 The peoples who subsequently came to be known collectively as Mongols seem to have been divided in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into two groups by their types of economy: those who lived chiefly in the forests and depended mostly on hunting, and those living on the steppes who were essentially cattle breeders. The woodland groups occupied the country from Lake Baikal to the Upper Irtysh and Yenissei, while the nomadic cattle breeders were somewhat to the south in the steppe and mountain area between the Great Wall and the Altai.

221 224 It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Although the woodland peoples depended chiefly on hunting, mixed with fishing, they were acquainted with the horse and were partly nomadic in their habits. On the other hand hunting played a very important part in the life of the steppe nomads and there were numerous borderline groups half hunters and half nomadic cattle breeders. The forest peoples lived in wooden huts while the dwelling of the nomads was the felt kibitka.[2] In the thirteenth century the role 231 of the woodland groups seems to have considerably declined. The cattle breeding economy penetrated to the north; many of the hunters took to nomadic life and part of the forest regions were occupied by cattle breeders.[3]

The economy of the numerous nomadic groups was based on horse raising. Writing at a

[1] Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, 500.
[2] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 33-35.
[3] Idem, 45.

CHAPTER I.

•101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from [173] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan 173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient ● [101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the 721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic general (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was
[721 181 771] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously
175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the
101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[139 cont.]

175 101 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are [721] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

175 648 439 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[292 cont.]
[48] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[51] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[27] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[18] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[27] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[43] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[294 cont.]

[643] very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, [101] or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed [721] to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[721 181] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181 643] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167 311] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

[298 cont.]

578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

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Part III. Statistical Information on the Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who [578] governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

[66] A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most favorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed the Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them that it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in fixed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast expanse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101]

Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]

101 361 221 619 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308] Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 181 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

221 [312 cont.]
484 have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

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[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re- [166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

● 101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--192 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--194 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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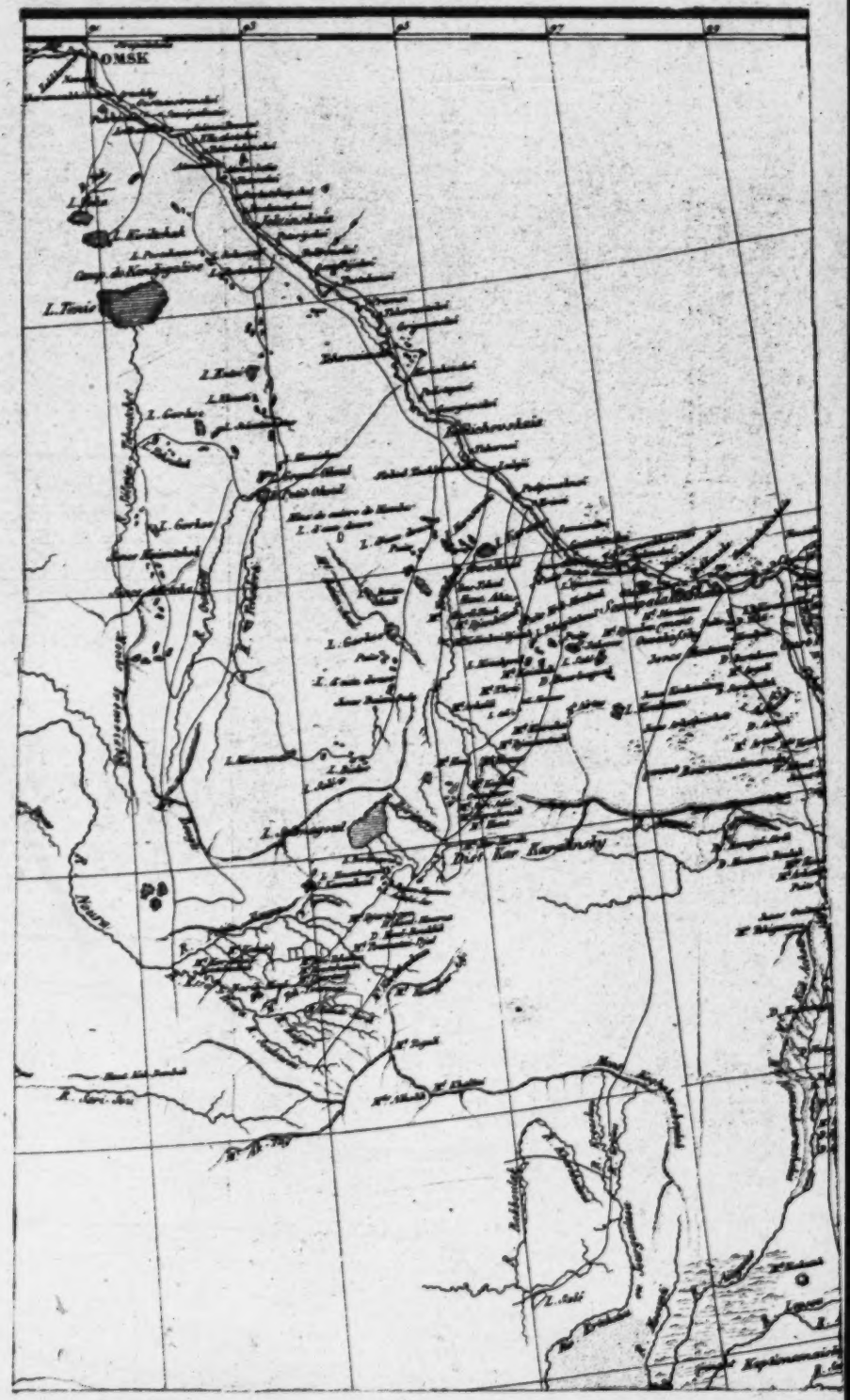

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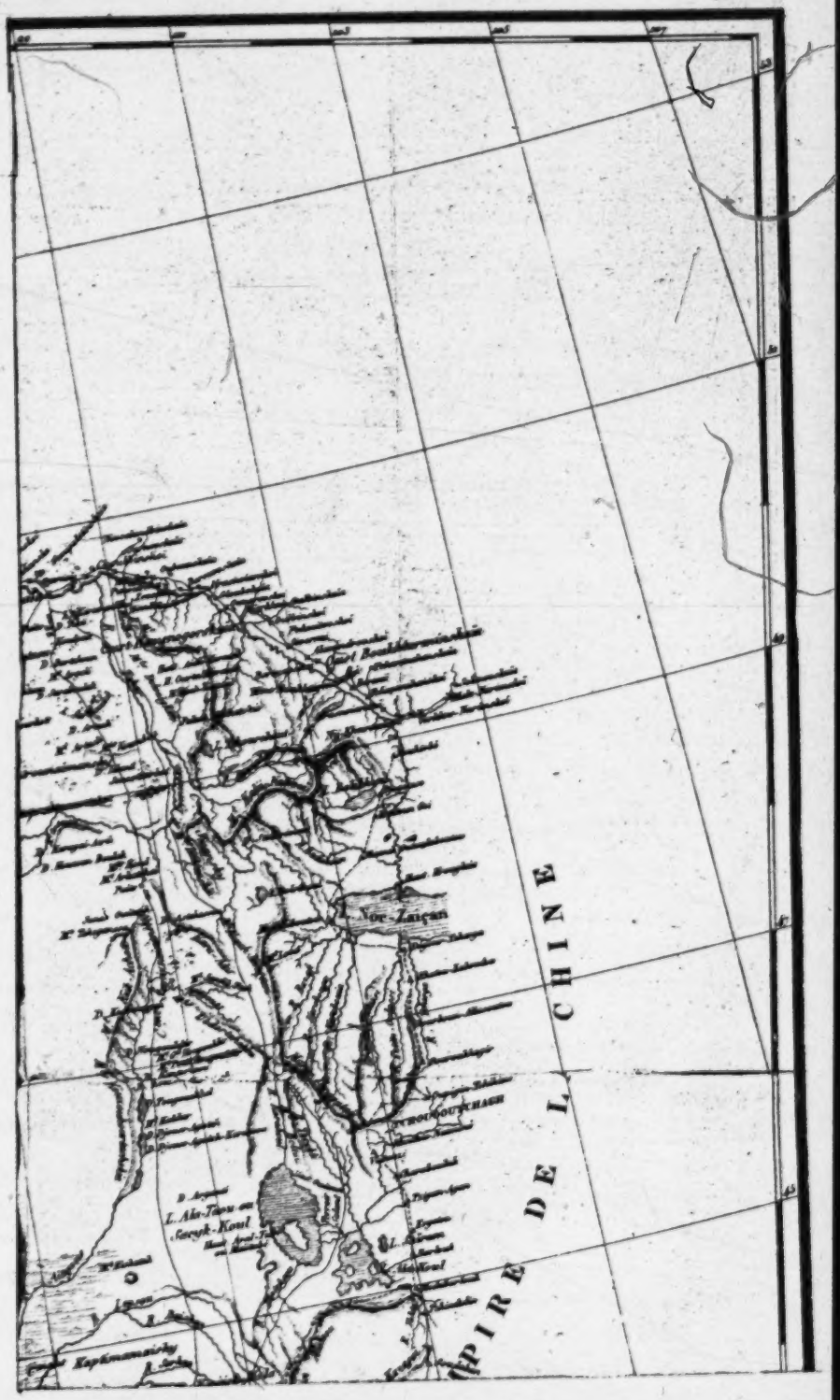

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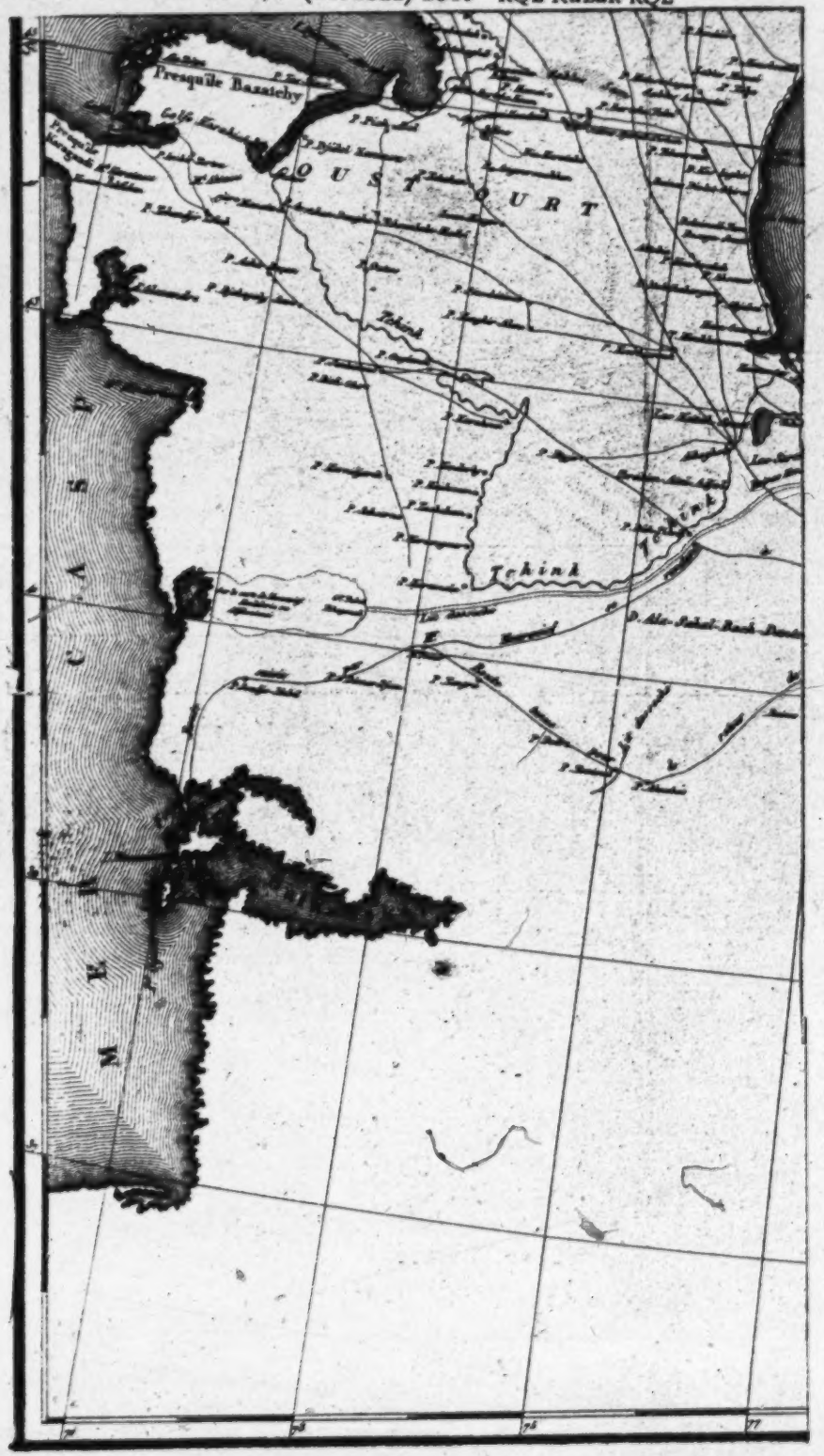

5: Levchine--197 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--198 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--200 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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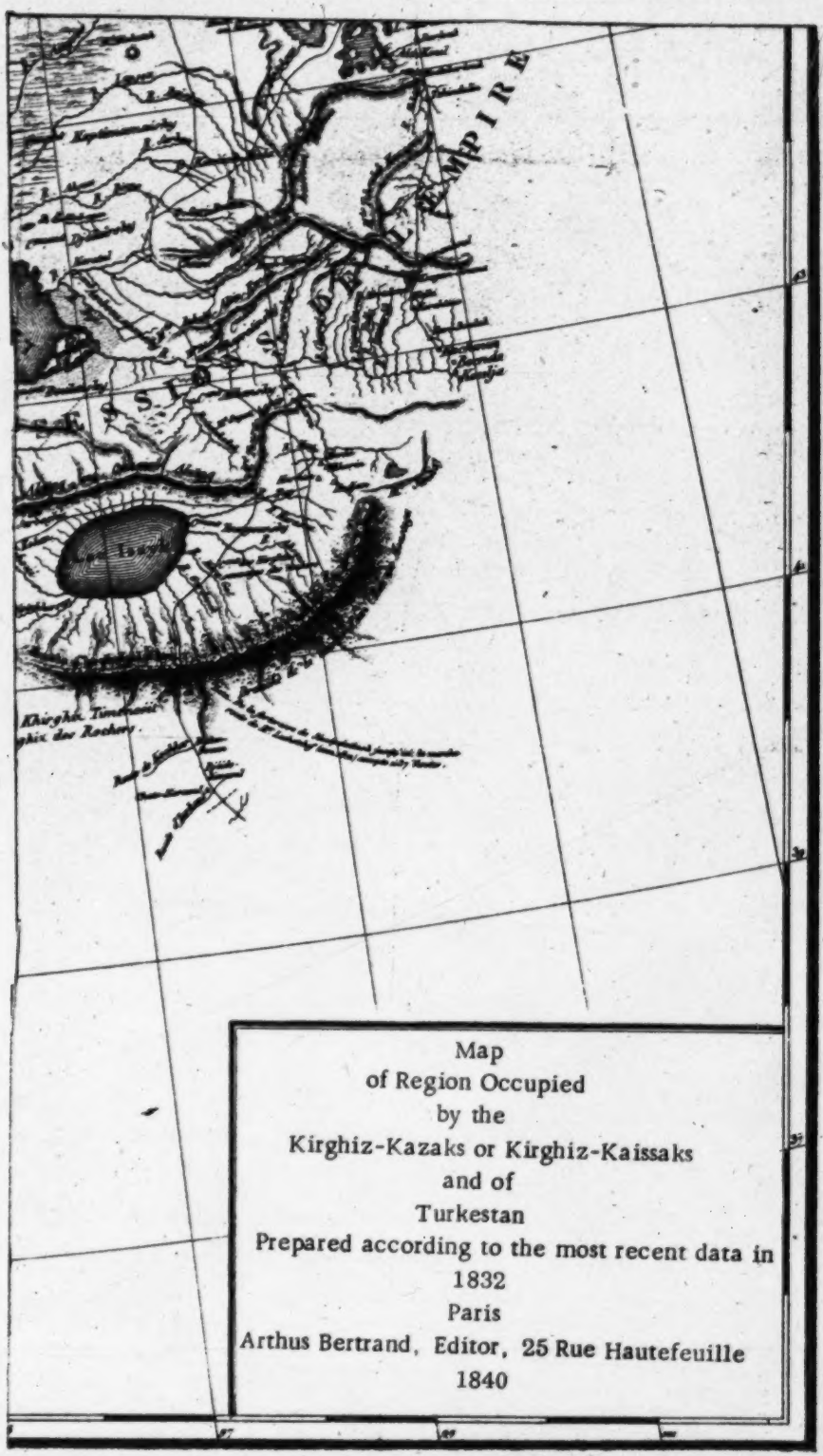

Map
of Region Occupied
by the
Kirghiz-Kazaks or Kirghiz-Kaissaks
and of
Turkestan
Prepared according to the most recent data in
1832
Paris
Arthus Bertrand, Editor, 25 Rue Hautefeuille
1840

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --7 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. /141 cont./

175 completely disappeared from the scene of history after 119 A.D. In 177 A.D. the tribes living in the Kirghiz krai were forced westward by Huns entering from the Chinese dominions. The Huns moved across the southern steppes to the west and completely destroyed the Yuechi tribe, related to the Usun', who were in their path. In the 5th century A.D. the Huns who remained in the region under discussion (most of them had already gone into the southern Russian and Hungarian steppes) fell under the domination of the Mongols moving in from the southeast. Most of them were soon scattered and destroyed by the nearest Mongol hordes from the Uigur tribe, descending from the Altai (in the 7th century). During this period (5th to 7th centuries), after the powerful and conquering Hunnian wave, there came an almost unbroken movement of various Turkic tribes from the east, especially from the Altai. At this time the Pecheneg came to the southern steppes, but were soon forced out by the Turks into the modern Ural oblast and beyond to the Volga. In the 9th century they were already well-known to the Russian princes as a wild steppe (nomadic) people /illustration appears here/ and a troublesome neighbor. In the 11th century another Turkic tribe, the Polovtsi, appeared along the same path. They pressed the Pecheneg and the Turks and also moved westward. They, like the others, had a nomadic economy, and when they reached the Russian boundaries they also engaged in raids on the nearest Russian towns and villages.

K H.T. 175 New Turkic tribes appeared on the historical scene at approximately the same time, known by the general name of Kirghz-Kazak (Kaisak). In view of the fact that this people played and is now playing a great role in the history of our region, we will give a more detailed description here both of their history and of their way of life and their mores (in the following chapters).

H.T. [631] K [101] Our outline concerns a brief history of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ living on the borders of our krai, i.e., the four steppe oblasts: Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Ural. According to the

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7: Sedel'nikov et al. --8 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

162 /141 cont./ According to the
[101] data of the governor's reports for the 1890's, /142/ there are 1,875,000 of them, of both sexes, constituting 58% of all the Kirghiz-Kazak, including those living in China, in the Bukhara and Khiva dominions (1). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and

1. The population of the steppe oblasts calls itself "Kazak." Many fantastic explanations exist for this word. The colonel Kolchi-Kadyr was ill, dying of thirst, and left to the mercy of fate, and he prayed to heaven to send him a speedy death. But the heavens took pity upon him, and one of the good spirits, a peri, descended in the form of a white goose kaz-ak. The goose flew away for water, gave the sufferer a drink, and remained to live with him. The offspring of this marriage received the name Kazak. The word "Kirgiiz" which has come into use also signifying "Kazak" was originally completely unknown to the latter, and they first began to hear the word primarily from Russians. In the older horde of the Kaisak there is a "Kyrgyz" clan. This is one of the most ancient Turkic tribes. The Kyrgyz were known of old for their attacks on cities, villages, and caravans, and their name became hated by their neighbors. The later "Kazak" began to be called Kirghiz as a consequence of their raids on their neighbors. This word has come into general use, gradually forcing out the real name used by the people--Kazak.

101 The Kirghiz/Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts consist chiefly of certain Turkic tribes: the Kerei /or Kerey/, Naiman /or Nayman/, Alchin, /or Kipchak/, Alchin, and Argyn.

/142 cont./

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Alchin, and Argyn. According to the scanty historical evidence about them, these Turkic tribes have long been wandering in the various corners of the continent of Asia. The Kerei lived intermittently with the Mongols on the Kerulen and Onon rivers in the homeland of Genghis Khan and fell prey to his first conquests. In the 12th century the Naiman were wandering southwest of the Kerei between the Orkhon and Irtysh rivers. The Kypchak and the Alchin wandered in the northwestern half of the present steppe oblasts. The Mongols of Genghis Khan, going from eastern Siberia into Central Asia, and then the hordes of Batu, also departing from eastern Siberia, beginning at the upper course of the Irtysh river (where Batu designated the point of assembly) and moving thence through the present Steppe krai to the mouth of the Volga, produced an intermingling of all the nomadic tribes they encountered on their way. Because of the common way of life of the Mongols and the Turkic tribes, the latter mixed with the former. After this mixture, produced by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Batu, it appeared that the Naiman and Argyn, about whom there had been no earlier information, entered the ulus /subtribe/ of Chagatay /Dzhagatai/, the second son of Genghis Khan, and in the 14th century were wandering from the Imil' River southwest to Kara-Tal and west to the Nura River. The Kerei appeared on the Black Irtysh, while the Kypchak and Alchin entered the ulus of Djuchi /Dzhuchi/, the elder son of Genghis Khan, and constituted the nucleus of the Golden or Kypchak Horde of Batu. After the period of Batu the historical fate of the tribes mentioned was closely linked with the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi. Although nominally under the power of the Genghisides, the nomadic tribes retained their tribal way of life and their nomadism. A biy acted as judge in civil and criminal cases, a man who stood out among the people for his eloquence, his knowledge of the juridical folk customs, his impartiality, and the justice of his decisions. Clashes between clans over pasture land took place very often

/142 cont./

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on the steppe because of the particular mobility which is inevitable in a livestock-herding economy. The struggle between between the clans gave rise to resourceful and daring leaders, who bore the title of batyr? Frequently the biy and the batyr' were combined in one and the same person. The skillful magistrate and wise judge in peacetime was transformed into a scout when he departed for war in defense of the clan, /143/ into a leader of troops, a soldier, and, after the war, into a diplomat. The nomads with their superb horsemen and unusual mobility represented an immense military power in their time, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Every clan, governed by its biy and commanded by its batyr', entered alliances and broke off from them freely, acknowledging over themselves only that superior power which corresponded to the interests of the clan or its leader. The customary struggle for power and appanages among the Genghisides was settled with the constant interference of the most powerful Turkic tribes, which played an active role in the breaking up of the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi.

In the middle of the 15th century, Turkic tribes which later entered the steppe oblasts under the name of Kirghiz /Kazak/ entered the historical scene in the form of an independent political power on the ruins of those uluses mentioned above. /Illustration appears here./

Taking advantage of the weakness of power of the Uzbek khan Abulkhair (1), the Djuchide-sultans Girei /or Girey/ and

1. From the time of their khan Uzbek, who died in 1342, the Golden Horde began to bear his name.

Djany-Bek /Dzhany-Bek/ broke off from him with their adherents and found refuge in the western part of his ulus on the river Chu, thanks to the hatred for Abulkhair of the Chagatayde khan of Mogolistan, Isa-Bug. Here they founded an alliance of nomads which later received the name of "Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak)."

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

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643 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
648 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
619 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal. Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 /144 cont./ After the death
643 of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
631 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of
175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again
619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political
631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

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175 In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the
619 designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and
63 Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic
614 tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak,
[101] Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

H.T. /199 cont./

563 new homeland in the same way as they lived before. A
361 new village can always be distinguished at once from an old
one on which local influences have already had an effect.
H.T. [628] They settle with Great Russians only in extreme cases, preferring separate settlements.

H.T. 563 German colonists (Mennonites, Baptists, and others)
241 and also Estonians and Latvians appeared in the Akmolinsk
[795] oblast only in the 1890's. Some of them live on rented plots near Omsk and some in the Akmolinsk uyezd on allotted land (the settlements of Preobrazhenskoye, Romanovskoye, Kankrinskoye /Kankrynka/), like the peasants. They are
H.T. engaged in agriculture. They do not have close relations
[628] with the Russian population. In the village of Romanovskoye the relations were so hostile that there were clashes of arms, and the administration consequently completely separated the Russians on a new sector. As farmers they equal the peasants
H.T. in their skill in tilling the ground. They have set themselves
[346] up in their sectors even better than the peasants, and they
H.T. have their own schools and houses of prayer. The general
[342] appearance of the German village is similar to that of the Little Russians; the buildings that are common, for example,
H.T. in the Livonian guberniya do not exist here. The clothing
[291] (hats, jackets), however, and the carriages (carts drawn by
[493] two animals, cabriolets) are still retained.

H.T. 563 Poles, Jews, Bukhariotes, and Sarta live only in the
361 towns. The latter engage in trade and other commercial
463 undertakings. Bashkir and Kalmyk sometimes live in villages in the Ural and Turgai oblasts, where they farm.

K We shall now turn to the examination of the principal
101 people of the region -- Kirghiz-Kazak. This people is first among all the Turkic peoples on the continent of Asia, both in number and in the expanse of territory they occupy (and second in the world, after the Osmanli Turks). For the ethnographer the Kirghiz-Kazak are of great interest since they have retained until now their nomadic way of life and their clan custom, similar to the primitive custom. Ethnically they are also the most interesting of all the Asiatic Turks, since they include representatives of all the most important and oldest Turkic Tribes.

/199 cont. /

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.
614

/200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 619 614 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun', Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/200 cont./

101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Eider) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

101 619 142 144 /201/ The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [154]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic. KN 131 [134] KN 652

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace." KN 316 KN 311 KN 33

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples. KN 563 K 101 K 648

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare. K 121

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research. K 14

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8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 1

THE SETTING: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY[1]

KN 131 133

The steppes of Asia form a region in which extremes abound. The steppes themselves are a tremendous sweep of climatically and geographically continuous terrain, broken only by the upthrust of mountain chains in the center—the Altai, the Tian-Shan, and the Pamirs. This mountain complex, one of the highest in the world, divides the eastern steppe from the western. The eastern steppe, which lies between Manchuria and the mountain ranges, comprises western Manchuria, both Inner and Outer Mongolia, northeastern Tibet, and most of Sinkiang. In terms of elevation it is "high steppe," lying mostly between a mile and two miles' altitude (1,500 to 3,000 meters). The western steppe, stretching from the Caspian in the west to the Altai-Pamir chain in the east, is "low steppe," lying for great stretches at or below sea level. Whereas the eastern steppe is populated mostly by Mongols, the western is inhabited predominantly by Turkic peoples.

K 101 181

The Kazakhs take their place among the Turkic peoples of the western or low steppe. They are by tradition (i.e., past occupation and present orientation and preference) a nation of herders. Although today not all of them live the life of pastoral nomadism, the Kazakhs still constitute the single largest traditional herding group in the world.

GEOGRAPHY OF KAZAKHSTAN

KN 131 [101]

The Soviet republic that is named for the Kazakhs, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic or Kazakhstan, occupies the central and northern parts of the region formerly known as Turkestan (including Russian and Western Turkestan) or Central Asia (see Figure 1). It includes a large portion of the low steppe and covers an area of more than a million square miles (2,744,300 sq. km.).

KN 133 131

The western boundary of Kazakhstan is formed by the Caspian Sea and the marshy lowlands which stretch along the lower Volga between

[1]The non-Russian sources utilized in this study are listed in the annotated bibliography at the end of this report. References to works in this list are designated by the parenthetical inclusion of the bibliography number of the work. Other references are to Russian-language sources; a selected bibliography of such sources is available upon request from the Human Resources Research Office. The methodology used in the study is discussed in Appendix A.

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pockets of various ethnic groups scattered about the republic and even localized in sections within cities. The most important reasons for this uneven ethnic distribution are, first, the extensive utilization of Slavs in mining and other industries requiring skilled labor, and second, the establishment of political and administrative divisions with little regard for ethnic relationships. KN 563 361

The distribution of mining towns (coal, oil, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, tin, wolframite, and chromite) creates small groups of Russians and Ukrainians among the native Turks throughout Central Asia. Some of these Slavic centers antedate the revolution; some have been created by forced labor, by deportations, and by resettlement policies during World War II. During the 1940's, miners and factory workers were transported from Moscow, Baku, and the Don basin to Kazakhstan. (During the same period, the lands of the Slavic Cossacks along the Ural River were confiscated and the settlements dispersed; this was the only important countertrend to Slavic immigration.) Russians, Ukrainians, and other Slavic groups predominate in the black-earth farming in the north, in truck farming generally, in the extractive industries, and in urban commercial and light industries. KN [135]

Turkic Uzbeks predominate near the southern border, in the cotton-growing regions contiguous to their own republic. As a result, the Kazakhs have been hemmed in by Slavic black-earth farmers in the north, Uzbek irrigation farmers in the south, and Slavic laborers in the urban and mining centers developing in the Caspian region (oil), around Karaganda and Chimkent (coal), and around Balkhash and in the Altai Mountains (minerals). The native Kazakhs have been gradually squeezed into the arid center of their republic, in an arc to the west, north, and east of the Aral Sea. K [101] K [131]

There is no free intermingling of nationalities on the land. Peoples tend to stay within regions determined by their economic specialization and traditional occupation, a tendency already described for the principal populations, the Kazakhs, Russians, and Uzbeks. The smaller populations of the republic present the same pattern. The rural Tadzhiks in Kazakhstan are gathered into one district in the region of Dzhambul, in the south. The Uigurs and Dungans live only in the eastern part of the Ili River valley. Turkmens are found only in the west and south.

The rural segregation of nationalities presumably is true of the cities also. Although no clear proof exists on the matter, available data suggest that ghettoes have formed in the cities, where groups live in their own separate centers of communication and social interaction. The Slavic and Turkic elements keep themselves apart. This conclusion is supported by the extremely low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. KN 563 369 KN 563 631

The establishment by the Soviets of political and administrative boundaries has led to a number of incongruities. During the 1920's, Russian leaders officially advocated following ethnic boundaries, but this policy was enforced only half-heartedly. By the end of the twenties, the Soviets had decided to reconstruct the political divisions of Central Asia which had existed prior to the Revolution (although the previous policy of following ethnic boundaries was never fully retracted). Thus

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 563 631 K 147

Thus it happened that the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains [K 10] were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Burut. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on [K 565] the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic.[1] The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

[1]In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

KN 563 631

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

K [101]

KN [162]

At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

KN [248]

KN [316]

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

K [101]

K [162]

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

K [648]

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1] K 177 241

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization. K 177 101

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry. KN 464

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley. KN 24 563 K [243] KN [361]

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population KN 233 K [131]

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

[360]

CHAPTER V

KAZAKH-KIRGIZ

Introduction

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The Kazakh-Kirgis are Turkic-speaking pastoralists whose domain stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to the Chinese border in the east; they number among the largest of the Turkic groups in terms of population. Their neighbors to the west for three centuries have been the Kalmuks of the Volga, while to the east dwell other Turkic groups, certain western Mongols, and the Mongols of Outer Mongolia. In the south of their territory lie great salt inland seas: the Caspian and Aral, and Lake Balkhash in the east. Stretching between these seas with their surrounding salt marshes are the vast stretches of desert and semi-desert, bearing characteristic names: the Kara-Kum or Black Sands, the Bet-Pak-Dala or Hungry Steppe. Much more favorable for human and animal existence is life along the rivers which run into the seas: the Ural and Emba which empty into the Caspian; the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes of the Ancients) which flows into the Aral; the Ili which flows into Balkhash. In addition, there are the mountain streams in the east, and a number of other streams with interior drainage

101 whose headwaters are in the eastern Urals.[1] Much of
123 this territory is now and has been for some time given over to agriculture; where the topography is neither too arid, nor wet enough to support agriculture, the Kazakh domain continues to support a nomadic pastoral economy.

101 The name Kazakh is derivative of the Turkic word for bandit, freebooter, presumably referring to the reputation enjoyed by these steppe nomads among their neighbors.[2] The second name applied to them, Kirgis, derives from the Turkic words for forty, kyrk, and daughter, kyz. The ethnonym Kazakh appears late in Central Asian history, after the Mongol period--i.e., after the 14th century. On the other hand, the term Kirgis appears early; in the region of the upper Yenisei and along the Orkhon during the 6th-8th centuries, a Turkic people bearing this name is reported in the contemporary indigenous records, the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turks.[3] Much confusion arose during the 19th century regarding the question of exactly which people which name referred to. We know that there was no direct ancestral connection between the 8th

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[1]Berg, 111-124.

[2]Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v., and W. Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v.

[3]Cf. Radloff, Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei; V. Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, 1896; Thomsen, Turcica, 1916.

101 century Kirgiz and those who later bore that name; the Kirgiz were absorbed into the empire of Chingis Khan during the 12th-14th centuries, and while some of the later Turks of this name-group were and are undoubtedly descendants of the earlier Kirgiz, nevertheless the historical continuity was disrupted by the Mongol conquests and redistribution of the peoples of Central Asia. The following is the ethnonymic picture as it is generally followed at present: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are the basic inhabitants of the region formerly known as Kazakhstan, now known as the Kazakh SSR. The Kirgiz are generally referred to for the purposes of ethnic differentiation as the Kara-Kirgiz, or Black Kirgiz. They are centered for the most part in what was at one time called Kirgizstan, now more or less coincident with the Kirgiz SSR.[4]

The basic difficulty which gave rise to the underlying problem of identification has been in part resolved by the absorption of these peoples into the Russian empire, and the assignment of territorial boundaries, seats of government, and official names, by administrative decree. Behind this solution imposed from without, however, lies a veritable ethnological problem: disregarding the occurrence of the ethnonym Kirgiz in the 1st millenium A.D., there remains the question whether those who bear that name in the post-Chingiside era, i.e., during the

[4]Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 406 ff. Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff. and 394 ff.

● 101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature con-
[611] ducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the
[186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been
D75] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5]Radlov, Obrazetsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6]Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7]Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AHI/Mongolia, Cat. 11b, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

[Orkhon Turks]

Ka. H.T. 175 a conqueror, in Gobineau's fine distinction. The concern of the Chinese caused them to record much of what H.T. [212] we know today of these peoples. The Turks themselves in moving westward gave up their indigenous letters because they now entered the world of Islam, and encountered a new literary and historical tradition. The period of the first Islamic contact was followed by successive waves of empire-building, the Chingiside and the Timuride. Data for kinship and social analysis during this period are impossible to extract from the record because the fine shades of difference in social structure between the Turks and the Mongols are not reflected in the documents of the period or even later; our sieve is too coarse. We may get a few hints, such as those from a Turkic dictionary of the period,[30] but these are insufficient for our purposes.

The Kazakh-Kirgiz[31]

Ka. 175 The earliest historical records of the Kazakhs appear in the 15th century, prior to which date they are said by Howorth to have formed part of the Uzbek domain.[32]

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[30] Carl Brockelmann, Maḥmūd al-Kāsyarī.

Ka. 101 [31] For the purpose of brevity, and to avoid confusion, I shall speak of these people as the Kazakhs, and where the Kirgiz other than the Kazakhs are referred to, they will be called the Kara-Kirgiz.

[32] Howorth, II, part 2, p. 6.

619 178 241 vening decades, In the inter- the Russians had set up a system of administrative divisions which reorganized to some extent the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this time there was some increase in agriculture among them. As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration in the development of farming among them, and a tendency to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 619 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Mountains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 375. "Some of the Kirgiz have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their winter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This tendency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoralists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915, and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agriculture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47. The process of transformation as indicated by the above sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries had been making a transition from pastoralism to agriculture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 222-230.

178 241

[i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
593 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of kalym, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yüz, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radlov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.[166]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

[166] Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 480; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

[Middle Horde]

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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bii in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation; it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

•101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǎy yŭs, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde-Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history
582 of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic
[101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal line-
[616] age and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukei Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

177 of deceased brother's children. Again, an affianced girl who has been orphaned may be raised by her father-in-law, who has an interest in her upbringing in view of the kalym already paid for her.[224] This is to be distinguished from adoption per se because, while it does mean the taking up of children not one's own, the female never becomes fully incorporated into her husband's family.

The Inner or Bukei Horde

101 177 The Horde named for Khan Bukei was the last such formation among the Kazakh hordes. It was formed in the year 1800 when some 1500 Kazakhs of the Little Horde crossed the New Cossack lines to occupy the steppe between the Ural River and the left bank of the Volga, a steppe left empty for a generation by the flight of the Kalmuks to China and occupied only by wild horses and saiga antelope.[225] The leader of the new horde, Khan Bukei, was encouraged to do so by the Russians, who were seeking to pacify the steppe, and the move was willingly undertaken by the Khan partly for financial considerations, and partly through fear of the internecine wars and raids on the steppe beyond the Ural River.[226]

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[224] Plotnikov, 124.

[225] Ivanin, 5-7.

[226] Ibid., 7-9.

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545 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a vertical cleavage. A sdBk might be identical with a byr top in any given instance, but the principle upon which it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was derived from the superposition of one layer of society upon another, and was a means of building the social hierarchy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage formation without aristocratic and commoner estates is found in the Kara-Kirgiz social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

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177 Two expeditions to the Nisman division of the Kazakhs of the Middle Hordes were undertaken by a number of Turkic specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concentrated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakhstan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan, Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilovich because here the degree of acculturation (such was not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1) why the following data are incorporated at all, and

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward, to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonstrated or disproved.

[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 556 [101] 433 The nomads in question[1] occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur, around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh, as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year round, and supported themselves by caring for their own farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.[268] Hence the following account of <u>aul</u> nomadism is to be understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy Kazakhs.[2] [117.62]

621 The <u>aul</u> in its several variations was entirely a kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh <u>aul</u> elsewhere, even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homogeneous kin group. This was not so among the northeasternmost Kazakhs. The <u>auls</u> of the latter fall into two categories: the fully nomadic <u>auls</u>, such as those of the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach <u>aimak</u> (Oirot Autonomous Oblast');[269] and <u>auls</u> which are entirely sedentary, such as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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[268] Ibid., 1-3, 62.

[269] Samoilovich, 312.

[1] [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. Cat. 116, Altai Mongolia, p. 523ff.--Analyst]

[2] [For further data, cf. Cat. 116, Altai Mongolia, pp. 527-544.--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 of the Kereit. In the Kosh-Agach aimak there were approximately 100 auls of the Middle Horde Kazakhs who were exclusively herders, with a total of 505 tents, thus averaging five tents per aul. The range was between three and eight tents per aul. The total number of people was 2408 (1123 males, and 1175 females), an average of 4.8 people per tent and 24 per aul.[270] Each aul moved as an individual unit, each was composed of close kin which in effect was a large extended family. However, their larger social units were of mixed composition, and not of more or less close agnatic kin.[271]

621/101 In the vicinity of the Black Irtysh, the bulk of the Kazakhs were of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde; they comprised most of the herding population, they were the wealthy stratum, able to support herding. Their poorer neighbors, possibly more recent arrivals, were the Kazakhs of the Kereit division of the Middle Horde, more specifically, members of the Ashmaily clan of the Kereit. They lived primarily by farming and hunting, were very poor, had no horses, only a few cattle, sheep and camels, and lived a sedentary life. In contrast to the tiny mobile auls of the pastoral Kazakhs, these sedentary Ashmaily auls numbered up to 60 tents.[272]

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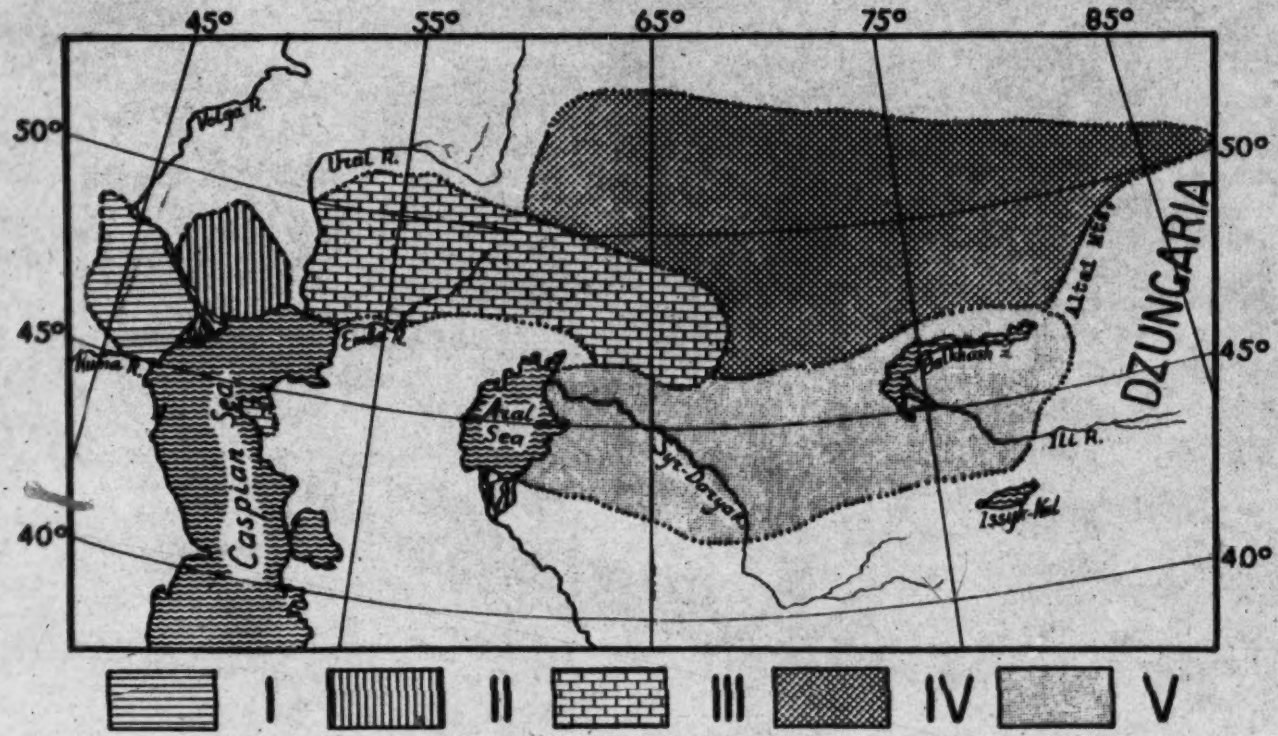
[270] Ibid., 311.

[271] Ibid., 312.

[272] Rudenko, op. cit., 61-62.



Map III. Maximum Distribution of the Kalmuks and Kazakh-Kirgis in the 19th Century.
See next page for Legend.

[P. 69]

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10: Kazakh 84 Doc. dated 1933
AHI Mongolia
KAZAK RQ 2

KAZAK RQ 2

Legend, Map III.

101 I. The Kalmuk Steppe. Prior to 1800 the Kalmuk Steppe also included the area under (II).

II. Steppe of the Inner or Dzhaz Hordes or the Kazakh-Kirgiz, occupied after 1800.

III. Steppe of the Little Horde.

IV. Steppe of the Middle Horde. This zone was only spottily occupied by the Middle Horde in its northeastern section.

V. Steppe of the Great Horde.

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks RD2
Kaizak RD2

C. 433

is still at a primitive and wasteful stage. Then comes the cultivation of wine and tobacco plantations. The Asiatic Cossacks are well known as traders.

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CONCLUSION.—Having traced the origin of these curious communities, followed their evolution, and seen something of their present state, I should now like to lay before you two momentous problems, one connected with the Kaizak, the other with the Cossacks, the solution of which is of vital importance to Eastern Europe and to Asia.

K. 101

The first problem arises out of the existence, the character, and the circumstances of the Turkic Kaizak (*i.e.*, the Turkic Cossacks). They are a body who, despite their nomadic condition, have an importance not to be lightly estimated, for any cause, either within Russia or without, which has their support will be very considerably strengthened thereby. Numbering from four to five million, by no means thoroughly subjugated by Mongol or by Russian power, this half-nomadic race of the Kaizak, whom, as we saw, the Russians erroneously call Kirghis, represents a considerable fighting force in its own land, since its clan organization still remains strong. Lying between Europe and Asia, its country extends from the shore of the Caspian to Pamir, and is on the route to the fabulously rich mines of Altai and Sayan and the other wealth of Siberia.

K. [101]

K 181

The Kaizak may be regarded as an advance-guard to the Turks of Bokhara, Khiva, and other countries of Turkestan, but their sympathies are detached, for although they have much in common with these Turks racially and linguistically, their want of strong feeling for Mahometanism sets them apart. This is hardly surprising, since Islam was only brought to them two centuries ago, and it has never been in them a driving cultural force. On the other hand, they have always been in opposition to the Central Russian Government, an opposition of which the rising of 1916 and its subsequent massacres is a recent proof.* Their relation to the Russian Cossacks has been that of an insubordinate native tribe to a conquering Russian army, and yet Russian Cossacks and Turkic Kaizak have more in common with each other than either have with the Central Russian Government. Wherever Russian Cossacks have settled among Turkic Kaizak, it is the latter who have kept the upper hand, the Russian Cossacks adopting their mode of life and social outlook. In disregarding their essential kinship, and fostering dissension between the Russian and the Turkic Cossacks, the old Russian Government made a grave mistake. Friendly feeling and friendly terms have grown up and been established between the Turkic Kaizak and the progressive element among the Siberian colonists, which is a consideration worth noticing. There are two alternatives before the Kaizak, one of which

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* For a fuller account on the Turkic Kaizak, see M. A. Czaplicka's "Turks of Central Asia," now in preparation (Oxford University Press).

RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Kazak RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonization. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghīz" or Ḳirghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. Ka 175 articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of Ka the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At [631] this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *ǰüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu ǰüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi ǰüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta ǰüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th century; but it was not till the xix^th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; re- [565] gulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

P. 1026-A

5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

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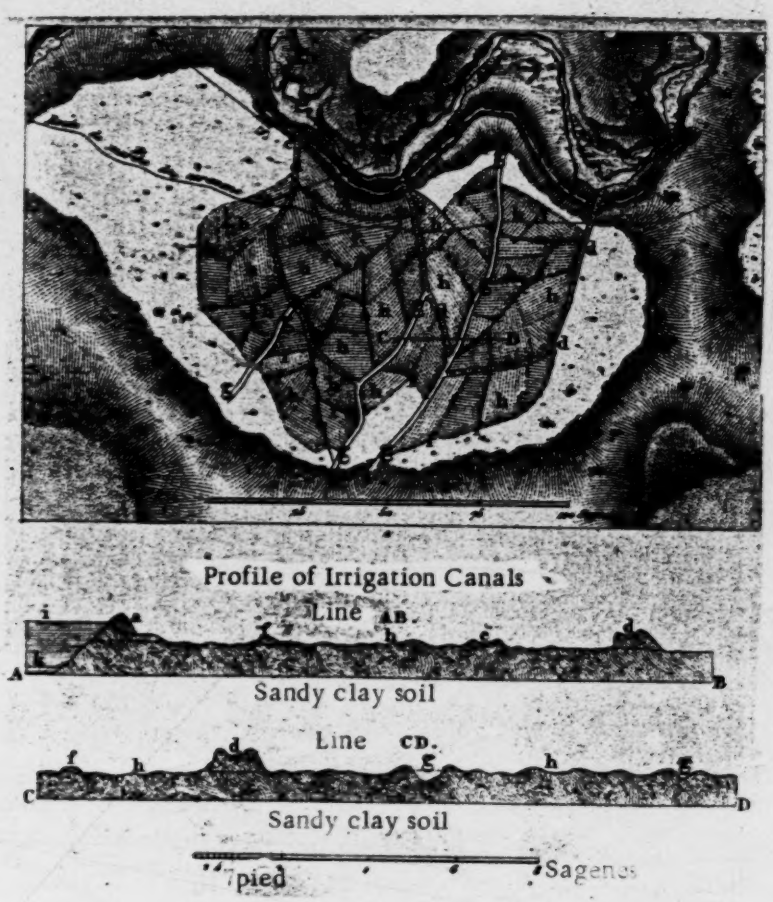

5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--192 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--194 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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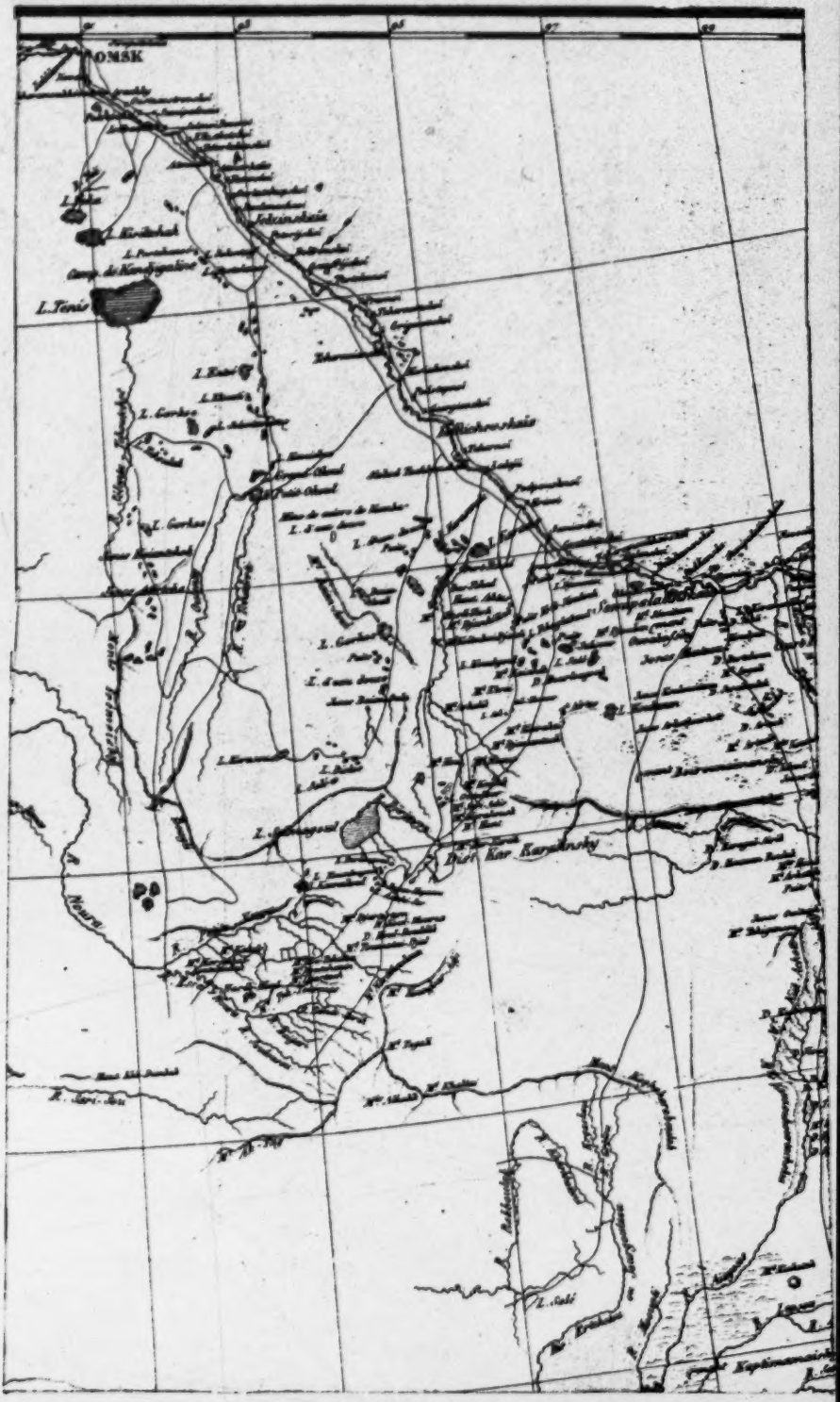

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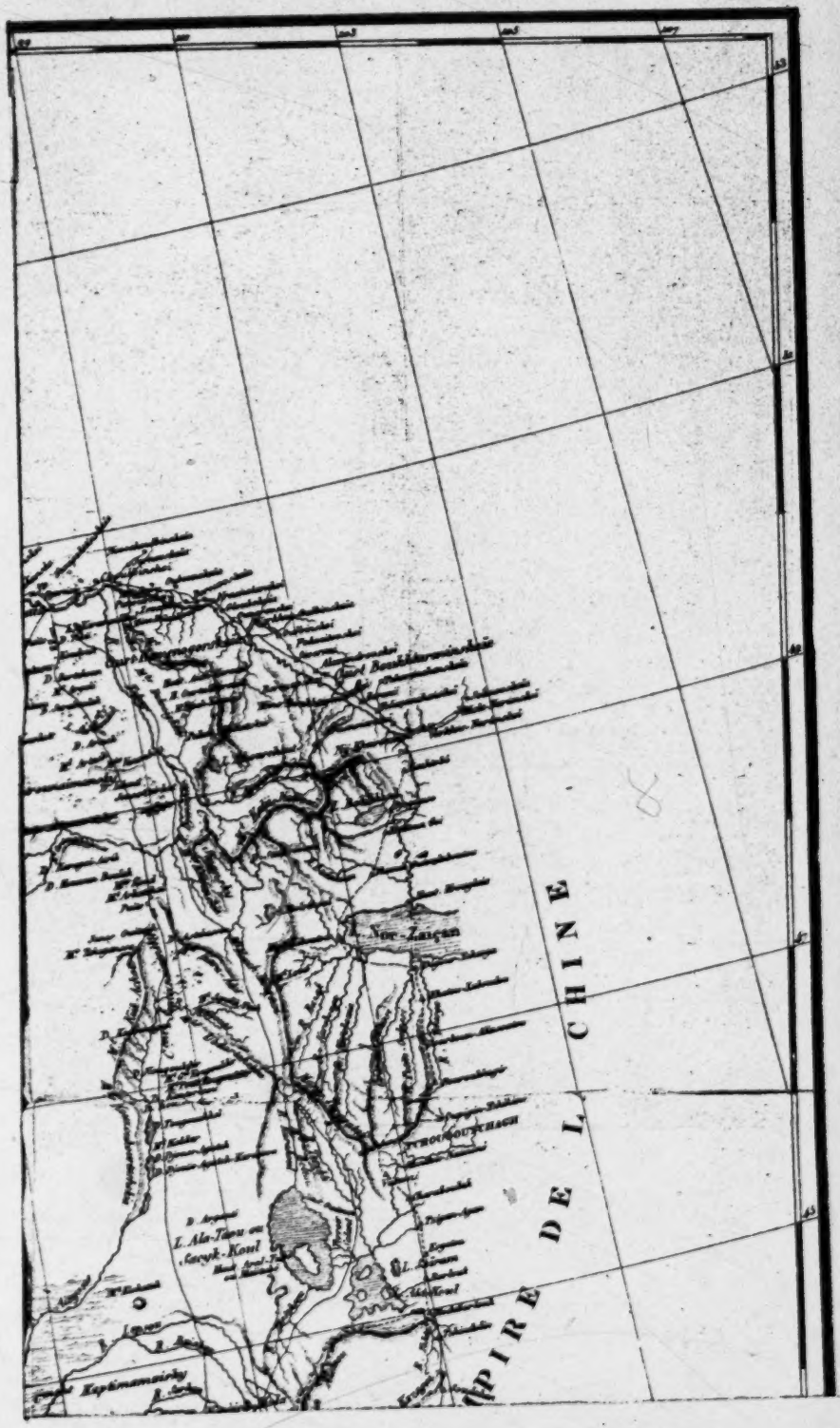

5: Levchine--196 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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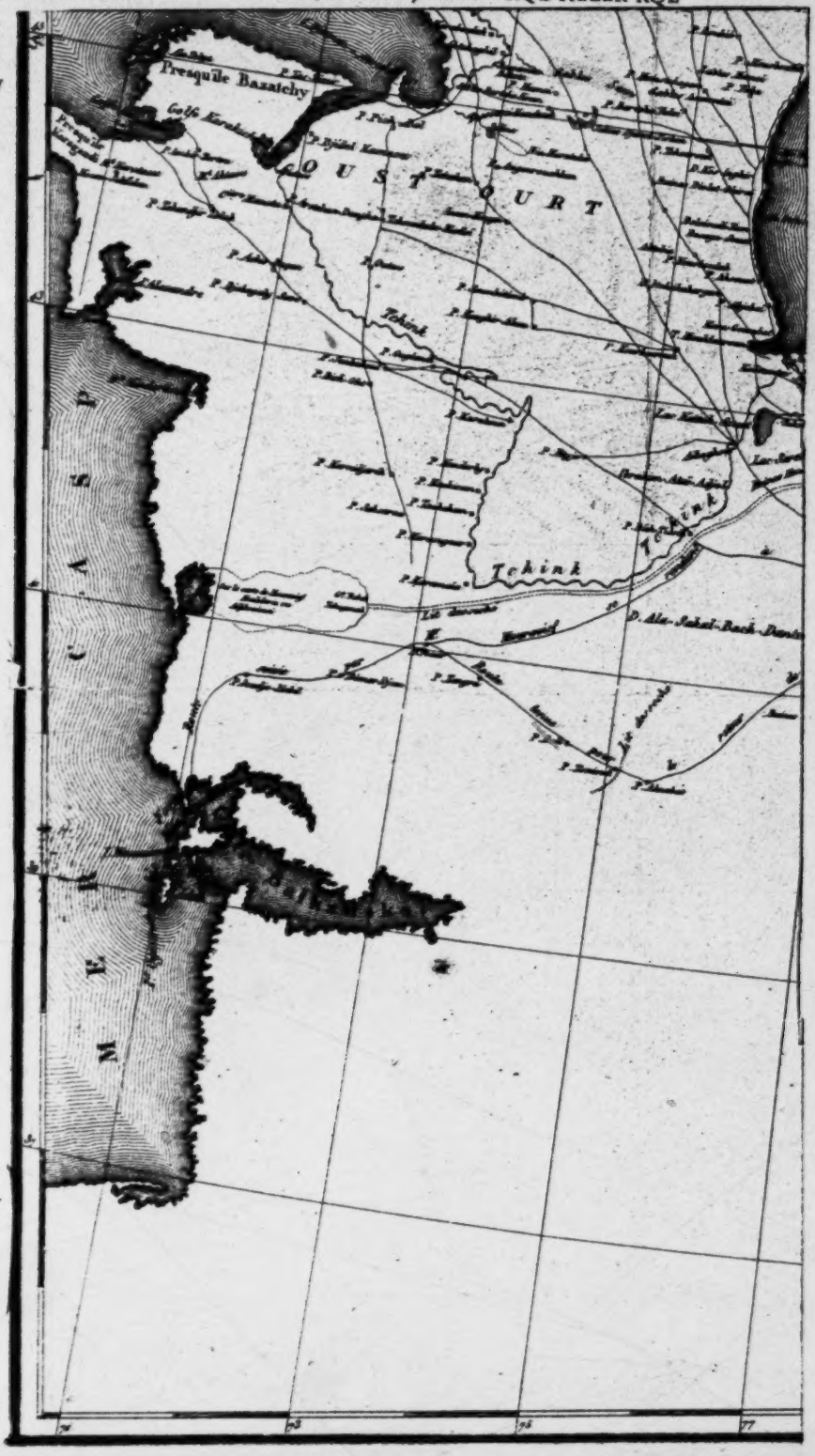

5: Levchine--197 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--198 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--200 G-4,5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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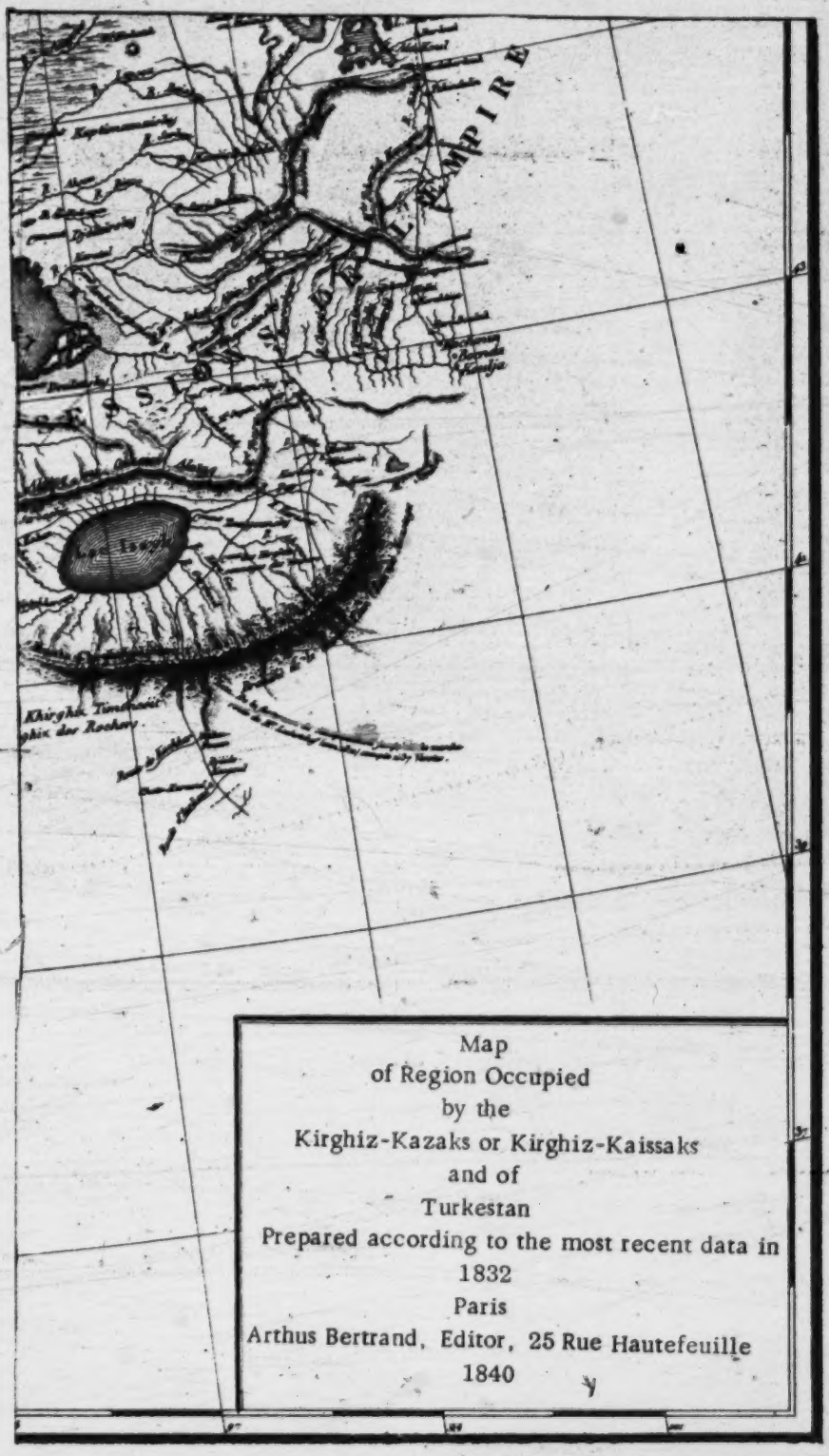


7: Sedel'nikov et al. --67 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2

/Between pp. 176 and 177/

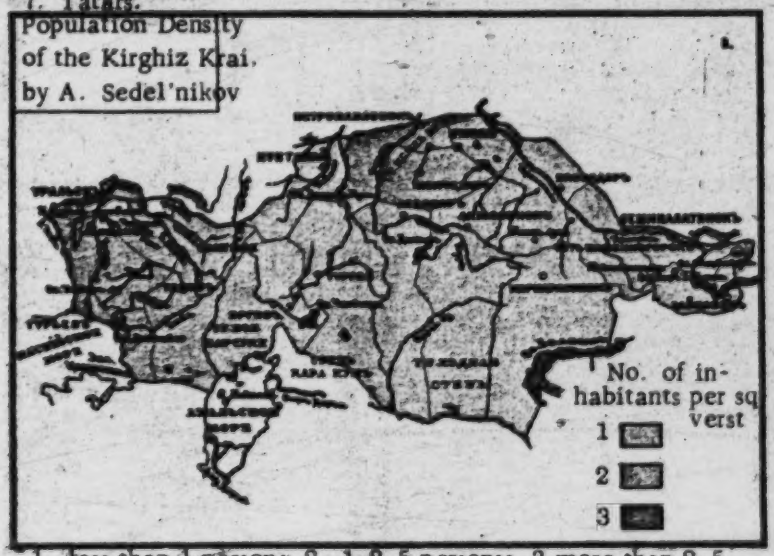
K 102 H.T. 102 563

Tribes of the Kirghiz Krai, by A. Sedel'nikov

1. Kirghiz /Kazak/; 2. Great Russians; 3. Little Russians; 4. Belorussians; 5. Latvians and Estonians; 6. Mordvinians; 7. Tatars.

K H.T. 102 161

Population Density of the Kirghiz Krai, by A. Sedel'nikov



1. less than 1 person; 2. 1-2.5 persons; 3 more than 2.5 persons.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF KAZAKH S S R

Figure 1

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
[579]
628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712
346

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[361]
103
651
311

5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

102
103
487
133
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5: Levchine--192 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

102
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5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--194 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5. Levchine--195 G-4, 5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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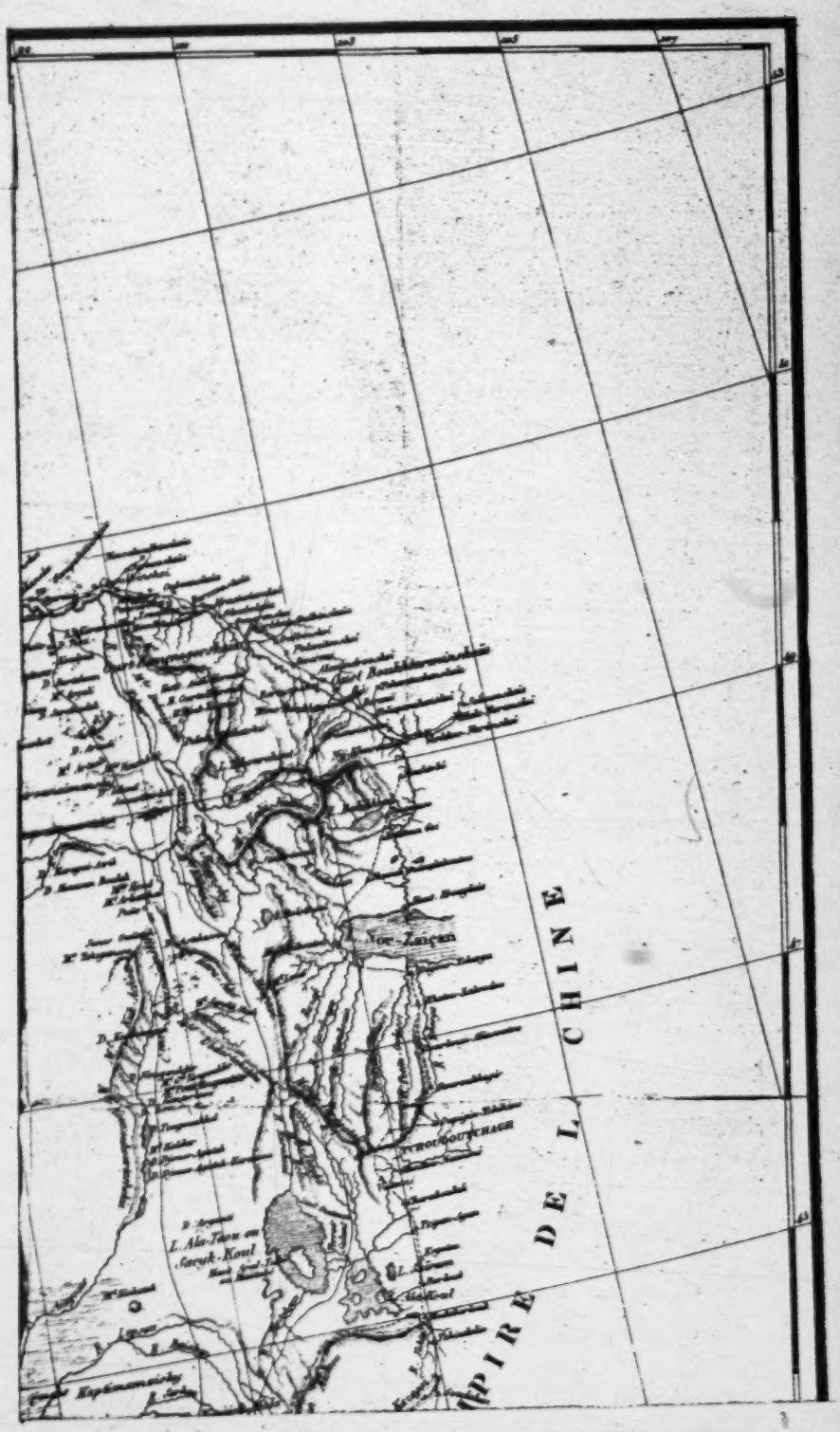

5: Levchine--196 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--197 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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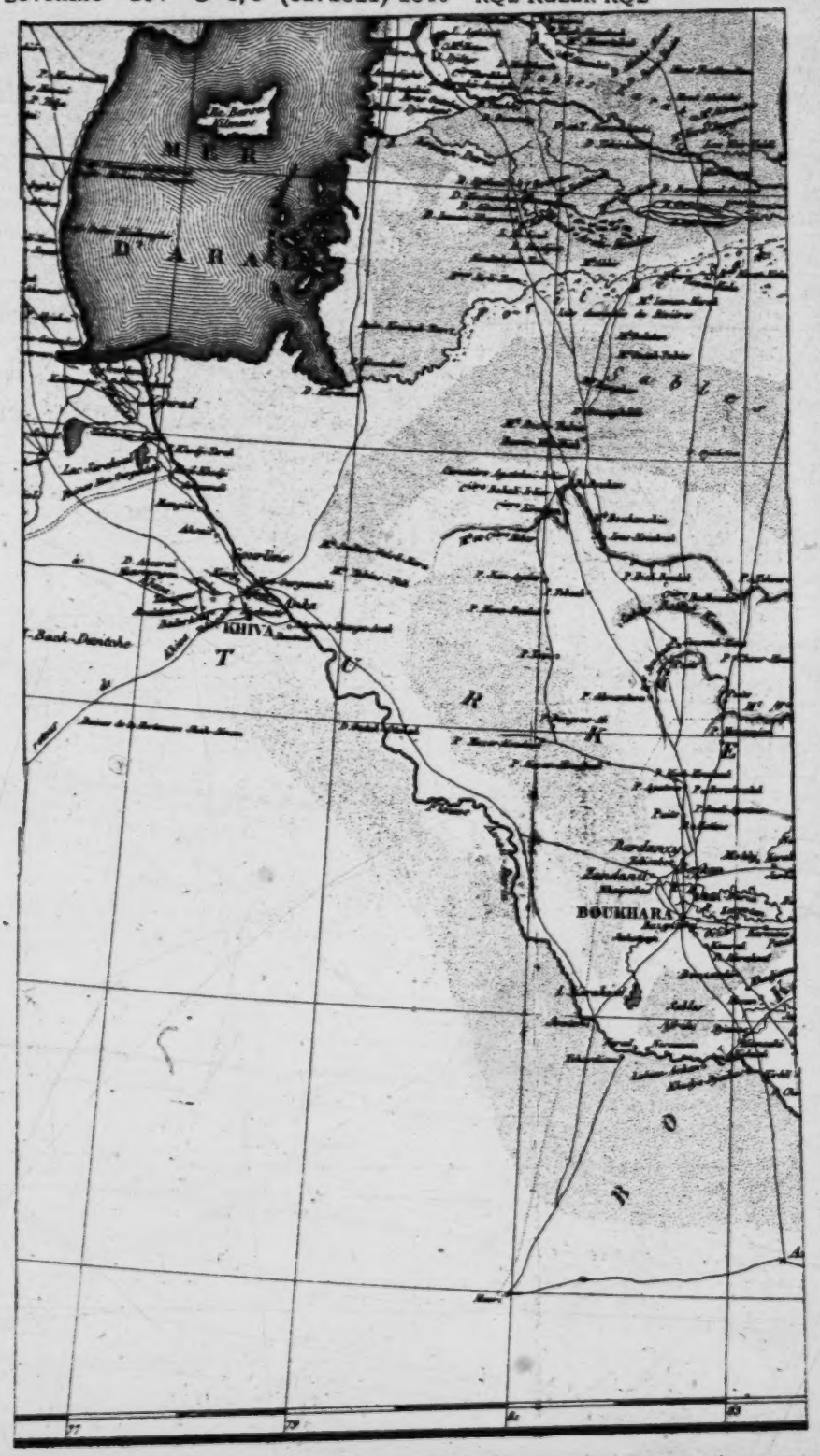

5: Levchine--198 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

102
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5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) ~~1840~~ RQ2 Kazak RQ2

102
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5: Levchine--200 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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133
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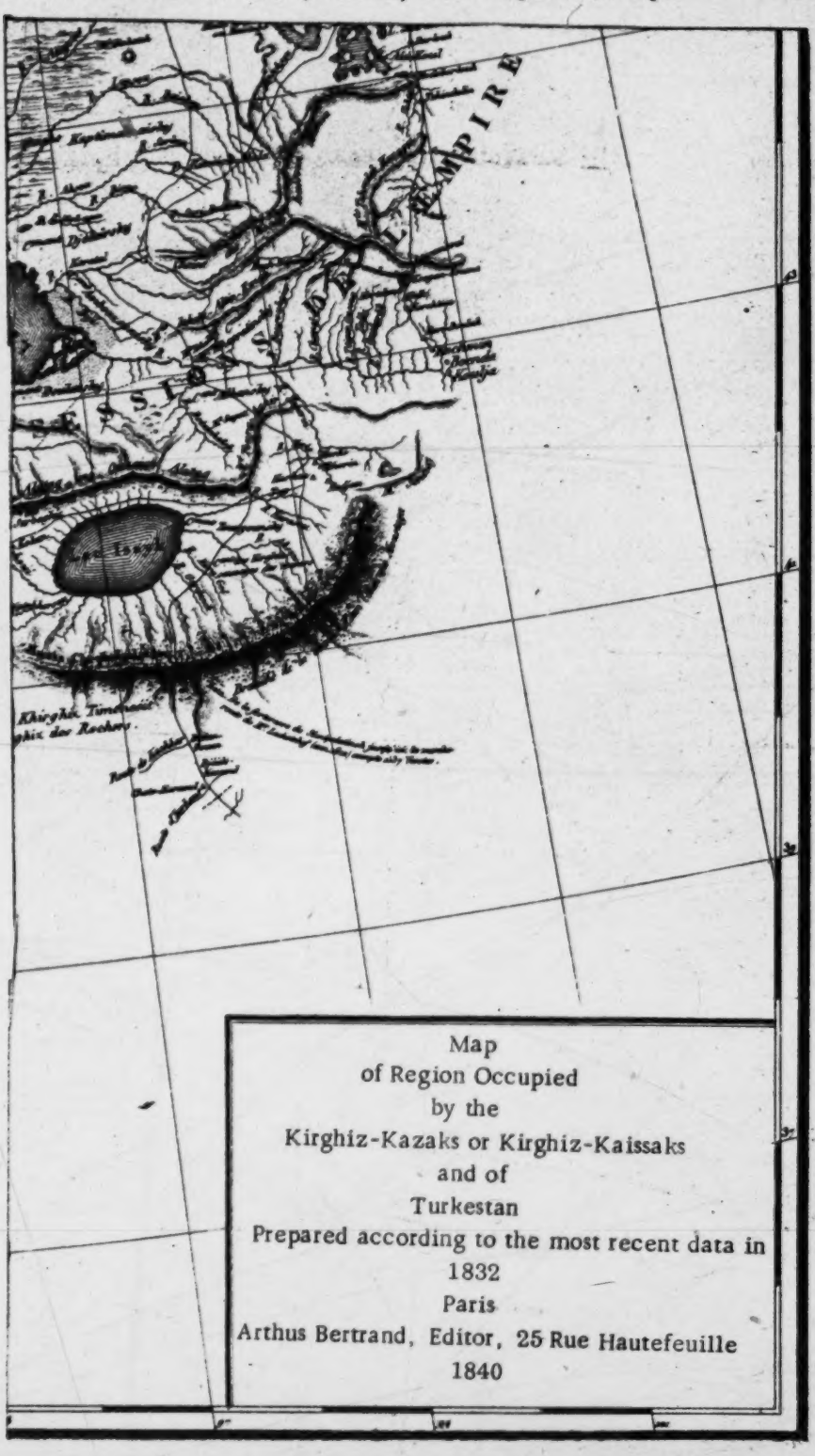

Map
of Region Occupied
by the
Kirghiz-Kazaks or Kirghiz-Kaissaks
and of
Turkestan
Prepared according to the most recent data in
1832
Paris
Arthus Bertrand, Editor, 25 Rue Hautefeuille
1840

62) the greater degree of concentration in the winter. Radlov has given the etymology of aul from agyl, enclosure, cognate with the Mongol ayil. The Mongol ayil was indeed a circle, according to the descriptions of Shchapov for the Buryats, Pozdneev for the Khalkha Mongols, and Vladimirtsov for the Mongols of earlier times. That of the Little Horde Kazakhs and of the Turkmen, their neighbors to the south, had apparently opened out; the same is true of the Kalmuk nomadic village.

[103]

The Family in the Little Horde

596 The data bring out a number of features shared by the Little Horde families with other Kazakh and Turco-Mongol groups. The family was agnatic, it was patrilocal in residence, and it was of the extended family type, that is, the family into which one was born was the same as that which one procreated on marriage. The extended family had a personality before the law, it extended beyond the life span of any individual member, and in general conforms with the conception of the corporate structure which has already been advanced here, apud Maine, Weber, and Fortes. The family was the unit of economic production and consumption, and it was the unit of production of children. It could become the unit of nomadic movement if it was identical with a village. Otherwise, as we have seen, the village is the unit of nomadic movement.

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

127 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His
114 work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a as in *father*
b similar to English *b*
c as English *sh*
ç as *z* in *azure* (similar to French *j*)
d similar to English *d*
e as in *let*
ə as the *a* in *at*
g as in *get*
ɣ (a velar g; no English equivalent)
h similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i as in *bit*
j as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k similar to English *k*
l similar to English *l*
m similar to English *m*
n similar to English *n*
ŋ as *ng* in *sing*
o as in *force*
θ (no English equivalent; similar to German *ö*)

[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammad Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tewarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

104

p similar to English *p*
q (a velar *k*; no English equivalent)
r similar to English *r*
s similar to English *s*
t similar to English *t*
u as *oo* in *book*
v as *w* in *bowie-knife*
y as *u* in *burr*
z similar to English *z*
ь (no English equivalent; a high back unrounded vowel, pronounced as *u* in *rune* but with lips spread instead of rounded.)

In the transliteration of Russian words I have followed the system adopted by the Library of Congress. Turkic and Mongol words taken from the works of other authors I have used in the form in which I found them, except that those given in Russian characters have been transliterated.

NATURE OF KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS

Nearly all ethnographic accounts which touch upon the social organization of the Kazak describe them as divided into a number of tribes which are subdivided into sub-tribes or gentes and these again further divided into yet smaller groups.[1] How far this process of subdividing may extend is indicated by Rudenko's study of the Naiman group of Kazak in the foothills of the Altai in which he lists 760 named groups extending, in some cases, through a series of 17 strata of subdivisions.[2]

As a first step in analyzing Kazak social structure it is necessary to consider the nature of the named groups, their relation to one another and the significance of the several orders, or magnitudes, of subdivisions. In such a consideration the problem of terminology immediately intrudes. Any discussion of the subdivisions would seem to involve the application of type names to the various strata and the possibilities are soon exhausted.

In this difficulty recourse might be had to employing the native terminology. In attempting to do so, however, it becomes apparent that many Kazak, and all of those with whom I worked, had but one inclusive term or variations of one term for all the magnitudes of social groupings usually described in the literature as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and their branches. This term was given by Tlenshiev in Kazak as urЪv. Asfendiarov[3] in Russian writes uru and a few lines later both uru and uruk. Begaliev and Gavrilov do not give urЪv but define ruv[4] as Russian "rod"—race, family, clan, generation; or "plemia"—tribe, race, family. The form urЪq they translate[5] as "family, posterity." Vladimirtsov[6] defines urux or urug in Mongol as "descendant, offshoot of a given gens." In Yakut, according to Seroshevskiĭ,[7] uru means "relationship in general."

My informants agreed that this word or a cognate is the term which is applied in Kazak to all types of social groupings usually understood as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. Tlenshiev understood the use of the Russian plemia (tribe) as referring to a more inclusive group than rod (gens) but said there were no such distinctions in Kazak. The absence of such terms is confirmed by Asfendiarov who writes:[8]

It is curious that among the Kazak there is only the single indefinite term uru which signifies

[1] See, among others, Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 514; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 144; Samoilovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

[2] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, table facing page 334.

[3] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

[4] *Kazakko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 202.

[5] *Idem*, 252.

[6] *Obshchestvennyĭ Strol*, 59.

[7] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAkuty*, 507.

[8] *Idem*, 100.

61 tribe and sub-tribe, gens and sub-gens . . . . Among the Mongols of the period of Chingis Khan the tribe was designated as irgen, the gens obox and relatives by the word uruk. But among the Kazaks is preserved only the extremely indefinite term uru.

Samoïlovich likewise states:[9]

According to Chopaev [his informant] there are no strictly distinct terms in Kazak corresponding to our tribe, clan, generation, etc. One and the same term is applied in different senses. European tribal terminology applied to Kazak is arbitrary and misleading.

It is, however, not unlikely that some Kazak groups had more precise terms to designate the various magnitudes of social groupings. Rudenko, in a very confused statement, says:[10]

The sub-group sök is defined by blood relationship as far as seven ancestors. The gens, ruu, is divided into a series of lines, byr top . . . . Furthermore, sub-groups are indicated by the name of an ancestor and finally divided into sök.

[104] One fact at least is clear from this: the Kazak of the Naiman, Karatai and Karakerei groups with whom Rudenko worked in the region of the Altai had in addition to uru or ruu at least two other words, sök and byr top to designate social groupings based apparently on blood relationship. The occurrence of the word sök in this sense among the Altaian Kazak however is suggestive of influence from other Altaian groups because Potanin reports[11] that the gens among the Altaian Tartars was known as sök. The word is also found in Kazak, as in other Turkic dialects[12] in its primary meaning of "bone" and in Kazak occurs frequently as aq syjek (White Bone) and kara syjek (Black Bone) referring to the nobility and common people respectively. Insofar as the nobility, who were all in theory descended from Chingis Khan, may be considered as forming in themselves a gens, the term syjek might be applied in the sense in which it is used by the Altaians, but such usage was not customary among the Kazak with whom I was acquainted.

The words byr top mentioned by Rudenko mean literally "one group," "one crowd," which might well be used to designate sub-divisions of a gens as he indicates, but I know of no further examples of this except perhaps one parenthetical remark by Grodekov[13] in which he says: "They migrate in groups (tap-tap) of a greater or less number of kibitkas [the felt tent of the nomads]."[14]

Czaplicka, after studying the Russian literature relating to all the Turkic groups of

[9] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162, note 6.

[10] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59–60.

[11] Potanin, *Ocherki Severo-zapadnoi Mongolii*, 4: 1–2, as cited by Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 54. I have been unable to obtain Potanin's work.

[12] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 4: 571.

[13] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[14] In many accounts the felt tents are called "yurts." I have avoided this use of the word because in some places it meant not the dwelling but the land occupied by a group. (See page 81.)

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

111 RQ2 Kazak

1: Barthold, W. Kazak. In Houtsma, M. Th. et al, eds., The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, pp. 836-838 [HRAF MS: pp. 836 b- 838 a]. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1927.

Yale: Bh 37.03.2.

[This source is concerned with the origins of the Kazak: as a group of freebooters and later on as an ethnic group. The source also covers the City of Kazan: its founding as capital of a Tatar principality, its subsequent history, its urban configurations and its university. A short bibliography is provided at the end of the source. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Eugene Lerner

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1956

2: Hudson, Alfred E. Kazak Social Structure. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 20, pp. 1-109. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

Yale: NK10 Y13 v. 20-21

[Hudson's "Kazak Social Structure" is a well-documented, ethnological survey (based on both primary and secondary source-material) of Kazak social institutions. Hudson outlines the nature of the Kazak uru, basic unit of all social groups, based on both close blood relationship and also on distant common ancestry, and, with it as frame of reference, discusses social groupings in relation to economic life, family, marriage, class distinctions, political alignments, and inter-group relations. A brief historical survey of the historical development of the Mongol social structure follows it. In the latter, Hudson outlines the institutions analogous to those found among the Kazaks, and analyzes the development of the gens, basic element of Mongol society. This material has been filed functionally in the Historical Mongolia file AH2. A summary discussing the processes of fission, fusion, and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings is appended, and will be found in category 116 only, since it pertains neither to the Kazaks nor to the Mongols alone. Except for

2: Hudson, Alfred E.

data specifically describing the uru, no material will be found in category 61 of the Kazak file, but only in functional categories. This, despite the fact that all data have the existence of the uru as a frame of reference. The two-digit category 61 has been used for data explaining the uru, since no provision for it exists in any of the three-digit kin group categories. Bibliographical citations will be found in category 113. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Angelica Baumann

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1956

7

111

RQ2 Kazak RQ2--2

4: Grodekov, N. I.

customs in this source.]

Field date: ca. 1885
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

5: Levchine, Alexis de. Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kaissaks. /Description of the Kirghiz- Kazak, or Kirghiz-Kaissak, Hordes and Steppes/ Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale. 1840.

Pp. vi, 517, 10 plates, folding map. [HRAF Pag. i, 200.]

Yale: Eeac 832Lh

[Translated from the French for Human Relations Area Files by Barbara Krader in 1961.]

Not translated for the Files: pp. i-vi, 1-135, 317-509.

[This volume is primarily a history of the relationships between the Russians and the Kazaks and of the Russian penetration of Turkestan during the eighteenth century. As such it is an excellent history and a study of not only the Russian relationships with the various Kazak groups but also on the shifting political alignments between and among the various Kazak groups. There is also much material on the location and migrations of each Kazak

5: Levchine, Alexis de.

group during this time and a short chapter of ethnographic data.--Analyst]

Field date: (ca. 1821)
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Government official-4, 5
Processed in 1962

7: Sedel'nikov, A. N., A. N. Bukeikhanov and S. D. Chadov. Kirgizskii Krai [The Kirghiz Krai]. V. P. Semenov, editor. Rossiia. Polnoe Geograficheskoe Opisanie Nashego Otechestva [Russia, a Complete Geographical Description of Our Fatherland], Vol. 18, pp. 138-222. St. Petersburg: Izdanie A. F. Deuriena, 1903.

Yale: Edb 8998 v.18. /HRAF MS.: pp. 1-141/.

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relations Area Files by Barbara and Laurence Krader.

/This is a useful historical account of the Central Asiatic area of the U.S.S.R. from prehistoric times to the end of the 19th century. Data in the source pertinent to the description of ethnic movements in the area from about 200 B.C. onward with emphasis on Russian immigration during the 18th and 19th centuries have been marked respectively for the Prehistoric Turkestan RL 3 and Historical Turkestan RL2 files. Information relevant to the Siberian cossack and Siberian peasants living in Kazakhstan, both of whom have been termed Sibiriaks by the author, has been placed in the Sibiriak RR4 file, while data on the Ural Cossacks will be found in the Historical Turkestan RL2 file. Some general ethnographic information on the Kirgiz-Kazak will be found in this source, however, and in particular reference to culture history, tribal organization, anthropometry, personality traits, language, folklore and literature, art, dwellings,

7: Sedel'nikov, A. N., A. N. Bukeikhanov and S. D. Chadov.

clothing, marriage ceremonies, foods, economy, slavery, legal systems and religion/.

Field date: no date
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Unknown-4, 5
Processed in 1968-1969

8: Krader, Lawrence and Ivor Wayne. The Kazakhs. HumRRO Technical Report, No. 23, Washington, D. C.: The George Washington University, Human Resources Research Office, 1955.

Pp. viii, 154; 3 maps, tables; brief; bibliography.

Author's copy.

Part I, Summary and Conclusions by Thomas Gladwin and Lawrence Krader.

[This study of the Kazaks of Soviet Central Asia was conducted for the Department of the Army as a Background Study for Psychological Warfare. It is based entirely on documentary sources. One of the results of the research was the development of new methods for the study of culture at a distance. The local press was a primary source of information, but all available sources were consulted. A number of approaches and disciplines were brought to bear on the subject: demography, economics, anthropology, sociology and social psychology. "Problems and Methods of Research" are discussed in length in Appendix A.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2--1-2

4: Grodekov, N. I. Kirgizy i Karakirgizy Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti [The Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya Region.] Vol. I. Juridical Life. Tashkent: The Typolithography of S. I. Lakhtin, 1889.

Pp. vii, 277.

HRAF Manuscript.

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relations Area Files by Barbara Krader. The supplements (pp. 1-205) in the Russian original have been omitted in the translation.

[The author, a Russian general who participated in the conquest of Turkestan under von Kaufman, was later governor of the Syr-Darya district. During his administration he initiated a program for the collection of Kazakh customary laws through personal interviews and the recording of native court decisions. The present volume includes materials on the kinship system, family relationships, property laws, marriage customs, social and legal norms, and a collection of over six hundred proverbs. The researcher will find much information on the social and economic life of the Kazakhs as well as the impact of Russian conquest upon the native judicial

8: Krader, Lawrence and Ivor Wayne.

The resulting study is a well integrated analysis of the sources of conflict between the way of life of the Kazaks and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. The implications for psychological warfare are made explicit throughout the study. A major decline in population resulted from the Soviet attempt to settle these nomadic herders on collective farms in the early 1930's, and the implications of this fact are discussed in detail. The authors describe the old patterns of Kazak society, religion, economy, and political organization: the changes brought about; the present lack of integration of Kazak culture and their passive participation in the Soviet way of life.

Much of the material presented deals with the inhabitants of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (KSSR) and by implication applies to present day Kazaks. Therefore, a major part of the source has also been marked for the Kazakhstan RQ1 file. (Geography, Demography, Economy, The Party, The Government, and Communications.)

One result of the "controlled acculturation" of the Kazaks was a nativistic movement and the authors trace its development.

8: Krader, Lawrence and Ivor Wayne.

Material on the Moslem Religion among the Kazaks will be found in category 779. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4
Processed in 1963

113, 563 Kazak RQ2

[For information on the Kazak in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 128-132.]

113, 171, 681, 604 Kazak RQ2

[For a Kalmyk parallel with Kazak legal private seizure of property, and the inheritance rights of maternal nephews, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 274-279.]

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

113, 601 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of Kazak kinship terminology in the context of the Altaic steppe pastoralist systems generally, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 600-611.]

113, 601 Kazak RQ2

/For data on kinship terminology among the Kazakh-Kirgiz, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 503-522./

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

874 of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Ḳazān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Ḳazān in 1861. According to the census of 1897, Ḳazān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

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Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in [C48] the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

[1]Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this 114 report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography 113 by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Grauman (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

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Notes to the User:

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This bibliography does not claim to be complete. Rather than accumulate thousands of titles dealing with Kazakhstan or the Kazakhs, the investigators have selected those items which they have found valuable in the course of the project. In view of the focus of the project on the Soviet period, only the standard works of the 19th century were included for background purposes. An effort was made to present as complete a review as possible of recent (World War II and postwar) sources. The apparent preponderance of prewar items among Russian sources is explained by relative unavailability of recent material.

Items considered especially useful or significant, or items typical of a whole group of similar items, are followed by annotations. To some extent the size of the annotation is a visual indication of the item's importance. Some comments are evaluative rather than content-oriented, and direction of bias is pointed out.

For the convenience of the reader the bibliography is divided into two parts, non-Russian sources and Russian-language sources. Only the non-Russian items are included with this report. The Russian-language bibliography has been reproduced separately and is available on request from the Human Resources Research Office. Citations for Russian-language sources are transliterated according to the system of the Library of Congress (with the omission of diacritic marks), and followed by a translation of the title in parentheses.

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KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol 121
social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been ac- 114
tive in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were 101
until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a seden-
tary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the
Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally [161]
they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little
Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language [197]
which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are
definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid [144]
admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, sub-
tribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are
not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the proc- 121
ess of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class strati-
fication, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and 122
a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to 104
avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammed Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoflovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoflovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*.
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.
[12] Levshin, *Description des hordes*.
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*.
[15] Samoflovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*.
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pelliot, *Review*, 157–67.

1/2 [See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

127 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His
114 work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a as in *father*
b similar to English *b*
c as English *sh*
ç as *z* in *azure* (similar to French ʃ)
d similar to English *d*
e as in *let*
ɔ as the *a* in *at*
g as in *get*
ɣ (a velar *g*; no English equivalent)
h similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i as in *bit*
j as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k similar to English *k*
l similar to English *l*
m similar to English *m*
n similar to English *n*
ŋ as *ng* in *sing*
o as in *force*
θ (no English equivalent; similar to German ð)

[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammad Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tévarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

4:Grodekov--i E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/i/The study of the modern juridical life of the Kazakhs and Kir- /2/
giz is extremely important, both for the proper organization of the administration and the courts in the midst of the nomadic population of our Central Asian regions, and equally for science.

The need has long been felt for a study of the customary law /14 ●
of the non-Russians inhabiting the borderlands of the empire. Thus in the 1820s a collection of the customary law of the Siberian indigenous peoples, including the Kazakhs, was made by order of the government, under the supervision of the Governor-General of Siberia and a special commission. The collection was made by the peoples themselves, in their languages and was preserved in Russian translation in the second section of the chancellery belonging to His Own Imperial Majesty. Count Speranskii had the idea of compiling a code of all the local laws and customs in the empire, incidentally also for the Siberian indigenous peoples, and for this code the collection mentioned above could have served as material. But this idea was never carried out, and the material collected in Siberia was published only in 1876 from the copies preserved, by Professor D. Ia. Samokvasov of Warsaw University, under the title Sbornik Obychnago Prava Sibirskikh Inorodtsev / A Collection of the Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples. At the end of this collection, in the section of Kazakh customs, there is an account of the customary law of the Kazakhs in a strictly dogmatic form, obviously of the Siberian department, i. e., primarily of the Great and Middle Hordes. There is no mention of the Kirgiz in the collection.

As can be seen from the foreword to the section on the customs of the Kazakhs, this material was compiled in a special committee with the participation of Kazakh elders. Even from a cursory reading of this section it is evident that the material of the committee was composed to a considerable degree by Kazakhs invited into the committee. Such is the chapter "On religious worship."(1)

1. For example, article 7 reads "Whoever converts a Christian to the Kazakh religion, that person will be included with the faithful in the kingdom of heaven." While article 8 says: "If a member of a Kazakh tribe accepts the Christian faith, not only will he lose his rights of succession to his own property, but if one of them who has the express purpose of being converted

is captured before he has taken the Christian faith, he must lose his life according to the law, for having offended his law."

Special attention is attracted by later articles concerning /ii/ the rights and privileges of the white bone, and cruel punishments (death penalty, lashing, cutting off parts of the body, etc.) which are completely untypical of the Kazakhs, among whom almost all transgressions were and are paid for by remunerations. (1)

1. Article 67: "If someone kills a Khodja, then the entire volost pays the kinsmen of the murdered man the same fine which is paid for the murder of seven ordinary men. If this fine is not paid, then seven of the closest relatives of the murderer in that volost must be hung, including the murderer."

Article 80: "Among the Kazakhs, the owners of Kalmuk slaves have unlimited rights over them, and can punish them if they are guilty, or even if innocent..."

Article 84: "If one, two, three or more persons kill one or several persons, then the one whom the plaintiffs demand is handed over to them for immediate execution. The wergeld /khun/ is not paid in such a case..."

Article 116: "He who violates a betrothed girl, must pay the groom for this (an enumeration follows). If the offender is unable to pay he must be put to death."

Of the same order are articles 117, 118, 119, 123, 126 and others. But the most horrible of all is article 200: If a son or daughter who is already spoken for enters into marriage with another, without the knowledge of his parents, he must die."

A. Levshin published a work in 1831 entitled Opisanie Kirgiz-Kaisatskikh Ord i Stepei /A Description of Kazakh Hordes and Steppes/

which was very skillfully compiled and serves to this day as a basis for further study of the nomads of the Kazakh steppes. It contains an account of the basic principles of Kazakh customary law, but unfortunately, it is very brief.

At the beginning of the 1850s, Bonch-Osmolovskii, an official in the Asian Department and a cultured orientalist, was working on a collection and study of data on the juridical customs of the Kazakhs. His work, however, has not been published, and is thereby lost to the cause.

In 1865 Kirgizaskaia Step' Orenburgskago Vedomstva /The Kazakh Steppe of the Orenburg Province/, was published, a book compiled by Lt. Colonel Meier of the General Staff. (2) It contains,

2. Materials for the geography and statistics of Russia, collected by officers of the General Staff.

juridical customs of the Kazakhs, but all this is stated very briefly and, furthermore, in the general description of manners and customs. (3)

3. In Krasovskii's work Oblast' Sibirskikh Kirgizov /The Region of the Siberian Kazakhs/ published in 1868, the description of the manners and customs is borrowed from Meier and Levshin, and in general contains nothing remarkable on the subject of interest to us.

This is almost all the published material in our literature at the time of the compilation (in 1865) of the Proekt /iii/ Polozheniia ob Upravlenii v Oblastiakh Semirechenskoi i Syr-Dar'inskoi /Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions/. In 1867 the Turkestan Governor-Generalship was formed from this, governing on the basis of this Draft until 1887, in other words, for almost 20 years. If very great mistakes were not made in the Draft it was only because of the fortunate choice of personnel on the commission which compiled it.

During the administration of the Turkestan region by Governor General K. P. Kaufman, whose enlightened mind could not fail to perceive the need for a collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law, attempts were made in this direction. But the desired result was not achieved, for many reasons, of which the most important was that the matter was directed by chancellory procedure.

114 Meanwhile , the conception of Kaufman, who encouraged the study of Central Asia in every respect, did not remain without any result. Private works appeared in print instead of official ones.

Of these, one of the more important is that of Zagriazhskii, published in 1876 in Part IV of Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraya entitled "Iuridicheskii obychai kirgizov" /The juridical customs of the Kazakhs/. This work is quite complete and concerns the juridical life not only of the steppe Kazakhs but also of the Kirgiz. Its faults lie in the form of the account for everything is broken up into paragraphs and stated in strict dogmatic form, without variants according to hordes and localities and furthermore, the time of the compilations are not indicated, nor the place in which the customary laws were written down. Yet all this is of essential importance in such a work, for the juridical customs differ considerably for the Kazakhs of various hordes and localities which are far apart.

In addition to this fundamental work there are several small articles which have appeared at various times in periodicals. Of these an article by Ibragimov deserves to be mentioned, published in the Zapiski Geograficheskago Obshchestva (Vol. 8, 1878), entitled "Zametki o kirgizskom sude" /Notes on the Kazakh court/. This article is not a collection of tenets of Kazakh customary law but an outline of Kazakh court procedure and a characterization of certain customs. Among other things it contains indications which are of value to the jurist on the attitudes of the Kazakhs to Russian and Mosdem (according to the Shariat) court tenets.

The western Siberian statistical committees studying the Kazakhs /iv/ of the eastern part of the steppes, have turned their attention to their juridical life, and with this attempts have been made to make a critical study both of old materials and also of the juridical life itself.

In 1882, Pamiatnaia Knizhka Zapadnoi Sibiri /Memorial volume of Western Siberia/ was published in Omsk, in section III of which is an article by I. Kozlov entitled "Obychnoe pravo kirgizov" /The customary law of the Kazakhs/ compiled on the basis of the court decisions of the biis, taking into consideration the works of Samokvasov and Zagriazhskii, Levshin and others. In its approach this article is a critical study of the customary law of all the Kazakhs and a general characterization of it, with an indication of those innovations and changes which have entered the customary law from the Shariat and the "Vremonnoe polozhenie ob upravlenii v oblastiakh Ural'skoi,

Turgaiskoi, Akomolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi" /Provisional Code for the administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions/. The writer also includes the customs of the Kazakhs of the Turkestan region parallel to the customs of the Siberian Kazakhs.

The latest work on Kazakh customary law is the publication in 1886 in Omsk by the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridcheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov/ Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/ (Pt. 1, Material'noe Pravo /Law of Things/). Data collected by the chiefs of the uyezds of the Semipalatinsk region served as the basic materials for this book. These were collected according to a program provided in 1882 by the Governor General of Western Siberia, and this was studied and supplemented by the compiler of the book, P. E. Makovetskii, a member of the statistical committee, by means of oral inquiries in the steppe, and study of the actual decisions of the biis.

The work of Malovetskii is a valuable contribution to the literature on the customary law of the Kazakhs, containing an indication of the historic origin of certain customs, and of the influence of the Shariat and Russian laws. In addition the book contains a collection of variants of customs according to localities and the circumstances of the case, and also a critical analysis, explanations, etc.

From the first days of my entrance into the administration of the Syr-Darya region, I noted the great gap in evidence on the customary law of the Kazakhs. The material published in this field in Russia has not been very satisfactory for the local present day demands because of the extreme limitations of the materials gathered, and its completely inadequate study. In addition to this, /v/ a considerable change in the customary law has been taking place under the influence of various powerful factors. One has been the influence of Islam, whose propagation among the nomads by ishans from Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent has grown more intensive since our pacification of Central Asia. There has also been the influence of the Russian dominion with new orders and civilization, the transition of the nomads to agriculture, the appearance of new types of industry, etc. The life of the Kazakh hordes and groups of tribes under the rule of the Khans and Sultans and under the strong independent kinsmen under the Kokand begs and hakims etc., is in part changed, and in part long forgotten. A broad wave of new attitudes and concepts has influenced the life of the people. Life has begun to produce new

114 [178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases
128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and
175 written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or
[114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient
[101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the
721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic general (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
● [114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[145 cont.]

175 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was
721 always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is re-
[114] ferred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years
[662 later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed
578] Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

175 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his
721 disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[214 cont.]

X648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
[664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
X648 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had
662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
[439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

X648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
[765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

x648 [214 cont.]
[114]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

x648 765 result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

[152 661] Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

[296 cont.]
[646] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed
[727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes.
[114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643
578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
567

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
195 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
191 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic. KN 131 [134]

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace." KN 652 KN 316 KN 311

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples. KN 33 KN 563 K 101 K 648

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare. K 121

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research. K 114

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8:Krader & Wayne .E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in [649] the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

[1] Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Grauman (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

[592] live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

[621] Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have [171] a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN [341] difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [262] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, K 177 186 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

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The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

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No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

> "To [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mahommedans, whereas in the last [19th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mahommedan religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mahommedans to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mahommedans, and to our treating them as such. An incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (1876), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [569] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important. 177 114 779

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1] [131]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2] [171] 769 [182] [177]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so 756 [158] [187]

[1] Poiarkov, 1895, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 25-28.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*.

[55] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoflovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoflovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*.
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.
[12] Levshin, *Description des hordes*.
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*.
[15] Samoflovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*.
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pelliot, *Review*, 157–67.

½ [See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases
128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

• 115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

2) Kadyr Absaliamov, translator for the administration of the Chimkent uyezd, a Tatar by birth, who has lived in Turkestan for a long time and was by earlier profession a merchant, a supplier of provisions to armies, and a maintainer of a post road. He had learned customary law not from occasional accounts of biis but from constant dealings with the people, from the decisions of biis and from complaints, in general directly from life. 3) Torgai, a Kazakh of the Oshakty clan, a driver by profession, who has seen Orenburg, Troitsk, Vernyi /Alma Ata/ and other places. He is now engaged in agriculture in the Kurama uyezd. 4) The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov. 5) Bii Abd-rakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. 6) Bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd. 7) Sultan Daulet Bushaev, from among the Tiuri of the Perovsk uyezd. 8) Sagyndykov, bii of the Chimkent uyezd and others.

N. Grodekov

Tashkent
June 1889.

[147 cont.]

175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[121] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
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1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

Chapter 8

COMMUNICATION

121 One of the assumptions on which this study is based is that the Kazakhs of Soviet Central Asia are a potentially receptive audience for American psychological warfare. Information gained from the study would seem to support this assumption. Such information could be used to infer psychological vulnerability areas of the target population. But one can do little in the area of vulnerability content—vulnerable to what, under what conditions?—without knowledge of the communication process as it takes place within the target population. In practical terms, before determining what is to be said, the problem of how and through what channel it is to be said in order to reach the given target should be considered.

For this reason, a general discussion of communication conditions in Soviet Central Asia seems appropriate.

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS[1]

197 The languages of Turkestan may be divided into three general groups: Turkic, Slavic (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian), and Iranian (e.g., Tadzhik).

Since the Kazakhs are a Turkic people, attention will be focused on this group. The major Turkic-speaking peoples are (1) the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks, (2) the Uzbeks, and (3) the Turkmen. Uzbek and Turkmen are definitely separate languages, but those of the "three K's" are so similar in their spoken form that they may be viewed as dialects of one language. The following comparisons may benefit readers more familiar with European languages: The relationship between Kazakh and Kirgiz or between Kazakh and Karakalpak is roughly similar to that between the Czech and Slovak languages, or between the Danish and Norwegian.

In geographic areas where related languages have existed side by side, transitional strips may be found where the dialect spoken by the population has been clearly influenced by the language of their neighbors. The chief difference between the speech of the Karakalpaks and that of the Kazakhs, for example, is that the former language replaces initial "t" by "d" and "k" by "g". This feature is characteristic of Turkmen,

115 [1]Much of the material on linguistic conditions is based on a discussion with Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington.

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

101 **ḲAZAḲ** (T.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch einer Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xv^th^) century. During the civil turmoils under the [57A] Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *ḳazaḳ*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *ḳazaḳ* years (*ḳazaḳlīḳ*) of Sulṭān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *ḳazaḳ* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Tārīḫ-i Raṣḥidī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbeg, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Özbeg-Ḳazaḳ or simply Ḳazaḳ; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *ḳazaḳ* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xv^th^ century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *ḳazaḳ* even although they did not lead a wandering or maranding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Ḳazaḳ, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian. (W. BARTHOLD)

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1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927

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361 **ḲAZĀN**, also written Ḳāzān, in the xvth and xviith centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xixth century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q. v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Ḫalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiabka had to submit to Ḫān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Ḫān in his place. In 1496 the Ḫān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Ḫān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Ḫān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Ḫān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

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The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Ṣāḥ ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Ḏjān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Ṣāḥ ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāi who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāi from the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāi from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Ḫān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāi went

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115 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarḫān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Ḏjān ʿAlī that was elected Khān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Khān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Khān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

361 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Sūyūnbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Ḏjān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the
[668] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviii^th century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in
874 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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874 of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Ḳazān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Ḳazān in 1861. Ac-
161 cording to the census of 1897, Ḳazān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

113 *Bibliography*: Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 363—429; K. Taks, *Kratkaya istoriya goroda Kazani*, Kazan 1817, reprinted in Kazan 1899; W. Welyaminow-Zernow, *Issledovaniya o kasimovskikh tsarakh i tsarevitakh*, i., 1863, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vol. ix., German transl. by J. Th. Zenker, Leipzig 1867; G. Kentzevič, *Istoriya o Kazanskom tsarstve i Kazanskiy Letopisets*, St. Petersburg 1905, with survey of the literature; Hādī Aṭlāsof, *Ḳāzān Khānlighi*, Kazan 1914, mainly from Russian sources: on p. 133 text of the edict of Ṣāḥib Girāi (review in *Zap.*, xxiii. 421 *sq.*); P. Zarinskiy, *Otcherki drevnei Kazani*, Kazan 1877; M. Khudyakow, *Otcherki po istorii Kazanskago khanstva*, Kazan 1923. On the university see especially N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriya Imp. Kazanskago universiteta*, Kazan 1902; W. Barthold, *Materiali dlya istorii fakul'teta vost. yazikov*, iv., St. Petersburg 1909.

(W. Barthold)

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YALE UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS
IN ANTHROPOLOGY
NUMBER 20

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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NEW HAVEN
PUBLISHED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY
BY THE
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press
1938

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EDWARD SAPIR
LESLIE SPIER
Editors

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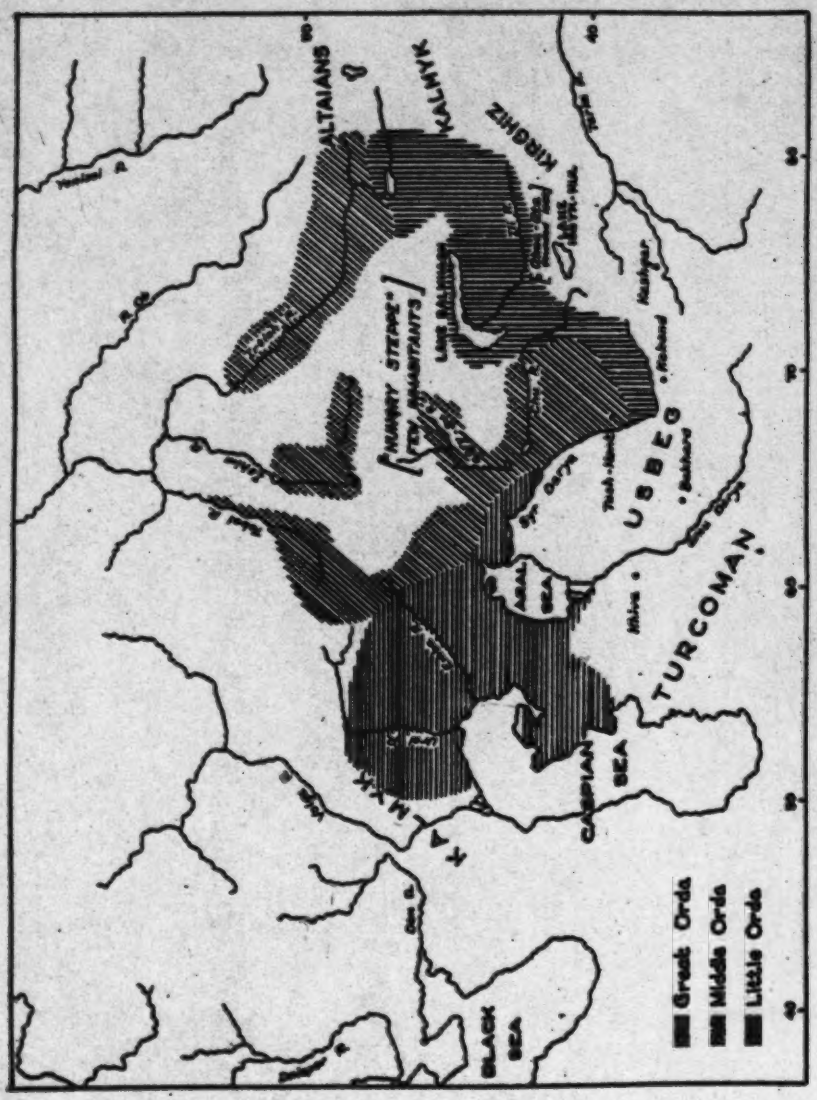

Approximate location of Kazak Ordas and principal surrounding tribes in the middle of the eighteenth century.

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KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia. 121 114

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union. 101 [161] [197] [149]

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration. 121

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. 122

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form. 104

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kufin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ.*

[55] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoflovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoflovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*.
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.
[12] Levshin, *Description des hordes*.
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*.
[15] Samoflovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*.
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pelliot, *Review*, 157–67.

1/2 [See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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127 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His
114 work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a as in *father*
b similar to English *b*
c as English *sh*
ç as *z* in *azure* (similar to French *j*)
d similar to English *d*
e as in *let*
ɔ as the *a* in *at*
g as in *get*
ɣ (a velar g; no Engish equivalent)
h similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i as in *bit*
j as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k similar to English *k*
l similar to English *l*
m similar to English *m*
n similar to English *n*
ŋ as *ng* in *sing*
o as in *force*
θ (no English equivalent; similar to German *ð*)

[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammad Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tévarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

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p similar to English *p*
q (a velar *k*; no English equivalent)
r similar to English *r*
s similar to English *s*
t similar to English *t*
u as *oo* in *book*
v as *w* in *bowie-knife*
y as *u* in *burr*
z similar to English *z*
ь (no English equivalent; a high back unrounded vowel, pronounced as *u* in *rune* but with lips spread instead of rounded.)

In the transliteration of Russian words I have followed the system adopted by the Library of Congress. Turkic and Mongol words taken from the works of other authors I have used in the form in which I found them, except that those given in Russian characters have been transliterated.

HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their his-
101 tory, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.

According to Radlov[1] the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.[2] They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun[3] mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold[4] and Samoïlovich,[5] however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov[6] and Samoïlovich.[7] The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.[8]

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

[1] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.
[2] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 136.
[3] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.
[4] Bartold, *Kazak*.
[5] Samoïlovich, *O Slove "Kazak."*
[6] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.
[7] *Op. cit.* 13.
[8] *Idem*, 5–13.

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for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between the Ural and Emba Rivers.[9] 175

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.[10]

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:[11]

> On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533–34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.[12] His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.[13] A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.[14] Asfendiarov suggests,[15] probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissable to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes. [101]

[9] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 141–42; Ibn Battúta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 222–40.

[10] Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, 2: 142; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 238.

[11] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[12] Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

[13] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

[14] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 142.

[15] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77–81.

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175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipcnak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Baber[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradually from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas. [221]

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth

[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.
[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.
[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.
[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.
[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.
[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.
[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.
[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.
[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.
[25] Howorth, *op. cit.*, 2: 674.

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century of a fourth orda. This group consisted originally of about 7,000 people from the Middle and Little Ordas who followed their leader Bukei in 1801 to the steppes north of the Caspian. Here their numbers were soon increased by the addition of fragments of other Kazak, Nogai, Karakalpak and Kirghiz groups who collectively were known as the Bukei Orda from the name of their khan.[26]

In this connection it may be noted that the term orda means simply the "court or headquarters of a khan."[27] Carpini[28] says of the word: " . . . sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos et principum appelantur."[29] By extension, however, the word may be applied to all the people subject to a particular khan, in somewhat the same way, for example, that an ambassador accredited to the "Court of St. James" is thought of as ambassador to Great Britain. There is still another Kazak term, çyz, referring to the divisions themselves as distinguished from the restricted use of orda. According to the Kazak dictionary of Begaliev and Gavrilov,[30] çyz means a person or individual; one hundred; the edge of a blade; surface; exterior, appearance, features; as well as one of the three major divisions. The process by which the basic meanings of the word have been extended to include the last is not clear.[31] It is possible, however, that the "one hundred" meaning may originally have had some military significance,[32] which was identified with the orda groupings. My informants were unable to explain to me, or more accurately, I was unable to understand clearly the distinction in use between orda and çyz. They nearly always employed orda but it may have been done for my benefit.

After their separation the ordas were occasionally reunited under an especially competent khan or in the face of a common danger.[33] This happened during the reign of Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century as mentioned above[34] and again in 1738 for protection against the attacks of the Kalmyk.[35] They were never, however, able to unite against the Russians, who successfully played off one Kazak leader against another.

Although commercial and occasional diplomatic relations had existed between Russia and the Kazak khanates from the time of their formation,[36] it was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that Russian expansion to the east and south provoked an active

[26] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 26, 33–35, 38; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 297; Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 21, Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 34.

[27] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakshko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 159.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*, 44.

[29] See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 58, note.

[30] *Idem*, 96.

[31] It is interesting to note, however, that in modern Osmanli Turkish the same word means "part," "portion," "division." Muhtar, *Türkçe-Fransizca Tesi Lugat*, 59; Gordlevskiĭ and Magazanik, *Turetsko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 183.

[32] See below, page 96.

[33] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–83.

[34] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.

[35] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 83–87.

[36] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 2: 24, note A.

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175 clash of interests. By 1720 Russia had occupied the northern steppes along the Irtysh[37] and a few years later (1732) the Khans of the Little and Middle Ordas, being at the time hard pressed by their enemies, acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia in return for protection.[38] Yet this submission did not mean Russian control over the nomads. The Russians merely accorded recognition to particular khans who seldom enjoyed more than a nominal control over their people.[39] Meanwhile some groups of the Great Orda paid tribute to the Chinese emperor and others were strongly under the influence of Kokand and Bokhara.[40] Russian occupation of the steppes did not become truly effective until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the capture of Tashkent in 1865 was followed by the conquest of all Turkestan.

After the solidification of Russian power important changes were made in the administration of the Kazak.[41] Until this time the groups nominally subject to Russia had enjoyed almost complete autonomy under their own khans and within their own tribal system. In 1868, however, the entire steppe was divided into a number of administrative units among which the tribal groups were apportioned arbitrarily. Local officials were elected subject to government supervision and Kazak common law was systematized.[42] There is some evidence that the native Kazak organization was rather lightly abandoned by the people. Thus Radlov[43] observes that the names of the official subdivisions had very quickly acquired more significance than the old tribal names, and Schuyler[44] in 1873 found that "the clannish feeling for the members of the same family and tribe is being transferred to the members of the same volost and district." My own informants usually started discussions of tribal organization in terms of Tsarist administrative units.

The regulations of 1868 remained in force with minor changes until the revolution of 1917 and the subsequent organization of Kazakstan as an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union.

[37] Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 242.

[38] *Ibid.*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 31; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–88.

[39] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 32.

[40] Asfendiarov, *op. cit.*, 87.

[41] The numerous decrees and regulations regarding the administration of the steppe provinces from the 1820's on, are indexed alphabetically and chronologically in the "Complete Laws of the Russian Empire" (*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*).

[42] Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 32–33; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 146–55.

[43] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.

[44] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 34.

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NATURE OF KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS

Nearly all ethnographic accounts which touch upon the social organization of the Kazak describe them as divided into a number of tribes which are subdivided into sub-tribes or gentes and these again further divided into yet smaller groups.[1] How far this process of subdividing may extend is indicated by Rudenko's study of the Naiman group of Kazak in the foothills of the Altai in which he lists 760 named groups extending, in some cases, through a series of 17 strata of subdivisions.[2] 61

As a first step in analyzing Kazak social structure it is necessary to consider the nature of the named groups, their relation to one another and the significance of the several orders, or magnitudes, of subdivisions. In such a consideration the problem of terminology immediately intrudes. Any discussion of the subdivisions would seem to involve the application of type names to the various strata and the possibilities are soon exhausted.

In this difficulty recourse might be had to employing the native terminology. In attempting to do so, however, it becomes apparent that many Kazak, and all of those with whom I worked, had but one inclusive term or variations of one term for all the magnitudes of social groupings usually described in the literature as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and their branches. This term was given by Tlenshiev in Kazak as urƀv. Asfendiarov[3] in Russian writes uru and a few lines later both uru and uruk. Begaliev and Gavrilov do not give urƀv but define ruv[4] as Russian "rod"—race, family, clan, generation; or "plemia"—tribe, race, family. The form urƀq they translate[5] as "family, posterity." Vladimirtsov[6] defines urux or uruġ in Mongol as "descendant, offshoot of a given gens." In Yakut, according to Seroshevskiĭ,[7] uru means "relationship in general." [104]

My informants agreed that this word or a cognate is the term which is applied in Kazak to all types of social groupings usually understood as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. Tlenshiev understood the use of the Russian plemia (tribe) as referring to a more inclusive group than rod (gens) but said there were no such distinctions in Kazak. The absence of such terms is confirmed by Asfendiarov who writes:[8]

It is curious that among the Kazak there is only the single indefinite term uru which signifies

[1] See, among others, Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 514; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 144; Samoilovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

[2] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, table facing page 334.

[3] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

[4] *Kazakko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 202.

[5] *Idem*, 252.

[6] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 59.

[7] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAkuty*, 507.

[8] *Idem*, 100.

61 tribe and sub-tribe, gens and sub-gens . . . . Among the Mongols of the period of Chingis Khan the tribe was designated as irgen, the gens obox and relatives by the word uruk. But among the Kazaks is preserved only the extremely indefinite term uru.

Samoïlovich likewise states:[9]

According to Chopaev [his informant] there are no strictly distinct terms in Kazak corresponding to our tribe, clan, generation, etc. One and the same term is applied in different senses. European tribal terminology applied to Kazak is arbitrary and misleading.

It is, however, not unlikely that some Kazak groups had more precise terms to designate the various magnitudes of social groupings. Rudenko, in a very confused statement, says:[10]

The sub-group sök is defined by blood relationship as far as seven ancestors. The gens, ruu, is divided into a series of lines, byr top . . . . Furthermore, sub-groups are indicated by the name of an ancestor and finally divided into sök.

[104] One fact at least is clear from this: the Kazak of the Naiman, Karatai and Karakerei groups with whom Rudenko worked in the region of the Altai had in addition to uru or ruu at least two other words, sök and byr top to designate social groupings based apparently on blood relationship. The occurrence of the word sök in this sense among the Altaian Kazak however is suggestive of influence from other Altaian groups because Potanin reports[11] that the gens among the Altaian Tartars was known as sök. The word is also found in Kazak, as in other Turkic dialects[12] in its primary meaning of "bone" and in Kazak occurs frequently as aq syjek (White Bone) and kara syjek (Black Bone) referring to the nobility and common people respectively. Insofar as the nobility, who were all in theory descended from Chingis Khan, may be considered as forming in themselves a gens, the term syjek might be applied in the sense in which it is used by the Altaians, but such usage was not customary among the Kazak with whom I was acquainted.

The words byr top mentioned by Rudenko mean literally "one group," "one crowd," which might well be used to designate sub-divisions of a gens as he indicates, but I know of no further examples of this except perhaps one parenthetical remark by Grodekov[13] in which he says: "They migrate in groups (tap-tap) of a greater or less number of kibitkas [the felt tent of the nomads]."[14]

Czaplicka, after studying the Russian literature relating to all the Turkic groups of

[9] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162, note 6.

[10] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59–60.

[11] Potanin, *Ocherki Severo-zapadnoi Mongolii*, 4: 1–2, as cited by Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 54. I have been unable to obtain Potanin's work.

[12] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 4: 571.

[13] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[14] In many accounts the felt tents are called "yurts." I have avoided this use of the word because in some places it meant not the dwelling but the land occupied by a group. (See page 81.)

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Central Asia, emerged with very unsettled notions of the nature of their gens and tribal system and its divisions. She writes without apparent conviction:[15]

> It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia. There seems to be a conception of a political group called, among both the Kirghiz and Kazak *uruk* or *ru* . . . possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*, while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kazak *taypas* or *tayfa*. . . . An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sök* (clan).

Here Czaplicka seems to have run afoul of the terminology problem as she designates both the ru and the sök as "clans" but does not connect them. One may sympathize with her difficulty but need not linger over the terms which have already been touched upon. As for the other two, el now occurs in Kazak meaning, according to Begaliev and Gavrilov,[16] "people, population, country, native place, country in distinction to city," but in Turkish of the eighth century, on the basis of the Orkhon inscriptions, apparently meant a "tribal union"[17] in general agreement with Czaplicka's information.

The word tajpa is defined[18] as "group, mass," or as an adjective "compact." The form tayfa would not occur, in Kazak proper at least, where the sound "f" is lacking. I have not found this word used among the Kazak with the meaning which Czaplicka imputes to it and she does not state her source. According to Vambéry[19] the term is used by the Turcoman for a division of a tribe.

The question of the presence or absence among the Kazak of distinct terms applied to various strata in the series of group divisions and subdivisions is not, however, of primary importance to an understanding of the nature and function of the groupings. This may be gained as well with one term as several. For purposes of discussion I shall ignore the possibility or probability of other terms being used in various localities and accept the statement of my informants that only one such term was used by the Kazak to cover all the divisions usually considered as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. For this term I shall use the word uru as written by Asfendiarov[20] which closely approximates the form used by the informants. It may be defined as meaning a group of kinsmen related through the male line, but varying in its application from a comparatively small one of close relatives to a very large one of many thousand who may actually be related only very distantly or by courtesy of tradition.

This concept of the uru may be illustrated by the traditional account of the structure of the Great Orda as given by the informant Kargabaiev to illustrate his own position in

[15] Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, 40.

[16] *Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 106.

[17] Bernshtam, *Rodovaia Struktura*, 563–66. See also Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 55.

[18] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 225.

[19] *Travels in Central Asia*, 348.

[20] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

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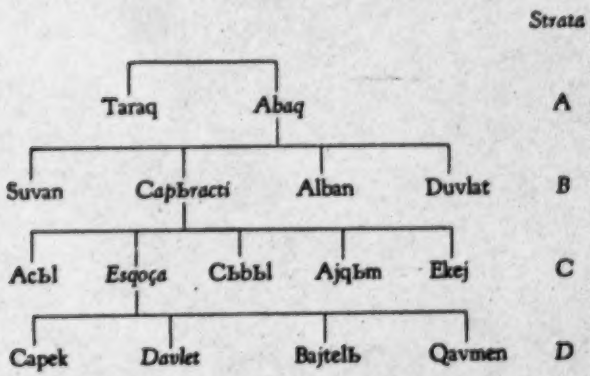
61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.

Great Orda



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capbracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of Capьracti and the grandson of Abuq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins. 61 173

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata. 61

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the Capьracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (Acьl, Esqoça, Cьbbl, Ajqьm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 26.

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61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions. [576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups;[1] thus
61 at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analyst]

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgiz i Kazakirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE

NOMADIC UNITS

621 In considering the economic aspects of the uru group as a functioning unit we encounter a new term, aul. Roughly it is possible to say that the aul was co-extensive with the uru in the sense of a group living together. One of my informants in the initial stages of a discussion of this point said "the aul is an uru and the uru is an aul." This, however, was no doubt an oversimplification for the benefit of the ignorant but curious ethnologist, because further [61] inquiry reveals one fundamental distinction. The members of an uru were all blood relatives in the male line, or assumed to be such, while an aul might contain various individuals from outside the blood group. A man might change his aul simply by going to live in another, but could not change his uru. In the old days, according to Kargabaiev, they corresponded closely because then it was very unusual to go and live among strangers. In any case it appears that a majority of the members of an aul would be members of the same uru.

The aul may be defined as a "mobile village"[1] or nomadic encampment. Here again, however, the problem of subdivisions appears because the term aul is applied by different writers to groups of differing magnitudes. As will be explained in more detail later, it was customary for the uru group and its alien associate members who passed the winter living as a compact unit to split up with the coming of spring into smaller groups for the pasturage of their herds. These smaller groups consisted of perhaps half a dozen kibitkas, usually belonging to one family, while half a mile or a mile away would be another such group of kibitkas, with numerous other similar clusters of habitations scattered over the whole area customarily occupied by the uru group. The point at issue is whether the single clusters may be called auls or whether all the diffused and scattered camps taken as a whole constituted an aul.

My informants used the word in the latter sense. According to Tlenshiev the small group of five to ten kibitkas would not be an aul but an yj (family or house). An aul would normally consist of several hundred kibitkas. This is also the sense in which Kargabaiev used the word. His aul was named Karastaq ("black place," i.e., where the snow never lies) and comprised about 500 kibitkas and approximately 3,000 people. It is interesting to note here that the name of his aul was not the same as that of his uru, Davlet. Usually, however, the two seem to have been the same, the aul taking on the name of the uru to which the majority of its members belonged, which was, as explained above, the personal name of its traditional founder. In this case, however, Karastaq is a place name which had been adopted by the aul.

According to Grodekov the average aul comprised about 300 kibitkas but the number

[1] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 312.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

might vary from fifty to a thousand or more.[2] Radlov, however, says[3] that the aul consisted 621
of six to ten families, and Lansdell[4] estimates ten in the Orenburg region but frequently fifteen or more farther south. Levshin is noncommittal and remarks[5] that the number of tents comprising an aul " . . . depends upon circumstances." Vladimirtsov,[6] in dealing with Mongol material, contrasts the aul (Mongol: ayil) manner of migration in small groups to an earlier practice of migrating in units of several hundred kibitkas, but one must be wary of assuming that similar terms in Mongol and Kazak mean the same thing.

In general it seems likely that the term aul does not apply to any definitely fixed group but signifies any kind of encampment. The size of these encampments varied considerably with the seasonal round in the economic life of the Kazak, which we may now consider.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

There were three important periods in the yearly cycle of Kazak economy, correspond- 221
ing roughly to summer, autumn and winter.

Summer (çaz) was the period of pasturage on the open ranges, involving journeys from one pasture to the next as the first became exhausted. In some places also this was the time at which hay was gathered as winter fodder for the herds. Autumn (kyz) when the shearing (kyzem) of the sheep took place, was the busiest period of the year for most Kazak. It was also the time to make preparations for winter, to finish storing away the hay, to repair the roof and walls of the winter habitation and, among those groups which had agriculture, to harvest the crops. The winter season (qłs) was one of comparative rest and relaxation.

The dates for beginning the migration to summer pastures varied with the locality, the climatic conditions of the particular year, and the habits of the group. Generally it was about the end of May or beginning of June. This was the case with Tlenshiev's group in the Uralsk region and also with Kargabaiev's in the vicinity of Alma-ata. Rudenko writes of the Kazak in the southern foothills of the Altai:[7] "Some leave at the first show of green but most in the latter part of May or first of June. . . . The wealthy start earlier than the poor people." Kuftin however says:[8]

> The Kazak of the northern districts move out during the second half of March, but in the south at the end of February or beginning of March because of the necessity of passing the barren sandy tracts before hot weather while the steppes are still covered with fresh vegetation and there are no spiders and insects to harass the cattle.

[2] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[3] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513.
[4] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 319.
[5] *Description des hordes*, 312.
[6] *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 37.
[7] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4.
[8] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 21–23.

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221 It is difficult to get precise information on the distances covered by different groups in the seasonal migrations. There appears to have been a great deal of variation. My own information indicates that such journeys were much shorter than is usually assumed to be the case, but this may be because both principal informants belonged to groups which lived near the mountains, so that it was only necessary to go a short distance to find good pasturage in the valleys and foothills. Kargabaiev's group, for example, went only about nine kilometers, while Tlenshiev's group used to go twenty or thirty kilometers or perhaps farther if conditions in any particular place proved unfavorable. In any case they were not familiar with migrations covering hundreds of miles. On the other hand Kuftin[9] speaks of journeys of hundreds of versts[10] " . . . from the southern desert latitudes to the northern steppes" and back again at the end of summer. Karutz[11] says that the Kazak of the Mangyschlak region would go from Uralsk in the north to Krasnovodsk in the south, a straight line distance of about 1,300 kilometers, and from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the west bank of the Aral Sea, an average distance of about 375 kilometers. In this connection it is interesting to note that at present in Mongolia the longest migration[12]

> . . . in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers. The average is about 150. To travel immense distances in search of pasture is not only difficult, it is against all nomad traditions, nor is it necessary for them in order to maintain their herds.

The most complete information on migratory habits is given by Rudenko.[13] One group in the southern Altai whose winter quarters was on the left bank of the Bukhtarma River, a tributary of the Irtysh, left winter quarters about the first of June and proceeded along the river to make their first camp about 50 kilometers from the starting point. Here they remained for ten days and then went 10 kilometers farther on to the second halting place, where they stayed another ten days. The next stop was about 12 kilometers farther on, where they halted for another ten or twelve days. The fourth halting place was some 25 kilometers beyond the third and there they spent the month of July. The return trip began in August and likewise consisted of a few easy stages with halts of about ten days or two weeks at each. They arrived back in the vicinity of winter quarters at the end of September in time to harvest the hay and store it for the winter. The complete circuit was not over 200 kilometers.

Such a routine seems fairly typical of Kazak summer migrations.

Some illumination on the variability in the length of the journeys is afforded by Kuftin's remark[14] that in the districts where agriculture had developed they did not move so far

[9] Idem, 19.
[10] A verst equals 0.6629 miles.
[11] Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 49.
[12] Fox, *Genghis Khan*, 9.
[13] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4–8.
[14] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 19.

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest. 221

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups. 221 621

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 221 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life. 565

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19] 233

[15] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 109–10.
[16] *Idem*, 110.
[17] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[18] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

233 The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively;
[465] if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЪ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЪ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЪ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sЪjЪrcЪ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЪlqЪcЪ) were from necessity obliged to
[342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЪ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate
511 to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary
565 among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

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221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɨstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

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animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case 221
in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. 233
The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[36] Even at the present time[36] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was 241
strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[37] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation 422
to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of *familiea*. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (таңба) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[38] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[39] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[36] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[36] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[37] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[38] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[39] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

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422 own tamga, in practice their use was largely restricted to the wealthy owners of large herds. A poor man with a few animals would know all of them by sight and have no need for a tamga, while the rich man with thousands of cattle and sheep grazing over an extensive territory required a mark of identification for them. Radlov[40] remarks that among the Altaians tamgas were used mostly by the rich since the poor readily recognized their comparatively few horses. In this connection it is possible, though I have no evidence to support it, that group tamgas may have acquired an individual significance. As wealth in cattle tended to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals who stood in the position of patrons and protectors to large numbers of their poor kinsmen, group tamgas which formerly had marked the animals of all members of the uru, without necessarily implying that they were collectively owned, would more and more be found marking the cattle of its most affluent individual. Thus a group tamga might become identified with a personal tamga of its most important and influential man.

423 The question of the ownership of the summer grazing lands is a difficult one in practice, though not particularly so in theory. Theoretically there was no permanent ownership of the steppe pastures; the utilization of them was based on occupancy and the right of the first comer, but the details by which such right of utilization was determined are hard to discover. In general it may be said that such lands were apportioned more or less by tradition among the various uru groups within the limits of which any members of the group were free to move as they wished.[41] There appear, however, to have been no very clearly defined boundaries and the area occupied by any given uru group was liable to constant shifting. Asfendiarov[42] writes that " . . . actually the boundaries of the Kazak gentes were not delimited." My information on this question is not very satisfactory because concrete material was difficult to obtain. On first raising the question it appeared, as stated above, that each uru group had its own collectively owned territory, the boundaries of which were determined by agreement between the important members of the interested groups. Within these groups the use of the land was allotted to particular families by the aqsaqal. When, however, I sought more specific information on the procedure and bases by which boundaries were determined and lands allotted, difficulties were encountered. Kargabaiev said it was all done by "old custom," while Tlenshiev, after trying to produce examples, reversed his position and said that the summer pasture lands were completely open, unrestricted, and could be used by anyone of any group who chose to do so. This result emerged from a discussion of what would happen if members of one uru were found grazing their cattle on the land of another. According to Tlenshiev nothing would happen; if they arrived first they were entitled to the use of the land; it was not the pasture land but the

[40] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279.

[41] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213, 214; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15, 418; Schomberg, *Peaks and Plains*, 98; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 45.

[42] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

meadow lands where hay was raised which were restricted. This position he maintained vigorously thereafter. 423

Some light on this difficulty is afforded by the statement:[40]

> Pasture land usually is apportioned among tribal groups but at the present time when the Kazak have not so many cattle they are not very strict about boundaries. A Kazak may go anywhere he wishes . . . . The meadow land, on the other hand, is allotted carefully and remains the inalienable property of the given person.

Most writers, however, indicate that the pasture lands of the uru groups were definitely delimited. Grodekov says that the lands were divided among the various nomadic groups according to the number of their animals but that there were frequent quarrels concerning boundaries.[41] Radlov[42] says that there was a definite division of lands among the "tribes" and that none would permit the trespass of another group in its own territory. Kuftin declares:[43]

> In view of the strict allotment of summer pastures no Kazak considers stopping in a strange place for more than one day. During the migrations each tribe follows a certain route, according to an established habitual law based on prescriptive right. Each summer range is used only by a definite group . . . . Disputable questions are settled by a meeting of representatives of the interested parties. [221]

The degree to which the pastoral area occupied by a particular group was definitely subdivided and assigned among its members is also not clear. Rudenko says[44] that although the land belonged to the "tribal group" and the member of it who came first had the right to the best place, families tended to go to the traditional places and others avoided them. This is even more strongly pointed out by Grodekov in observing that places customarily occupied by a family or group of families came to be considered as theirs by right.[45] On the other hand Radlov[46] says that he knows of no instances of divisions of the summer area among individual families. The apportionment of grazing land among the members of the uru lay in the hands of its leaders and was not always done with fairness. Everyone was free to move about at will within the area of the group. However, Radlov adds significantly, "Natürlich ist diese Freiheit nur in der Theorie eine vollkommene. Der Reiche und Angesehene weiss es natürlich so einzurichten, dass er den besten Platz erhält."

All the evidence concerning the basis of occupancy of the grazing lands is admittedly unsatisfactory. To obtain details it would be necessary to study the question over a considerable period of time in a culture in which the nomadic life was still actively pursued.

[40] Baranov, Bolotikhin, and Rudenko, *Kazakí*, 9.
[41] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213.
[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 424-25.
[43] *Kirgiz-Kazakí*, 24.
[44] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10.
[45] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[46] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 427-28.

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423 Allowance must also be made for considerable variation over so large an area and among such large numbers of groups. It must be taken into consideration too that the average informant has very little idea of the functioning of his culture beyond his own immediate milieu; the procedure, for example, by which the larger units came into occupancy of their grazing areas would be matters of high politics far removed from the knowledge of the ordinary man. In general one may say that there was no private property in grazing lands, that the larger groupings occupied the traditional areas which had been used by their ancestors before, that conflicts between such groups were settled usually by consultation and that within the boundaries of such areas family groups moved with considerable freedom subject to some pressure from local leaders and with a tendency to occupy the same spot year after year.[50]

The winter habitations, the meadows (kol) where hay was cut, and the agricultural lands may be considered as in effect private property. Grodekov says[51] that land was not considered as the property of particular individuals but belonged to them only while they were occupying and using it. Dingelstedt[52] theorizes upon this point in saying that although they did not recognize private property in land they conceded the usufruct of it in perpetuity to that individual who had improved it by constructing a house or developing an agricultural plot or irrigation system. It is doubtful, however, if the Kazak were concerned with such delicate legal distinctions. In practice one might sell one's winter dwelling, and on the death of the owner it was inherited by his youngest son.[53] One might even, according to my information, sell such property to a member of another uru.

The status of the meadow lands for raising hay is less definite, as might be expected, as a result of the recent growth of the custom of storing up winter fodder. The *Kazakī*[54] states definitely that they were the property of individual owners. My informants were less clear on the point, declaring at various times in relation to different incidents that they belonged to an entire uru, to the rich men in the uru, and finally that in theory they belonged to the uru but were for all practical purposes divided among its wealthiest and most
[685] important members. Their private ownership is made clear by the fact that it was a serious act, involving the payment of damages, for any unauthorized person to take hay from land not his own. Also, in the case of a large meadow divided among several owners the portions belonging to each were delimited by shallow trenches or by piles of stones at the corners.
[246] It was a matter of common knowledge who owned each section. The hay was cut and stored for the winter by the hired laborers of the owner or by his relatives working for him. A man who owned no hay fields of his own might turn his animals out to graze for

[50] Questions of the occupancy and utilization of the land during the period of Russian domination have been discussed by Pálosi, *Question de la terre*, 472–87.

[51] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 102.

[52] *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[53] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[54] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazakī*, 9.

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themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423
which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558]
as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[86]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178
are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[86a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428
its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (enci) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[86] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[87] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[88] although according to my information it was customary

[86] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 313–14.

[86a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[86] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 43.

[87] *Idem*, 34.

[88] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

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428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for
[587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined
[587] by the aqsaqal[1]. A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1[leader of uru -- Analyst]

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the 428
inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor 426
and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans 602
of different kinds of animals; savɒn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majɒn, the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride price. Such loans were made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[64] says that one hundred percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the animals. Dingelstedt[65] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of [465]
payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the approximate wage of a shepherd.

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

[64] Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 3: 113.
[65] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

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426 602 ter-revolutionists" and "bourgeois historians" as the basis of a claim that "primitive communism" existed among the Kazak I must not permit myself to be led astray by them. Actually, he said, they were merely devices used by the ruling class to cloak their exploitation of the masses and hold them in subjection.

Both aspects of the relationship of client and patron must of course be borne in mind, and one must distinguish between the theory of uru solidarity and its practice. As regards the details of the debt relationship it is not unlikely that the making of loans for interest as a more or less business transaction was a comparatively recent development influenced by trade relations with the Central Asian commercial centers to the south and later with Russia on the north.

It is interesting to note as an indication of the advantageous position of the patron that if he himself became entangled in debts the amount was requisitioned from among his dependents. Grodekov mentions the practice of taking up a collection to pay the debts of a rich man.[88] Further aspects of the patron client relationship will be considered later in relation to class stratification.

[88] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking 61
Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of 592
the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many 592
families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives 513
might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and all others in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.
[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 34.
[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Pondneev on pages 77–78.
[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 70.

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592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
593 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbice) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kici əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Description des hordes*, 353.

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sole recompense for the toil of the Kazak woman was to be treated like a slave by her arrogant and severe master. Grodekov also considers the wife as legally a slave whom the husband had the right to punish by beating,[16] and Zaleskie[18] points out that although the Kazak woman had complete physical personal freedom she was less the companion of her husband than the animals of his herds. 593 562

On the other hand Karutz[16] denies specifically that the relation between husband and wife approached that of master and slave. The household was harmonious and in it the wife held a respected position. That the senior wife at least might be considered a responsible partner in her husband's affairs is indicated by Lansdell:[17]

> The head of a household will often send a portion of his herds several hundreds of miles away under the care of this [the senior] wife while he himself will either remain with his other wives about the grazing ground or go and encamp somewhere by himself.

And Ibn Battúta says:[18]

> A remarkable thing which I saw in this country was the respect shown to women by the Turks, for they hold a more dignified position than the men.

And again:[19]

> Among the Turks and Tatars their wives hold a high position; when they issue an order they say in it "By order of the Sultan and the Khatuns" [queens, wives of a khan]. Each khatun possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when they travel with the sultan they have a separate camp.

These observations of Ibn Battúta were made about 1332 and it is uncertain exactly to which Turco-Mongol group they refer, although considering the route of his journey they probably include tribes ancestral to the Kazak. They agree with other information on the status of women among the steppe nomads at the time,[20] but may be somewhat discounted as applying particularly to the highest class among whom marriages took on something of the nature of political alliances with a consequently enhanced position for the wife. His remarks are, however, interesting as applying to a period before the wide acceptance of Mohammedanism among the Turkish nomads. It seems possible that the contradictory accounts of the status of the Kazak woman may be due to her somewhat anomalous position resulting from the imposition of Mohammedan concepts upon a former culture pattern in which she occupied a more respected position.

My informants on the whole painted a rather gloomy picture of the life of the Kazak

[16] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 23; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151–52.
[18] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.
[16] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 114–15.
[17] *Russian Central Asia*, 322.
[18] *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 146–47.
[19] *Idem*, 100–101.
[20] *The Texts and Versions*, 134, 196–97.

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593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or [601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Déscription des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his own offspring. Grodekov, however, remarks[26] that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme circumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."[27]

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EXOGAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

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My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenshiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekov writes:[28]

> Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

> . . . among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating zaŋ" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekov's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law] . . . ."

[26] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[27] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 33.
[28] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 27.

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582 This tendency to reduce the prohibited degrees of relationship was also apparent, according to my informants, among the Kazak, where cases of marriage within four or five generations of descent from the common ancestor were not unusual. The influence of Mohammedan law, whose incest prohibitions[29] are generally similar to those laid down in the book of Leviticus,[30] is, as indicated by Grodekov's informant quoted above, probably responsible for this tendency.

Dingelstedt[31] says that marriage was ordinarily forbidden within six generations of relationship, while Karutz[32] states that the prohibition extended as far as ten generations. Rudenko[33] describes the sök as defined by blood relationship "as far as seven fathers" but does not assign any functions, exogamic or otherwise, to such a group.

No mention of the generation principle of exogamy is made by Samoïlovich.[34] His informant is described as belonging to the Kipchak tribe;[35] Toru-aingyr[36] clan; Shashty sub-clan; Boshai branch; Zhanai sub-branch. Samoïlovich writes: "At the present time the limits within which it is forbidden for Chokaev's [the informant's] family to marry are defined as all those belonging to the sub-clan Shashty."

Such a condition makes exogamy a function of the uru groups in the genealogical sense of the term but does not make it clear which strata of uru subdivisions are involved where, as in the case of the Naiman groups[37] there may be a dozen or more gradations.

A solution of the contradictions in principle between exogamy as determined by generations and as determined by membership in an uru group is suggested in an incidental remark by Grodekov.[38] After stating that marriage is permitted only between those separated by seven generations of ancestors he writes significantly:

> In connection with each courtship they do not reckon how many generations have come after the common ancestor of both parties, but what sub-tribes can conclude marriages among themselves *since they represent seven or more generations from the common ancestor.* [Italics mine.]

This observation is supported by the fact that none of my informants could give the names of his seven actual ancestors. Beyond the grandfather or great-grandfather personal genealogies were merged with uru genealogies. Such a concept, it may be noted, is in accordance

[29] *Holy Quran*, 4.4.23.

[30] *The Bible*: Leviticus 18.2–18.

[31] *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.

[32] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 99.

[33] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59.

[34] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–63.

[35] The designations as "tribe," "clan," etc., are my translations for the Russian terms used by Samoïlovich. He himself states, as quoted above, that the application of such terminology to Kazak subdivisions is misleading.

[36] In citing this case Czaplicka (*Turks of Central Asia*, 42) has made an error in transcription, writing "Toru-aibgyr" for "Toru-aingyr" and "Shashli" for "Shashty."

[37] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, chart facing 334.

[38] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28.

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with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent uru in the next higher stratum. 582

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 531

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.[39] Il'minskiĭ, who apparently first reported the fact, states:[40]

A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband . . . . If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov[41] describes a similar prohibition as applying to " . . . the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place . . . ." Radlov[42] reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " . . . eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko[43] says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " . . . all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children . . . " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samollovich.[44] As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Boshai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Boshai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

[39] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81; Samollovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 83.

[40] Il'minskiĭ, *Materialy k Izucheniiu Kirgizskogo Narechiia*, 191.

[41] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81.

[43] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59, note 2.

[44] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–65.

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551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoïlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoïlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 585 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[47] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[48] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[49] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[50] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a 836
pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de 585
briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitte ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a 836
fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there 848
would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child 836
might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an [847]
infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[53] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kamlinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

Elsewhere Grodekov reports that an unmarried girl who bears a child will marry the father of the child. Her relatives are usually able to claim from him at least a part of the bride price and if she is young, beautiful and of good family perhaps the whole amount.[54]

Adultery, by the old Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan ○○○

[50] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[51] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[52] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[53] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 97.
[54] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[55] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

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837 Adultery, by the Mongol code and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[86] was punishable by death. Zaleskie[87] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[88]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[89]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[90]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kanaev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[91] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful financé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

85. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[86] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[87] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[88] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[89] *Loc. cit.*

[90] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 93.

[91] *Idem*, 36.

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it 584
occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[62]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very 582
early age. Rudenko[63] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[64] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[65] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[66] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[67]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[68] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride 583
price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[69] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[70] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

[62] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358.
[63] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 48.
[64] Lattimore (E.), *Turkestan Reunion*, 268.
[65] See below, pages 53–54.
[66] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 54.
[67] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[68] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98–99.
[69] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.
[70] *Description des hordes*, 358.

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583 considered a fairly good sized kalym to be around two hundred sheep and fifty horses, and a medium one perhaps forty sheep and ten horses. It might, however, amount among the rich to a great deal more and among the poor to considerably less.[71] A very poor man might have to go without a wife through inability to pay kalym but could usually find a girl without many prospects from an equally poverty stricken family whose parents were glad to be relieved of the necessity of supporting her.

The kalym was usually paid in installments over a period of several years. The first payment, according to my informants, sealed the marriage contract and no other man might thereafter marry the girl even though he were in a position to pay the full kalym at once. Tlenshiev said that in former times it had been customary to pay the entire amount in one sum but that in later days it was paid by degrees. The existence, however, of a complete terminology to describe the various stages in the payment of kalym indicates that the practice of payment by installments is probably of considerable antiquity.[72] It sometimes happened that the prospective bride grew old before her fiancé was able to complete the transaction. She was, however, according to Grodekov's material, not obliged to wait indefinitely. If by the time she had reached the age of twenty the youth were still entangled in his obligations, she might break the engagement. He could then apply the payments already made toward acquiring her younger sister or else admit his inability to cope with the situation and receive back a portion of what he had paid.[73]

836 As mentioned above, it appears to have been generally permitted for the fiancé to
583 visit his betrothed after the payment of the first installment of kalym. Levshin notes, however,[74] that in some places the bridegroom must remain at home and not visit the girl until the kalym had been paid in full. Where such visits were permitted there is considerable discrepancy in regard to the extent of intimacy between the two.[75] My informants said that sexual relations were in theory forbidden until the kalym had been paid in full but that they frequently occurred. The same may be inferred from Levshin's remark[76] that if the bride became pregnant the marriage was quickly completed even though the kalym had not been fully paid.

583 It is important to note here a possible change in the concept of the bride price and in the relationships of the individuals involved. Asfendiarov indicates, in a personal communication, that the character of kalym altered concommitantly with the development of feudal institutions in Kazak culture. Formerly, in his opinion, it had been part of a mutual exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom but later became an almost exclusively

[71] See also Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 323–24; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358, note.

[72] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 324–25.

[73] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149.

[74] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[75] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149–50; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360.

[76] *Description des hordes*, 360.

1 [See cat. 116, p 47 -- Analyst]

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commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Ritsuale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

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586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was 587 obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.
[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.
[83] *Description des hordes*, 364.
[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 112
[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

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mother would probably marry again into a third uru and the daughter would go with her 586
and be considered a member of the family of the mother's new husband. She might, according to Tlenshiev, even marry back into the uru of her real father. Another informant objected to this statement and said that she could only do so if the seven generations rule permitted; such, of course might perhaps be the case even if she had remained with her father in the first place.

The evidence on the whole indicates that a wife in theory was considered to belong permanently to the uru of her first husband, and the children to the uru of their father, although in practice, especially as regards residence, there might be numerous exceptions to the rule.

LEVIRATE AND SORORATE

Both the levirate and sororate were practised in variable and attenuated forms by the 587
Kazak. My informants said that as a general rule when a man died his wife would marry his younger brother; if he had no younger brother she would marry an elder brother. If the deceased husband had no brothers she would marry some relative, probably a son of the husband's father's brother. She was in any case expected to remain in the husband's uru, but considerable latitude of choice was permitted her. Tlenshiev said that if she happened to prefer an elder brother to the younger brother she might marry the former if everyone were willing.

It is important to note that the taking over by a brother of his widowed sister-in-law had the character, in many cases at least, not of a marriage but of a guardianship.[87] It was essentially a device to ensure the support of the dead man's children. Frequently a childless widow or one with grown children would not remarry at all. The personal element of course was very important. The disposition of a young and attractive widow sometimes became a bone of contention between surviving brothers. On the other hand a man might receive his brother's widow as an obligation to be dutifully accepted, perhaps having occasional sexual intercourse with her as evidence of cordiality but generally relegating her to a position of pensioner. One case was mentioned of a man who objected strongly to taking in his brother's widow, but, being ordered to do so by the bij, submitted.

Information from other sources on the observance of the levirate is contradictory but generally suggests the flexibility of the institution. Zaleskie says[88] that not only a widow but a fiancée for whom part of the kalym had been paid was absolutely obliged to marry a near relative of the dead man. But he adds that this did not apply to women who had adult children. Grodekov[89] states that a widow should take a new husband from the family of the first and that it was the eldest brother who had first claim to marry her, although he might cede his rights to a younger brother and even to his own son. It was,

[87] See also Beveridge, *Babur-nama in English*, 23 and note.
[88] *La Vie des steppes*, 52.
[89] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 12; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 154–55.

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587 however, optional for the widow to remarry. If she wished to remain single she was entitled to a share of her husband's property or might even, with the consent of her first husband's family, marry a man who was not related to them, provided kalym were paid to the first husband's family by the new husband. She might go so far as to remarry without their consent and without payment of a second kalym but the marriage would not be con-
[586] sidered as altogether respectable. Elsewhere Grodekov says[90] that when a widow married a husband in a "different tribe" the children stayed with a guardian in the first tribe. It is not unlikely that in such cases there were exceptions similar to those which have been mentioned in reference to the disposition of children of divorced parents.

It was customary, though by no means obligatory, for a man to marry the younger sister of a deceased wife, provided of course that she were not already married to someone else. In marrying a wife's sister a greatly reduced kalym or perhaps none at all was paid. The wife's father however might refuse to give over a second daughter but, according to Grodekov[91] would be obliged to pay a small compensation for the refusal " . . . unless he had good reasons." If a fiancée died before marriage her family was expected to substitute her younger sister. It was, however, very definitely not permissable to be married to two sisters simultaneously. My informants were noticeably shocked at the suggestion. One of Grodekov's informants told him that two brothers might not marry two sisters and the wives of brothers must be at least three generations removed from one another. In other districts he found no objection to brothers marrying sisters.[92] My own informants thought it was quite usual.

[90] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 38.
[91] *Idem*, 30
[92] *Idem*, 28–29.

CLASS STRATIFICATION

HEREDITARY CLASS DISTINCTION

Class stratification among the Kazak may be considered as determined first by blood related groupings in the sense of an hereditary caste, and second by economic position in the community. 565

Information on class divisions of the first type is highly unsatisfactory. There was an hereditary aristocracy among the Kazak known as "White Bones" (aq syjek) in contrast to the common people who were called "Black Bones" (kara syjek).[1] The precise genealogical and functional distinction between these groups and its rigidity is difficult to determine. The chief problem involved is whether the White Bone aristocracy formed an uru in itself or whether it consisted of the leading families of each localized uru group.

Grodekov[2] says only, "The White Bone was composed of khans and their offspring," and Radlov[3] adds nothing to this. Levshin, however, is more illuminating:[4] " . . . ces sous-divisions [the uru] ne regardent que le bas peuple; la haute classe a une autre généalogie . . . Le Kost [Russian for "bone"] blanc ne se compose que des khans et de leurs descendants . . . On appelle kost noir non-seulement le bas people, mais aussi les anciens et les autres chefs qui n'ont pas de dignité héréditaire." Togzhanov[5] makes a clear distinction between the relatives of khans, who were White Bones and formed the higher aristocracy, and the chiefs of local groups who were Black Bones.

This view is, I think, correct although it does not agree with that of my informants, who said that all local chiefs and persons of influence and affluence were White Bones. The details which I was able to get were very confused and contradictory and should be heavily discounted. Kargabaiev, who came from a poor family of Black Bones, knew very little about the genealogies and uru affiliations of the upper class, and Tlenshiev, also from the former lower order, was in addition anxious to co-ordinate all his information with the concept of sharp class divisions showing complete correlation between wealth and birth. He said for instance that all rich people were White Bones and all White Bones rich. The latter part of the statement was probably in general true but the former need not necessarily have been so if White Bones were only those who could claim descent in a particular line.

[1] See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 4–5; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304–05; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[2] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 4.

[3] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515.

[4] *Description des hordes*, 304.

[5] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 121.

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565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:[6] "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoça in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoça Grodekov[7] mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein[8] . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoças." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.[9] My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoça might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov[10] define qoça not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov[11] mentions that the qoça lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

565 582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Kazak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs[12] were called tore.[13] The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes[14] and mentions that the term sultan was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin[15] also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,[16] without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

[6] *Déscription des hordes*, 304.

[7] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[8] Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

[9] See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[10] *Kazakslko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 185.

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[12] Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

[13] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakslko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 241.

[14] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[15] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.

[16] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

The precise status and privileges of a White Bone as such apart from other considerations cannot be sharply defined. "One accords them respect and precedence and at feasts assigns them the most honored place and the choicest morsels."[17] Grodekov[18] says that in his time [1885] there was no distinction in law between White and Black Bones, and adds that "In the Aulie-ata district they deny any privileges to White Bones . . . and now the people say: 'The slaves are now free. Freedom is given no less to us; to rude treatment we answer rudely'." This clearly implies that formerly the situation was different. Jochelson claims,[19] again without mentioning his authority, that by Kazak law the White Bones had privileges and advantages in land owning. Such in any case would seem to have been true in practice so far as the White Bones comprised a ruling and owning class. 565

Summing up the rather unsatisfactory evidence, it may be said that the term White Bone can hardly be taken to mean a clearly defined caste, but rather to indicate generally those who enjoyed the highest prestige in Kazak society. It is not unlikely that the rigidity of distinctions between Black and White Bones had been weakened first by the inclusion of persons distinguished for religious reasons and later by the collapse of the power of the khans and their families after the Russian conquest.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS BASED ON WEALTH

Class distinctions as conditioned by economic relationships have been mentioned in a previous section but may be enlarged upon here. The poor or middle class Kazak was always in a precarious situation because the loss of his few cattle placed him in complete subjection to the wealthy owners of large herds. Radlov observed[20] that a Kazak who had lost his animals through drought or a severe winter had no recourse but to hire himself out as a worker. Ujfalvy[21] mentions the numerous impoverished people who were obliged to enter the service of the rich and adds: "Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement." Quite another picture is drawn by Grodekov, who says that agricultural workers received as wages from a fourth to a half of the harvest and ate at the table of their master, who acted as a father toward them, calling them "my sons." In return the worker was expected to advance the interests of his patron in every possible way.[22] [558]

As a contrast to this, Kargabaiev, who remembered the old days himself, said that the poor herdsman was not entitled to shelter in the master's kibitka. If he slept there at all he must stretch himself across the doorway and above all not approach the left side of the

[17] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[18] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 5.

[19] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[20] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[21] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217. Koz'min, in discussing Turco-Mongol feudalism in general writes "The relations of lord and vassal in Central Asia . . . approached the relationship of father and son . . . or of elder brother and younger brother. . . . " (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66.)

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565 kibitka which was the place of honor. If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 357; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

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children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price 567 of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were 701! the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- 565

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

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701 tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps
565 clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks[32] of " . . . une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans . . . " whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says[33] that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin[34] is contradictory. Asfendiarov[35] writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material[36] it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol nököd. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

[32] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.
[33] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.
[34] *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 30–33.
[35] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 98.
[36] See pages 91–92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 87–96.

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POLITICAL GROUPINGS

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Kazak political groupings may be considered from the point of view first of local administration and second of larger units. The local political group was normally the aul, and consisted, as said above, of an uru in its functional sense of related family groups living and migrating together, plus individuals such as hired workers, slaves and relatives on the maternal side who belonged by birth to other uru but resided among the first. The larger units which may be called "tribes" consisted of rather loose and constantly shifting confederations of local groups and should not be confused with the term "tribe" as sometimes applied to the more inclusive genealogical strata. Closely related uru might be found in different and hostile tribal confederations. 621

Local administration lay in the hands of officials, or rather more accurately, outstanding individuals, known as bij and aqsaqal. It is difficult to distinguish accurately in practice between these two dignitaries; my informants tended to use the terms interchangeably. Strictly speaking the bij was a judge who administered the customary law, while the aqsaqal was the director and administrator of the economic life of the group. He supervised the occupancy of grazing lands and chose the routes and dates for migrations. Bij is sometimes confused with another title, bek or beg, which, according to my informants, was a general honorary term applied to rich powerful men, the owners of large herds.[1] Aqsaqal, meaning literally "white beard," is said by Begaliev and Gavrilov[2] to be used as "oldest in the gens," "elder," as well as "overseer," the sense in which I employ it. The process of the extension of its meaning here is obvious. Tlenshiev said bek might be synonomous with aqsaqal. 624 [A2]

My informants also classed the molda[3] as an administrative official. To him were referred cases involving the shariat, or Moslem law, in distinction to those covered by the old common law.[4]

There are faint suggestions of a religious function having formerly appertained to the aqsaqal in his capacity of being in theory, if not actually, the oldest of the uru. Zaleskie[5] mentions "certain ceremonies and prayers" which he recited on the occasion of marriages, and Levshin[6] reports that before setting off on a war or raiding expedition the "chief

[1] See Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 310, who says that in the south bek is used instead of bij. Begaliev and Gavrilov distinguish between the two, defining bij as "judge" and bek as "feudal lord" or "prince" (*Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 43, 46).

[2] *Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 27.

[3] "Mullah," Mohammedan priest, teacher, learned man.

[4] Arabic: adat; Kazak: zaŋ.

[5] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 373–74.

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624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. 1

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

Radlov's statement summarizes the views of my informants, who said that when the bij died he might perhaps be succeeded by his son, but this was not necessarily the case. It might be by any powerful man who "would appoint himself and say 'I am bij'." (Here the informant was using bij and aqsaqal interchangeably.) In any given group it appeared that the successor to office would probably be chosen from among themselves by the five or six wealthiest and most influential members of the aul, who would normally be relatives of one another and heads of the principal family lines of the uru predominating in the aul membership. Meyendorff[8] notes that the office tended to become hereditary but he who was not able to retain it by merit soon lost it. After the Russian occupation local officials were elected subject to government supervision and approval, which may be the source of Czaplicka's statement[9] that the Kazak "clan head" is elected.

[623] It should be noted, however, that Pallas[10] refers to a "democratic council" which chose one of its members as war leader when planning a military excursion; Levshin[11] mentions assemblies of "relatives, friends and neighbors" called to discuss local questions, which might break up in a wrangle. It is difficult to estimate the nature and scope of these councils and assemblies but I shall revert to the question presently.

Within the uru-aul group relations between the bij and aqsaqal on the one hand and the people on the other were apparently more personal than strictly political or governmental. In discussing the nature of economic social groupings we have observed the patron-client relationship between the wealthy herd owners and their poorer kinsmen and dependents. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between economic and political ties and obliga-
[554] tions. The bij and aqsaqal were usually themselves the largest herd-owners of the aul, or representatives of them as a class. The basic economic and political groups coincided.

[7] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513–14.
[8] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 47.
[9] *Turks of Central Asia*, 49.
[10] *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.
[11] *Déscription des hordes*, 397.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

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LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12] 631 643

> ". . . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling [644]

[12] *Idem*, 395–96.
[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.
[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.
[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.
[16] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 393.
[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 82.
[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 451.
[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 94.

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631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[30]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[31]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɓn). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[32] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɓq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[33] At his

[30] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[31] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[32] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[33] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[26] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[27] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[28] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[29]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.

[27] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[28] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 25.

[29] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

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631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.

[29] *Déscription des hordes*, 400.

[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [See cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or aiip; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his lights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
[693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city.

[33] See: Izraitsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibragimov, *Zametki o Kirgizskom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 246–48.

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another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds.

[38] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riazanovskii, *op. cit.*, 57), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riazanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Quran*, 4.13.93.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered
621 in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [761] permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed [621] or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumekei, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15.

[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.

[6] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 35.

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61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçЪ) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

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also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according 574
to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests 565
that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçЫ (hospitality) was also the term applied to social 527
gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular 608
individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore 431
solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamЫr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring law-suits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamЫr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamЫr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt [171]
mercenary aspects of the tamЫr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[11] *Kirgiay i Kazakirgiay*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 1.47.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgiay i Kazakirgiay*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 319–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

SUMMARY

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The present evidence indicates that many, or most, Kazak groups used the single term uru to designate the several magnitudes of social groupings usually described as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and sub-gentes. This term is applied to a group of kinsmen related through the male line but must be considered from two points of view: first, as establishing points of reference in a genealogical series consisting of any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote, and second, as referring to a specific group of comparatively closely related individuals living together as a functioning unit.

In the latter sense the uru corresponds closely to the aul, the basic nomadic and economic group with its own more or less well defined area of migration and an internal organization based on a patriarchal-feudal relationship with marked class distinctions. Such local uru groups also tended to function as exogamous units.

These uru-aul groups were loosely joined into a number of unstable political unions and confederacies, which, however, did not necessarily correspond to the traditional genealogical relations of their constituent units.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

121 I have introduced the following material on Mongol social organization for two reasons, first because it is interesting in itself as pointing out sources of direct historical information on the growth of Turco-Mongol culture and secondly because of the light it sheds on comparable patterns among the Kazak. Regarding the latter point, I consider it would be premature, at least for me, to indicate which of these patterns may be directly due to Mongol influence and which may represent a much older and more extensive culture stratum in which the "effect of leveling [has been] produced by long continued cross transmission."[1]

114 My obvious debt to Vladimirtsov has been acknowledged in the Introduction, although so far as they are available to me in translation I have myself used the sources. If in a few cases Vladimirtsov may seem to draw inferences from somewhat tenuous evidence, he will usually be found to have forestalled the critic by himself pointing out the shortcomings of the material. In general his analysis is distinguished by caution, completeness of documentation and freedom from theoretical bias.

ECONOMY

101 The peoples who subsequently came to be known collectively as Mongols seem to have
162 been divided in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into two groups by their types of economy: those who lived chiefly in the forests and depended mostly on hunting, and those living on the steppes who were essentially cattle breeders. The woodland groups occupied the country from Lake Baikal to the Upper Irtysh and Yenissei, while the nomadic cattle breeders were somewhat to the south in the steppe and mountain area between the Great Wall and the Altai.

221 It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Although the woodland
224 peoples depended chiefly on hunting, mixed with fishing, they were acquainted with the horse and were partly nomadic in their habits. On the other hand hunting played a very important part in the life of the steppe nomads and there were numerous borderline groups half hunters and half nomadic cattle breeders. The forest peoples lived in wooden huts while the dwelling of the nomads was the felt kibitka.[2] In the thirteenth century the role
231 of the woodland groups seems to have considerably declined. The cattle breeding economy penetrated to the north; many of the hunters took to nomadic life and part of the forest regions were occupied by cattle breeders.[3]

The economy of the numerous nomadic groups was based on horse raising. Writing at a

[1] Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, 900.
[2] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 33-35.
[3] *Idem*, 45.

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231 slightly later period Carpini[4] remarks: "I think they have more horses and mares than all the world besides. But they have no kine nor other beasts." It seems probable nevertheless that they possessed sheep, goats and at least some horned cattle.[5] Camels were few, appearing for the most part later, when they were taken as part of the war booty after Chingis' conquest of the Tangut.[6]

221 They did not lay in hay for winter fodder but sought sheltered pastures for the winter, migrating seasonally between summer and winter grazing grounds. The length of the migrations was regulated by local conditions and the composition of the herds; pastures favorable for horses were not always suitable for sheep, and the sheep could not travel as far nor as rapidly as the horses.[7] Lattimore[8] says that the present day Mongol migrations between summer and winter pastures may be not more than a few miles. Fox,[9] apparently on the basis of recent studies of Mongol economy, states that the longest migration in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers and the average about 150.

[495] The Mongols of the thirteenth century traveled with their kibitkas placed on large wagons rather than dismantled and packed on the backs of animals as was later the custom.[10] According to Yule[11] the practice of using wagons survived until recent times among the Nogai group near the Sea of Azov.[12]

221 621 There appear to have been two different patterns of migrating and camping among the Mongols of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[13] On the one hand they lived and traveled in large groups,[14] or on the other as small isolated units of a few families.[15] General migrations evidently took place as a single large company which halted in one camp, sometimes comprising several hundred tents.[16] Such an extensive camp was called a kuriyen. Rashid-ad-Din[17] says:

> The meaning of kuriyen is this: when a great number of kibitkas stand in a circle in one place in the form of a ring, that is called a kuriyen.

And later:[18]

[4] *Texts and Versions*, 109.
[5] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 35.
[6] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 140–41; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 3: 7.
[7] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 35–36.
[8] Lattimore, *Mongolia*, 192.
[9] *Ghenghis Khan*, 9, 38–39.
[10] Rubruck in *The Texts and Versions*, 196; Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 254; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 41–42.
[11] *Op. cit.*, 1: 254.
[12] See also Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 52.
[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 36–38; 45–46.
[14] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 24, 43, 46, 57–70, 120; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 59; 2: 94–95.
[15] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45, 64; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 92.
[16] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 2:15.
[17] *Loc. cit.*
[18] *Idem*, 94.

1 [Mongols in 13th century -- Analyst]

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The meaning of kuriyen is a ring. In ancient times when some tribe halted in a particular place in the form of a ring and the oldest of them camped exactly in the middle of the circle, it was called a kuriyen. At the present time when a hostile force draws near they form themselves into such a figure so that no stranger or enemy may penetrate into the center. 221 621

The unwieldy kuriyen, however, tended to break up into smaller groups called ayil consisting of a number of individual kibitkas. The kuriyen provided excellent facilities for defense but was not adapted to the grazing of large herds. This inconvenience was especially felt by the wealthy individuals in the kuriyen who possessed great numbers of horses. Those who were sufficiently powerful through having numerous relatives and supporters to protect their animals therefore separated from the kuriyen and traveled in the smaller ayil group. Valdimirtsov[19] believes that by the thirteenth century the kuriyen manner of nomad economy had been supplanted by the ayil. Thirteenth century travelers do not mention it and Rashid, as quoted above, speaks of it as practised in "ancient times" and in his own day only as a military measure.

The products of pastoral economy were supplemented to a considerable extent by hunting and fishing. Especially important were large collective hunts, highly organized, with numerous beaters.[20] Rubruck says[21] " . . . they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking." At a later period collective hunting was organized on a very great scale.[22] [224]

Manufactures were few but each group had a few specialists, blacksmiths, and carpenters.[23] Trade with the sedentary regions was small but even at a very early time there were foreign merchants among the Mongols, usually Uighurs and Moslems from Central Asia who controlled even the trade between Mongolia and China.[24] [439]

THE GENS

The basic element of Mongol society of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries was the gens, oboġ.[25] All the members of the gens traced their descent from one common ancestor, ebüge.[26] Poudneev speculates on the probable early form of the gens thus:[27] 614 592

The original character of the Mongol clan community was doubtless that of a family which consisted of individuals descending from one another and being in the third or fourth degree of blood relationship, from grandfather down to great-grandchildren inclusively. The head, who was the oldest member of the family, enjoyed general respect, disposed of every single member of his

[19] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 45–46.
[20] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 404–406.
[21] *The Texts and Versions*, 194.
[22] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1:396–97.
[23] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 43–44.
[24] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394.
[25] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 46.
[26] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 148.
[27] Quoted from a manuscript copy of the unpublished third volume of Poudneev's *Mongolitsa i Mongoly*, by Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 290.

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family and regulated all sorts of family services, and all were bound to obey him. He married off his sons and for each of them put up a new kibitka . . . . In this way a whole group of tents arose . . . in the center of which stood that of the head of the family. In the latter the common family household was kept while the other tents had no separate fire . . . . Grown up and married sons could sever connection with their parents and brothers, have their own fires and form their own [camps], of which they were in their turn the heads, and dispose of the junior members of their families who, like servants, depended on them and were governed by them. In this way whole clans of Mongols arose which were more or less related to each other.

Thus it developed that a series of gentes arose all claiming descent from one and the same ancestor. Marriage between the members of such gentes was not permissible because they all considered themselves as blood relatives belonging to one "bone" (yasun).[28] It is not clear how far such a relationship might be expected to hold.

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The unity of the gens was expressed not only in the claim of its members to descent from a common ancestor but also in the possible existence of a gens religious cult with a common sacrifice at which the oldest member officiated as priest. The chief evidence for this is found in two incidents recorded in the "Secret History." After Chingis had consolidated his power and was appointing his followers to various positions he said to the old man Usun:[29]

In our time the beki is an honored office; Usun, you are the oldest descendant of Ba'arin and you follow the calling of a beki; [therefore] you will be beki, ride on a white horse, wear white clothes and in company sit in the highest place.

Bartold[30] and Vladimirtsov[31] both translate beki as "Chief Priest." The latter writes:[32]

. . . the title of *beki* was known from antiquity and was born more particularly by the leaders of forest clans or tribes. Such leaders added the secular power of a prince to the spiritual authority of the shaman, which rested on his relations with the clan's ancestor and with its protecting spirits.

Pelliot[33] considers the evidence for such an interpretation rather slim and suggests on the basis of Chinese sources that the title of beki may be better rendered as "minister," or "adviser" with no religious connotation implied. The term is probably related to the Turkic beg, bek, bey. In any case Vladimirtsov[34] believes that by the thirteenth century the office of beki had begun to lose its importance and simultaneously the significance of seniority in the gens declined.

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Whether or not the beki is to be considered as an official priest there is definite evidence of the existence of a gens religious cult. The "Secret History"[35] says that a certain

[28] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 46.
[29] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 122–23.
[30] *Turkestan*, 391.
[31] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 49–50; and *Life of Chingis Khan*, 77.
[32] *Life of Chingis Khan*, 77.
[33] Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan,"* 50–51.
[34] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 50–51.
[35] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30.

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. . . Boduanchar took to himself . . . a wife and by her had a son named . . . Khabichi. After the mother of this Khabichi he had an illegitimate [or collateral, accessory] wife who bore a son by the name of Jaouredai. During his lifetime Boduanchar took care of his son and admitted him to the sacrifices. After the death of Boduanchar, Khabichi would not recognize Jaouredai as his brother . . . [and] there at the time of the sacrifice he excluded Jaouredai who afterwards established the Jaoureit gens. They suspected of Jaouredai that he was a foreigner . . . .

This story indicates that exclusion from the gens sacrifices was equivalent to expulsion from the group. There is unfortunately no indication of why Jaouredai was not entitled to membership; other information points out that there was no distinction between the children of a man's several wives or between legitimate and illegitimate children. However, the account gives an interesting suggestion of one way in which new groups may have arisen in the remark that Jaouredai "afterwards established the Jaoureit gens." To this topic I shall revert later.

The custom of hereditary group revenge for injuries to its members is sometimes encountered among the Mongols of the period but appears to have been already declining.[36]

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

It is not clear what was the exogamous unit in old Mongol culture. Wives were sometimes taken from a great distance away, especially among the wealthier families.[37] On convenient occasions women were abducted by force.[38] Contracts for the exchange of brides were sometimes concluded between two different groups.[39] It should be noted that Carpini[40] describes the Mongols as " . . . joined in matrimony to all in general" but his views may have been distorted by the prevalence of the custom of marrying the father's and brother's widows. Polygamy was frequently practised by those who could afford it but the first wife held a superior position. Marco Polo says[41] that " . . . she is ever held most in honor and as the most legitimate, and the same applies to the sons whom she may bear." This may perhaps explain the exclusion of Jaouredai, as mentioned above, from the group sacrifices, but on the other hand Carpini says[42] that they do not distinguish between the sons of wives and concubines. Also according to both Rashid-ad-Din[43] and the "Secret History"[44] children by various wives were considered as brothers and sisters of children by the first wife. According to the Great Yassa, or legal code, of Chingis the children of a concubine were considered legitimate.[45]

[36] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[37] *Idem*, 47.

[38] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 33, 49–51; Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 28–30.

[39] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 87, 157; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 35; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 284, 288

[40] *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12.

[41] Yule, *op. cit.*, 1: 252–53.

[42] *The Texts and Versions*, 112.

[43] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 62.

[44] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29–30.

[45] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 60.

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595 Rubruck mentions[46] that if a man had more wives than one she with whom he slept the night before sat by his side the day following.

583 A wife was acquired, in most cases at least, after payment of a bride price.[47] Rashid-ad-Din and the "Secret History" do not mention the transaction. They do, however, indicate that the bride brought with her to her husband a dowry varying with the position of the family to which she belonged.[48] The dowry sometimes included servants or slaves. Polo[49] on the other hand specifically states that the bride brought nothing to her husband.

562 The position of women in Mongol culture, at least among the ruling class, was very high.[50] They not only played an active role in economic life[51] but also had an important part in social life. Emperors and princes frequently took advice from their wives.[52] During the absence of their husbands women sometimes administered their affairs. Carpini says[53] that " . . . it is a custom among the Tartars that the courts of princes or noble men are not dissolved but always some women are appointed to keep or govern them, upon whom certain gifts are bestowed in like sort as they are given unto their lords." Women accompanied warriors on the march. In the Yassa of Chingis he orders " . . . the women who accompany the troops to do the work and duties of men while the latter are absent fighting."[54]

587 At the death of her husband a widow might be taken over by his brother or by a son of her husband not her own.[55] Polo indicates, however, that it was only the eldest son who had the privilege of marrying his stepmothers. The custom may have been more the exception than the rule because Carpini observes[56] " . . . after the death of their husbands the Tartar wives use very seldom to marry again, unless perhaps some man take his brother's wife or stepmother in marriage."

PROPERTY

423 614 The problem of the definition of boundaries and the ownership of pastoral lands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries cannot be completely clarified. It is apparent from the remarks of travelers that a century later each group migrated within a particular territory

[46] *The Texts and Versions*, 189.

[47] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 56; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 14.

[48] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30, 118–19; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 80.

[49] *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253.

[50] Kozʼmin (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongolʼskom Feodalizme*, 54, 76) is of the opinion that though the women of the aristocracy were important politically, the ordinary woman led a wretched and servile life.

[51] *The Texts and Versions*, 196–97.

[52] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 59; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 247, 355.

[53] *The Texts and Versions*, 134.

[54] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 58.

[55] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 25; *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 252–53; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 390; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 47.

[56] *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12.

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under the control of its leaders who determined the camping places and the routes. "Every of their captains according to the great or small number of his people knows the bounds of his pastures and where he ought to feed his cattle spring and summer, winter and autumn."[57] 423 614

Such was probably also the case at an earlier date although the evidence is indirect and somewhat confusing.[58] The territory on which any social group habitually migrated was known as nuntux in Mongol and yurt in Turkish. These words meant "district, encampment or place of abode."[59] There are references to particular places or regions being traditionaly occupied by certain specific groups:[60] "Their dwellings and yurts were designated individually by tribes and by branches . . . . " And again:[61] "Among this tribe the yurt and their places were united together and it was determined from where to where was the yurt of each."

However, there are frequent instances of several groups migrating together in one territory.[62] In one place in the "Secret History"[63] Chingis remarks to one of his relatives: "In former times you, along with three houses of Tokhuraut, five houses of the Tarkhut and two other gentes, the Chanshikit and Bayaut, formed with me a single camp."

Vladimirtsov[64] writes: "The ancient Mongol gens knew a communality of pastoral territories." But it is not clear, either from the evidence or his discussion whether this means a communal ownership of a particular area by the members of the gens or whether it implies that all pastoral lands were open to all the members of any gens who chose to use them. This is the same problem which has been discussed in relation to Kazak grazing grounds. In general it seems probable that there was a fairly clear concept of the nuntux or yurt as a territory belonging to a particular gens. To this principle however there appear to have been many exceptions.

All movable property, cattle, kibitkas, vehicles, and the products of home industry were held in individual ownership by the members of the gens.[65] There is vague mention of marking cattle with tamgas which apparently were the same for all members of the gens.[66] Marco Polo, however, indicates that each individual might have his private tamga.[67] 422 614

On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son.

[57] *The Texts and Versions*, 188.
[58] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 42–43; 56–58.
[59] Translation from the Mongol text of the "Secret History," Vladimirtsov, op. cit., 57.
[60] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 49.
[61] *Idem*, 1: 135.
[62] Vladimirtsov, op. cit., 57.
[63] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 120.
[64] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 56.
[65] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–49.
[66] [illegible], 44–49.
[67] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 76; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*,
[67] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 266.

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428 On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son,
614 Rashid writes:[68] "The Mongol custom is thus: that the youngest son is called ejen for this reason, that he stays at home and the property, economy and premises are assigned to him." Also[69] "The meaning of ejen is the youngest son who remains in the home and yurt, that is, lord of the fire and the yurt." It is probable, though direct evidence is lacking, that unmarried sons customarily lived together with their family and at marriage received their individual allotments. Riazanovskii[70] quotes an unspecified version of the Yassa of Chingis as saying that the distribution of the heritage is done so that the senior son receives more than the junior although the youngest son inherits the household of the father.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

614 To each member of the Mongol gens his relatives were urux, meaning kinsmen.[71] However, not only the members of a particular gens were reckoned as urux but members of all gentes related among themselves by blood by reason of descent from a traditional common ancestor. Between such relatives and related gentes the recognition of certain obligations of mutual defense, protection and assistance was expected. However, the acceptance of these obligations seems to have depended a great deal upon the nature of the occasion and the self interests of the particular group or its leaders. Hostile relations frequently existed between gentes who were close urux to one another and Rashid[72] mentions some who in his words "occupy themselves unceasingly with raids, wars and rapes among themselves."

Also a status of relatives by courtesy was accorded to members of the gens to whom one was related by marriage, all of whom were known as xuda.[73]

608 Another possible relationship between members of different groups was a ceremonial assumption of brotherhood. Two individuals, usually belonging to different though fairly closely related gentes, concluded between themselves a union of friendship and exchanged presents after which they were considered anda, brothers in name to one another. According to the "Secret History"[74] " . . . the old people say that when anda has been made both individuals have as only one life between them. One will not forsake the other and they protect one another with their lives." Anda did not actually live together but were expected to support one another exactly as members of the same gens. However, in actual life the relationship was probably more ceremonial than real; former anda might take up arms against one another as was the case with Chingis and Jamuga.[75] The fact that the

[68] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 207.

[69] Rashid-ad-Din, op. cit., 2: 30.

[70] *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 60.

[71] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 59.

[72] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 52.

[73] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 60; *Sekrovennoe Skazanie*, 35. In Kazak the term quda designates the father of a daughter's husband or of a son's wife.

[74] *Sekrovennoe Skazanie*, 58.

[75] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 33–35.

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"Secret History" cites what the old people had to say about anda indicates that the institution was losing its force. 608

Children born in a particular group were frequently adopted by a family in another. Evidently they were usually captured in hostile camps during wars and raids.[76] Although they were brought up as brothers and sisters of the children of their foster parents they were not considered as becoming by virtue of adoption blood members of the group. Nevertheless they exercised property rights along with their foster brothers though perhaps receiving a smaller share.[77] 597 614

VASSAL GROUPS

In discussing the occupation of pasture lands it was noted that there were frequent instances of different gentes migrating together and utilizing the same territory for grazing. In some instances a particular gens was split up into a number of fragments, some traveling together with one alien group and others with another.[78] For example it is reported that the Baya'ud gens was divided, part of them migrating with the Borjigin and part with the Taichiut.[79] Similarly the Jalair groups are described as scattered about among strange gentes.[80] 614 221

The splitting up of gentes and the presence of two or more groups in a particular territory might result from a variety of causes. One part might split off voluntarily and establish a new unit elsewhere for economic reasons, or they might be forcibly broken up as a result of war, becoming subject to their conquerors.

It is evident that frequently the members of a particular gens were held in bondage collectively by another, perhaps by an alien gens, or sometimes by a closely related group. Rashid-ad-Din writes[81] that when Chingis had conquered certain "tribes" he ordered most of them to be killed and the remainder taken into "slavery" in spite of the fact that they were accounted his relatives. Again Rashid[82] describes the "Ongu-Bugul" as those who are "slaves and the children of slaves of the ancestors of . . . Chingis Khan" and goes on to say[83] that as a result of wars and the conquest of one group by another there were many who were the "slaves of slaves" so that a graduated series of subject groups arose. 567 614

Such groups, however, must not be considered slaves in the literal sense of the word. Rashid tends to describe as "slaves" any of the subjects of a monarch. In speaking of the "Ongu-Bugul" he is evidently referring to the Mongol term unagan bogol.[84] This Vladi-

[76] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 61.
[77] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 115.
[78] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 63
[79] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 60, 120; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 175; 2: 13, 95.
[80] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 33–34, 42; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 59–60, 64.
[81] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 190–91.
[82] *Idem*, 2: 11.
[83] *Idem*, 2: 12.
[84] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 64.

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mirtsov translates as "bondsman" or "vassal." The unaġan boġol retained their own property, enjoyed a considerable amount of personal freedom and received some part of the product of their labors.

An important point is that the unaġan boġol were not held in bondage as individuals but as whole gentes or branches of gentes by the members collectively of another group. Thus they were not merged with the master group and preserved to a great extent, at least in the beginning of their subjection, their own gens unity.[86]

Their principal obligation in relation to the master group was service. This service consisted chiefly in migrating together with the dominating gens, assisting in the herding economy or organizing under the supervision of their masters subordinate camps which made it possible to raise cattle on a larger scale.[86] During the important communal hunts they served as beaters to drive the game.[87]

In the course of time the relationship between master and vassal groups tended to approach that of a union of mutual assistance.[88] The master group, if they were of another genealogy (bone) exchanged girls for wives with their unaġan boġol.[89] Also from among the vassals came companions, "squires,"[90] for the members of the ruling group. All the evidence suggests that in the period of the twelfth century there was very little difference in the life led by the members of the predominant gens and of the vassal groups.

It is probable that many groups voluntarily became vassals of another either through poverty resulting from loss of their cattle in raids, droughts, or severe winters, or because their small number made it impossible to maintain an independent existence. Protection and security were sought by allying themselves in the status of vassals with a stronger group.

Apparently also in many cases the persons who were sent along with a bride of a wealthy family as part of her dowry were received into the husband's group as vassals.[91] In other instances they seem to have been actual slaves in the strict sense of the word and to have become the personal property of the husband. There is an account by Rashid-ad-Din[92] of Chingis magnanimously giving back to one of his wives all the property and servants which she had brought with her at the time of her marriage, and simultaneously presenting her, along with the returned property and servants, to one of his generals.

Certainly there were individuals held in a condition closely approaching pure slavery. They were known as jala'u[93] or as ötöle boġol (simple slaves)[94] as distinguished from the

[86] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 64–65.
[86] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 94; *Sokrovennoe Skazani* , 23, 42–44.
[87] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 124.
[88] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.
[89] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 1: 175.
[90] See below, pages 91–92.
[91] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 68.
[92] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 194.
[93] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 23.
[94] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 1: 145.

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vassals (unaǵan boǵol). They belonged not as a group to the master gens as a whole but to its individual members. Thus Rashid-ad-Din[96] says of the Jalair "tribe" that some of them " . . . became slaves of Khaidu, the son of Munulun but [others] . . . became slaves of his tribe." There are occasional other instances of private ownership of slaves[98] who seem to have been mostly employed as skilled domestic servants by the wealthier members of the master group.[97] It seems likely that especially in somewhat later times many of the slaves were artisans and skilled workers captured in wars with the sedentary peoples. Thus in mentioning that slaves might be restored to freedom by their masters, Vladimirtsov observes[98] that the term darkhan used by Palladius[99] for a freed slave also means in Mongol "blacksmith."

In summing up the nature of the gens and its subordinate groups Vladimirtsov writes:[100]

> It is possible that at a very ancient time of which we have preserved only legendary evidence, the Mongol gens consisted of one homogeneous blood group among whom there were neither great nor small, rich nor poor, but all equals. However, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the gens-oboǵ was a very complex affair. First were the blood relatives, "owners" of the gens, then followed the bond vassals, unaǵan boǵol, and after them the common slaves, serving people.

He suggests, however, that the essential cleavage was not into these three divisions but lay rather between the master group together with the upper strata of the unaǵan boǵol, as opposed to the poorer vassals and the slaves. It must be remembered that the vassal groups retained their own social structure and had among themselves distinctions of wealth. Their upper class was more closely bound by interest to the master gens than to their own poorer relatives. Furthermore there were of course even within the master gens itself inequalities of wealth which contributed to the constant dividing and splitting up of gentes.

The weak and poor even within the dominant group were unable to maintain their personal independence. They were obliged to place themselves under the protection of powerful individuals or families in the subservient position of herdsmen and shepherds. "The deceptive simplicity of nomadic customs when lord and servant would sit down to eat together did not affect the essential point of this relationship."[101]

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GROUPS BY FISSION

The Mongol gentes were continually branching and dividing, giving off the beginnings of new groups which in their turn again branched out. Rashid-ad-Din in speaking of early times remarks:[102]

[96] *Idem*, 2: 16.
[98] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 191; 2: 50–51.
[97] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 23, 32.
[98] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 69, note 4.
[99] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 169.
[100] *Op. cit.*, 69–70.
[101] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 70

Letopisei, 1: 136.

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614 Each of these branches become subdivided and known under some particular name, becoming in their turn an umaq [oboġ]. An umaq is that which originates from a particular bone and line. Such umaqs again produced branches.

The gens of Borjigin, with which Rashid was especially concerned because to it belonged Chingis himself, illustrates how frequently new branches developed.[103] From the Borjigin oboġ among others originated the Jurki[104] and Taichiut groups.[105] The genealogical tables of the "Secret History"[106] indicate how constant was this process. Similar divisions and branchings took place among other Mongol groups.[107]

The new groups, at the time of their separation from the parent gens (oboġ) consisted probably of a few closely related families, an "enlarged family" and their followers, which came in time to be considered as themselves a distinct gens. It is not possible to establish a clear distinction between the gens proper and its branches, the "enlarged families" which were also known as oboġ. Likewise all the theoretical descendants of the legendary ancestor Bodancar, which included all the members of many gentes, were considered as forming together an oboġ.[108] This concept, of course, is identical with that of the Kazak uru.

In discussing the origin of new gentes and the process of their development Vladimirtsov has found an apt illustration in the history of the Jurki group.[109] The Jurki gens was established as an independent "enlarged family" by a first cousin of Chingis' father.[110] Consequently in the generation of Chingis the number of its blood members must have been still very small. Yet they figure in the accounts of Rashid and the "Secret History" as formidable opponents with whom Chingis was obliged to wage war.[111] This discrepancy is explained by the story of the foundation of the Jurki group. According to the "Secret History:"[112]

The origin of the Jurki gens was as follows: the khan Khabul had seven sons; the oldest was named Olbarkhakh. Khabul, in consideration of his seniority, selected from among the people those of strong heart, skillful in shooting the bow and gave them [to Olbarkhakh] as his following. Wherever they went they conquered everybody, no one dared to stand up against them.

Thus it appears that although the Jurki gens did not actually have many members by blood relationship yet it was supported by numerous vassals and retainers who made it a powerful force.

[103] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29–33.
[104] *Idem*, 32, 68–69; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 110.
[105] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 31; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 182–87; 2: 13, 23–24.
[106] Appendix to Palladius' translation, *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 258.
[107] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 71.
[108] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 10, 49.
[109] *Op. cit.*, 71–73.
[110] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68–69.
[111] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 101–105; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 66–67.
[112] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68–69.

[For Vladimirtsov's definition of "aimak" in its relation to the old Mongol gens (oboK), see cat. 116, p. 103 -- Analyst]

[110] See Vladim

[See cat.

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The same process of the formation of groups consisting of a few blood-related ruling 614
families with numerous subordinate vassals took place among other Mongol gentes. The Taichiut, for example, are referred to by Rashid[113] as being both a gens and a tribe. Actually they were neither but rather a grouping, similar to that of the Jurki, of a few master families with their retainers.[114]

It should be mentioned here, however, that the vassal groups, although unrelated, or not closely related, to the blood members of the gens, were nevertheless known by their name.[115] That is, all the people who migrated along with the Jurki group, for instance, although not necessarily Jurki by blood, were known under that name.

The account of the origin of the Jurki also suggests why, in some cases at least, groups split off from the parent gens. It was emphasized by the "Secret History" that the departive group was composed of those who were "of strong heart and skillful in shooting the bow." With such followers success was assured in raids and warfare and to such a band dissatisfied wanderers from other gentes willingly allied themselves. The seceding group sought a freer mode of life, more extensive pastures for themselves, and the possibility of getting a better share in the hunts.

It was no doubt the richest families who branched off, those who had nothing to fear from an independent existence. But the separation of such a group was only possible when the separatists had clients, vassals, and servants in sufficient number. On the other hand the poor people whose economic prospects in the parent group were far from bright, but for whom an independent life was impossible without herds, were glad to associate themselves with strong and rich leaders in the hope of better things.

Everywhere at the head of the aristocratic families and blood members of the gentes were special leaders. These leaders obtained power not by virtue of seniority in the gens or as hereditary chiefs but as the strongest, most enterprising and richest. It was a power of usurpation. Those who held it usually bore the descriptive title of noyan (lord) though there were numerous other titles, some borrowed from the Turkic dialects and others, especially in later times, from the Chinese.[116]

GROWTH OF TRIBAL UNIONS

Simultaneously with the process of division of the gentes there was an apparently op- 619
posite tendency toward the building up of larger and larger units. Such amalgamations, however, were actually only another manifestation of the same causes which led to the splitting up of the oboğ groups: the powerful gentes attached to themselves by force, or were voluntarily joined by, groups seceding from other units.

The nucleus of these larger units, however, usually consisted of a number of related

[113] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 182.
[114] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 73.
[115] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 70, 72.
[116] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 74.

614, pp. 85-87 for fission among gentes -- Analyst]

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619 gentes who formed among themselves a vague political union called irgen, which Valdimirtsov[117] translates as "tribe" (Russian: plemia). For example the various Taichiut gentes taken together with their subordinate groups constituted an irgen which is described thus by Rashid:[118]

> The Taichiut were a very numerous tribe. For each group separately there were its own chiefs and leaders but all were joined in one union with the others. Those of their relatives and relatives by marriage who were united with them were also called Taichiut, as were also the vassal groups merged with them, exactly as at the present time [about 1300] all the tribes which have mixed with Mongols, taken on their character and united with them, although not Mongols themselves, are called Mongols.

Certainly in any particular case it is difficult to distinguish between the gens (oboğ), which, as noted above, might be in itself highly complex and composed of many elements, and the tribe (irgen).

The tribes as political unions were extremely unstable and lacking in organization or solidarity. Temporary unions might be formed in time of war but in the next period of hostilities the formerly allied gentes would frequently be found in opposite warring camps.[119]

The unity of the irgen, so far as it possessed any, was expressed in the tribal council (xurultai) which was attended by the leaders of its constituent gentes, important individuals and even by influential members of the vassal groups.[120] Similar councils were known in the gentes and were also called xurultai.[121] These councils however were not definitely constituted legislative bodies but rather loose and casual meetings which might be attended by anyone who considered himself sufficiently important. Certainly its decisions were not binding upon those who had the wish and power to oppose them.[122]

643 Frequently, particularly in time of war or of large collective hunts, the tribal council would elect a war leader who sometimes would retain power in times of peace.[123] Such leaders were generally called khans (ga'an, xa'an).[124] Their powers were, however, extremely nebulous and they were dependent on the support of the gens or gentes which had been instrumental in their election. Occasionally one and the same tribe is described as having two khans simultaneously.[125] The title of khan might belong to the military leaders of quite insignificant groups consisting of several gentes or various branches of different gentes.

[117] *Idem*, 79.
[118] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 19–24.
[119] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 79.
[120] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 78–79, 85; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 45–46, 118.
[121] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 78–79.
[122] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.
[123] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2:43; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 61–62.
[124] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 79. See also Elias and Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Introduction, 30; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1: 149; *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: Introduction, page 10.
[125] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 21; 1: 112–13.

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Its holders were the ephemeral leaders of ill-defined groups, frequently with disputed authority whose power was always the power of arms. 643

It is difficult to determine to what extent the tribal council had the power of electing the khan. Apparently they "elected" the strong man, he who had power through the armed support of his relatives and the backing of many followers in his own and related gentes.[126] Such khans very rarely passed on their power to their descendants.[127]

The position of the khan in relation to the leaders of the groups constituting his tribe is well illustrated in the account of the election of Chingis himself.[128]

The chief aristocrats of the tribe, after taking counsel among themselves, came to him and said: "We wish to make you khan. After you are khan we will always be in the front in your battles with many enemies. And if we capture beautiful women and girls, also horses, we will give them to you. In the hunts we will start out before the others and give the game we catch to you. If in time of war we disobey your commands, or if in time of peace we do any injury to you, then you can take from us our wives and property and send us without followers into the wilderness." Chingis replied: "I will take many herds, flocks, kibitkas, women and children of the people and give them to you; for you I will conduct hunts on the steppe and always drive the game to your side."

From this exchange of pledges it is clear that the khan enjoyed rights and authority almost exclusively in time of war and collective hunting, two occupations of the greatest importance for the tribe. It is to be noted that the aristocrats promised to obey all his commands in war but in peace only to refrain from injuring their leader. It is of interest also to note the casual reference to the common people whose animals, dwellings, and families Chingis offers to distribute to his important followers.

In the development of tribal unions under a military khan collective hunting with beaters, which required a great many men and careful organization, played perhaps a more important role than war. In illustration of this we have evidence from Rashid-ad-Din:[129] [224]

At one time Chingis organized a hunt with his own people and during the course of the hunt fell in with about four hundred members of a hunting party from one of the Juryat gentes who were supposed to be under the suzerainty of the Taichiut tribe. During the hunt Chingis rendered various services to the Juryat hunters which produced so great an impression that a large part of the Juryats, after some hesitation, came to Chingis and said, "These Taichiut chiefs harass and disturb us to no purpose. But here is a leader [Chingis] who will take off the coat he wears and give it to you; he will get off the horse on which he sits and give it to you. He is a man having lands and feeding his warriors and clothing his people well." Then after taking counsel all the Juryat groups voluntarily submitted themselves to Chingis.

Some khans of course had greater power than others as expressed in number of followers

[126] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80.

[127] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 2: 41–43; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 32–34.

[128] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 61–62; see also Bartold, *Obrazovanie Imperii Chingis-khana*, 110; Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 36–37.

[129] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 96–99.

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619 Some khans of course had greater power than others as expressed in number of followers
643 and fighting strength. To be on good terms with the most powerful khan was important for the steppe aristocracy who desired a more secure existence for their herds. They therefore tended to desert from their minor local khans and transfer their allegiance to the dominant one of the moment. On the other hand certain military leaders, jealous of the rising power of a particular khan, would band together to crush the threat to their own position. Thus took place continual wars of tribe against tribe, continual mixing and shifting of tribes and parts of tribes from one warring camp to another.

668 In relation to the development of the power of the Mongol khans and the nomadic aristocracy there has been some discussion in the literature over the question of the existence of an opposite democratic tendency. Bartold[120] has taken the position that Jamuga, one of the leaders of the Jajirat gens, was the chief of a Mongol popular movement which appeared in opposition to the aristocratic Chingis and his followers. In his earlier work *Chingis-khan*, Valdimirtsov adopted a similar view[121] based largely on a passage in the "Secret History."[122] In the English translation of *Chingis-khan* by Mirsky the episode is recounted thus:[123]

> One day Temuchin [Chingis] and Jamuga moved their camp . . . . Temuchin and Jamuga rode in front of the waggons; while they rode Jamuga said: "Today, if we camp on the hill slope those who herd horses will get tents; if we camp by the stream, those who tend the sheep and lambs will get food for their throat." Temuchin made no reply but reining up his horse waited for his mother, Oyelun; when she rode up he repeated to her Jamuga's words and said: "I did not understand his words and said nothing in reply; I purposely rode up to you, my mother, to ask you to explain them." His mother had not time to say a word, before Borte [the senior of Chingis' wives] spoke out: "Of Jamuga . . . people say that he loves the new and despises the old; now he has had enough of us. Do not his words conceal some hostile intention against us? We must not stop; we must march on through the night; it is better to be parted from him!" Temuchin said: "Borte speaks sense." So he did not stop [when Jamuga stopped] and went on into the night. At the end of that night march, when it began to dawn, behold, there were men of the Jalair clan . . . and of the Baarin clan . . . and all the men of the Mene-Baarin clan, all following Temuchin.
>
> By "those who herd horses" Jamuga had meant the rich, the upper class of pastoral society, the steppe aristocracy; by "those who tend the sheep and lambs," the common people with whom he sympathized.

This anecdote is suggestive but rather slim evidence on which to base an argument for the existence of an active democratic movement on the Mongolian steppes at the begin-
565 ning of the thirteenth century. Vladimirtsov himself in his later work has largely reversed his former position. He writes:[124]

[120] *Obrazovanie Imperii Chingis-khana*, 111.
[121] *Chingis-khan*, 41–42.
[122] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 58–60.
[123] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 33–35.
[124] *Obshchestvennyi Strei*, 83, 84.

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At the present time I should to a large extent alter this opinion. An analysis of the social phenomena which may be observed among the Mongols of the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears to me to indicate . . . that the process of the formation of the steppe aristocracy and the submission to them of the lower classes . . . in complex gens units, was completed at the end of the twelfth century. 565

. . . By that time the steppe aristocracy was numerous and powerful . . . . Of any kind of movement having a democratic character our sources do not speak directly. Even if, as is known, Chingis did support and advance the interests of the aristocrats, still it is necessary to observe that there frequently came to him loyal supporters from the lower classes of Mongol society.

Vladimirtsov finds the explanation of Jamuga's opposition to Chingis not in his championship of the poor and oppressed but in the fact that Jamuga himself was exactly such a military leader of a petty tribal group as was Chingis himself at the time. Rivalry between such chieftains was, as noted above, a general pattern among the struggling nomadic lords of the steppes, each of whom was eager to advance himself at the expense of the others. It is not unlikely that Jamuga may have given outward support to the interests of the lower classes in order to attract followers to himself. Such political demagoguery need not have been unknown among the Mongols.

In any case, though the question is an interesting one, it need not be considered further here. Even assuming that such a democratic tendency did exist, any trace of it was effectively obliterated in the organization of the Mongol empire, and it would seem to have had little or no effect on the development of Mongol social structure.

BODYGUARDS

In the process of development of the power of the Mongol khans a large part was played by their personal nököd (bodyguards, friends, companions). They were free individuals, usually of aristocratic lineage, forming the personal suite and staff of the military chiefs and khans.[136] They appear, however, to have served the leaders of groups other than their own by birth.[137] 701

The nököd accepted freely and voluntarily a personal allegiance to their lords. They were not vanquished subjects but rather free warriors electing to serve the master of their choice who became a sort of adopted suzerain.[137] To him they bound themselves by oath.[138] It is not clear whether after having done so they were at liberty to change to a different master, although there are numerous examples to indicate that in practice such desertions were not uncommon.[139]

There were numerous inducements to young men to enter the service of the military

[136] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 87.
[137] Rashid-ed-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 105; 2: 143.
[137] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 48; *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 161, 164–65.
[138] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 49.
[139] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 88–89.

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701 chiefs and khans as nököd.[140] The lords provided shelter, food, clothes, maintenance and above all opportunity for distinction in war and a share in plunder. Also it was an aristocratic profession attracting youths of the highest families. It is important here not to confuse the nököd, free warriors, with the unagan bogol, the bond vassals. Members of the upper class of the vassal groups, however, might also become nököd.[141] Parents sometimes gave their children to a certain lord to be brought up in his service.[142]

The nököd, in the permanent military service of the khans, had little in common with the tribal militia which was mobilized in time of general war. Then all the men of the common people capable of bearing arms were summoned to the service of their leaders. But as professional soldiers the nököd frequently acted as captains and commanders of divisions of the militia.[143]

In addition to military service the nököd served their lords in time of peace as messengers, ambassadors, advisors and executive assistants. They were especially instrumental in organizing the large collective hunts which were comparable to military manoeuvers.[144]

[614] The development of the class of nököd had two very important effects on Mongol
[565] society. In the first place it tended further to break down the unity of the blood gentes because the nököd customarily took service with groups not their own by birth and were placed in command of military units from strange tribes and gentes. More important, in the light of later events, they formed a corps d'élite from which, as the khans seized power over weaker groups, could be appointed not only military commanders but governors directly responsible to the khan, thus breaking the power of the gens aristocracies and paving the way to closely organized political units.[145]

FEUDAL FIEFS AND VASSALS

642 In a previous section we have noted the institution of vassalage whereby one group
423 became subject to another as its collective vassals. With the development, however, of the
565 power of the khans, culminating, of course, in the organization under the empire of Chingis of "all the people dwelling in felt tents"[146] into one state, vassalage became in practice a subjection not to a group but to a particular lord or ruler. In theory, however, the idea of the dominant gens, or ruling family of blood relatives, remained because all the conquered groups, all the subjects of the khan, were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him. Thus Bartold says[147] that in the

[140] *Idem*, 94–95.
[141] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68.
[142] *Idem*, 49.
[143] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 91.
[144] *Idem*, 92–93.
[145] *Idem*, 96.
[146] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 86.
[147] *Turkestan*, 306–07.

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view of the nomads the empire was the property of the whole family of the khan. Valdimirtsov writes:[148]

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. . . The "state" belonged to all the members of the gens of the particular individual who had established the dominion and become khan . . . all the tribes and peoples forming part of the empire of Chingis were considered as bond vassals (unaĝan boĝol) of him and his gens. . . . The power of the gens of Chingis . . . over his "state" lay in this: that one of its members had become emperor . . . through his election by the council (xurultai) of all his relatives.[149]

As the authority of a khan became extended over a wider and wider area and over more and more tribes and gentes it became impossible for the vassal groups to lead a common joint nomadic life with the members of the ruling gens, as had formerly been the case. Gradually it developed that the new large vassal units were left to migrate and graze their cattle in their accustomed territories but were placed under the governance of a member of the paramount gens, a relative of the khan.

Every group of gentes, tribes, or fragments of different gentes, which was under the control of a particular leader or ruler was known as an ulus.[150] Thus during the period of Chingis' reign all the peoples subject to him might be considered as comprising one ulus while at the same time each of his relatives was master or lord of an ulus.[151] Valdimirtsov[152] translates ulus as "fief" or "dominions" with the notation that it must be understood as referring to people and not to land.

The male relatives of the khan were considered princes,[153] having the right to participate in the division of the ulus of the khan. To each of them was granted his own ulus or fief consisting of a number of subject tribes, the princes themselves thus becoming in a sense vassals of the khan insofar as he was considered head of the paramount gens. On their death their heirs, sons, nephews or other close relatives were confirmed in their position by the khan[154] and made acknowledgment of their dependence on him.[155] If the khan were sufficiently powerful he might deprive an unreliable vassal of his fief and award it to another.[156]

Here there is evident some contradiction between the concept of the khan as the representative of the ruling gens as a whole and as an absolute monarch. This disparity is apparent also in the fact that although according to the will of Chingis the khan might not

[148] *Op. cit.*, 98–99.
[149] See also Elias and Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 29.
[150] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 91.
[151] Abul Ghazi, *Shajrat ul Atrak*, 45, 383.
[152] *Op. cit.*, 97.
[153] Köbegün, meaning essentially "son" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 99).
[154] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 204.
[155] Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroistva*, 424; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, 2: 10–11.
[156] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 136; *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 61–62.

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on his own initiative punish one of his relatives,[157] yet it is stated in the Great Yassa[158] that: "He ordains that even the senior of the emirs, if he has committed some offense shall give himself up to the messenger sent by the sovereign to punish him. . . . " Riazanovskii however is quoting the fragment of the Yassa from Maqrizi's version[159] which may have been altered somewhat to accord with the latter's idea of the proper attributes of a sovereign.

In any case such centralization of authority did not continue for long. The number of fiefs was constantly increased by the practice of dividing up the ulus of a particular vassal among his descendants, so that the number of princes, vassals and sub-vassals was soon very large.[160] The constant tendency toward branching and subdivision became evident in the ruling gens itself which split up after the death of Chingis into rival and hostile families.[161]

In the process of feudalization it is not clear what was the fate of the minor aristocrats, the leaders and chiefs of groups other than that of the dominant khan. Koz'min[162] states that the aristocracy of the Mongol empire consisted of the aristocrats of all the peoples and tribes of which it was composed. Some families were no doubt annihilated in the wars leading to unification. It seems probable, however,[163] that most of them allied themselves with the rising power and retained immediate control of their people as sub-vassals dependent on the princes of the major fiefs.

[439] The unification of Central Asia under the feudal empire made safe the trade routes and greatly stimulated commerce between the nomads and the settled regions. A variety of products which formerly had been unknown to the Mongols now became available to them.[164] The increase of trade and the appearance of foreign goods did not however greatly [231] alter the pastoral economy. Cattle breeding continued to be the chief occupation of the people but there is evidence that under the feudal régime the use and occupation of pasture land became strictly regulated. The fiefs had definite boundaries and within them the grazing lands of each group were strictly allotted. Carpini observes:[165]

> Moreover the emperor of the Tartars hath a wonderful dominion over all his subjects. For no man dare abide in any place unless he hath assigned him to be there. Also he appointeth to his dukes where they shall inhabit. Likewise the dukes assign places unto every millenarie or conductor of a

[157] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 100.

[158] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59.

[159] See Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2: 160–64.

[160] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 60–63; Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroistva*, 426; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 7.

[161] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[162] *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 60.

[163] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 103–04.

[164] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394; Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 44, 129–30; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 63–64; *The Texts and Versions*, 194.

[165] *The Texts and Versions*, 120.

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thousand soldiers and the millenaries unto each captain of a hundred, the captains unto each corporal of ten. 642 423 565

Further there is some indication that the feudal lords were considered the personal owners and proprietors of the land occupied by their people, which formerly had been the property of the community as a whole.[166] Thus Rashid[167] describes Tuli, one of Chingis' sons, as "lord of the land (yurt) and dwellings" of certain tribes. Too many inferences, however, should not be made from this statement. Rashid was probably not making delicate distinctions, his own information may have been at fault, and his meaning may have suffered during successive translations. In any case, whether or not the feudal lord was considered owner of the land of his ulus he certainly administered its use and controlled the movements of his people rigidly.

The horses and cattle remained the private property of their individual owners, both lords and commoners. Chingis declared[168] that, "A common man if addicted to wine stands to lose his horse, his cattle and all his property." But inasmuch as the ordinary Mongol was obliged to migrate in obedience to the wishes of his lord, and to graze his cattle in places assigned to him, his position in many ways was more that of a dependent herdsman than an independent master.[169] In addition every family of the common people had certain definite obligations to their seigneurs. [422]

These obligations in their economic aspects consisted chiefly in providing the feudal lords with cattle for slaughtering and a certain number of mares for milking in proportion to the size of the owner's herds.[170] Similar requisitions had been made by the tribal chiefs previous to the organization of the empire but appear to have been of a somewhat haphazard and occasional nature.[171] Under Ogodai, the successor of Chingis, these were systematized and regulated.[172]

The organization of the economic administration of the conquered settled regions was more complicated. After the rise of the empire the Mongol khans began to assign fiefs among the agricultural populations to their princes but the land served them only as a source of revenue because the Mongols themselves were not able to administer such estates.[173] Local authority remained to some extent in the hands of the native rulers, while the Mongol overlords maintained personal agents whose principal duty was to collect

[166] Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 12–20, 52–54.

[167] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 3: 143.

[168] *Idem*, 3: 126.

[169] The Mongol author Ssanang Ssetsen, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, indicates that the idea of a man without his overlord was inconceivable to the Mongols. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 187.

[170] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 113–14.

[171] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 76.

[172] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 14, 63; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 158.

[173] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 114–15.

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642 423 565 [812] taxes for their masters.[174] The Uighurs played an important part as agents, business managers, and advisers to the Mongol princes; they were responsible for the introduction of writing to the court of the khans,[175] and came to be a dominant force in all civil and cultural affairs of the empire.[176]

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

701 565 642 Of utmost importance in its far reaching effects upon the social structure of all the groups comprising the Mongol empire was the system of military organization instituted by Chingis. At an early point in his conquests (1204) the entire population was divided into a graduated series of units capable of furnishing ten thousand, a thousand, a hundred, or ten fighting men respectively.[177] These contingents replaced the former militia of the gentes and tribes.

Considered solely as a system of military organization these decimal units were nothing new. Similar divisions had existed in time of war among other Central Asiatic nomadic peoples[178] and in the Persian armies.[179] Cordier, in a note to Yule's commentary,[180] refers to them as existing in Annam in the tenth century A.D. The new features lay in their establishment as a permanent system and in the merging of the civil units, the feudal fiefs, with the military divisions.

Thus each feudal fief (ulus) according to its size coincided with one of the military groupings, and the feudal lords were at the same time commanders of a thousand or a hundred warriors, although certainly in any particular case these numbers were only approximate.

Here we may note how the previously existing institution of the nököd[1] was utilized to strengthen the new military feudal system. Although the great fiefs capable of furnishing a division of ten thousand men (tümen) were usually held by the princes of the house of Chingis, their subdivisions were in many cases apportioned among the former nököd, thus substituting for the independent leaders of the old gentes and tribes new feudal lords bound to the khan in direct personal allegiance with obligations of military service.[181] Such feudals, forming a nobility secondary to the princes (köbegün) of the reigning house, customarily ruled over fiefs capable of supplying a hundred or a thousand warriors. Each bore the title of noyan which formerly had been held by the chiefs of the gens aristocracies but was now applied to a secondary feudal lord and military commander. And in distinction to the old

[174] Vernadsky, *Notes on the History of the Uighurs*, 457.

[175] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 387.

[176] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 152; Fox, *Ghenghis Khan*, 124.

[177] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 102–03; *Texts and Versions*, 124; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59, 69; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 102; Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 77.

[178] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 102.

[179] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264.

[180] *Loc. cit.*

[181] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 103–104.

1 ["comrades". personal suite and staff of khans. For further data, see cat. 701, pp. 91-92 -- Analys]

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nököd, and to the gens and tribal leaders, the new noyan could not avoid service or change his allegiance.[182] 701

The development of the feudal fiefs and military units had a shattering effect on the old Mongol gentes and tribes and on the social structure of all the peoples who were brought within its scope. In the formation of the divisions of "ten thousand," "thousand," and "hundred" many units were composed of contingents drawn from various tribes and gentes.[183] The organization of the "thousands" and the distribution of the feudal fiefs culminated in the disintegration of a whole series of Mongol tribes, as for example the Tatars, Merkits, Djadjirat, Naiman and Kerait, the remnants of which were in most cases scattered among the various fiefs and "thousands."[184] The least affected by these changes appear to have been the woodland groups to the north and west.[185] 701 619 614

In place of the old gens and tribal names appeared the names of the new "thousands" which, however, sometimes took over the name of the tribal group predominant in their feudal composition but also frequently adopted the names of their feudal and military leaders.[186]

After the death of Chingis, however, in 1227, the unity of the empire was soon lost. Although his son Ogodai was, as desired by Chingis, acknowledged as supreme khan of all the dominions, his control outside his immediate possessions appears to have been nominal. By 1257 rivalries between the descendants of Juchi, Jagatai, and Tuli, the other sons of Chingis, had developed into open war which split the empire into fragments. These fragments were not only hostile one to another but within themselves were constantly producing new political groupings.[187]

One of these new groupings, as we have seen at the beginning of this study, was that of the Kazak.

Following the breakup of the empire appeared an increasing dichotomy between east and west. The Mongols were drawn into the orbits of Chinese and Tibetan cultures while the Turkic tribes were exposed to the influence of Islam. The hold of Mohammedanism upon the nomads, however, has always been very slight and its chief effects upon their social structure appear to have been to facilitate the breakdown of exogamy and to establish a new class of "white bones" descended from Mohammedan saints. The conversion of the Mongols to Lamaism was much more far-reaching in its consequences. Nearly half the male population became associated with monastic orders,[188] with the result that a predominantly military culture changed to a strongly ecclesiastical one. 177 [797]

[182] Kos'min indicates that the vassal, in theory always and in practice under favorable circumstances, might be able to break his contract with his seigneur (*K Voprosy o Tiuretsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66).

[183] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 7; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 109–10.

[184] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 57–58, 63–64, 74, 114, 204; 3: 132–154.

[185] *Idem*, 3: 136.

[186] *Idem*, 3: 132–154.

[187] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 125–26; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 65–66: Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[188] Korostovetz, *Von Cinggis Khan zur Sowjetrepublik*, 52.

CONCLUSION

From the Kazak and Mongol material there appears specific evidence of two major processes which have operated in the development of Turco-Mongol social groupings: first, a constant tendency toward the division of existing groups by branching, and second, a movement toward the formation of larger units from smaller by fusion.

The first process is evident in the origin of new gentes, uru and oboğ among the Kazak and Mongols respectively, as a result of the separation from the gens of a few families which came presently to be considered an independent group. The same process may with minor variations be observed among other Central Asiatic and Siberian groups.

Thus Shchapov[1] describes Buriat social groupings:

> Each ulus[2] comprises a few enclosures . . . in each of which are one, two, three or more kibitkas together with outbuildings and sheds for storing fodder. The oldest man and his wife live in one of the kibitkas. In an adjacent kibitka lives the son of the old man with his wife and children. If the old man has other married sons they also have their own kibitkas on either side of their father's within the common enclosure. . . . Near by in another enclosure are the close relatives of the head of the first group . . . [and] beyond that, in other enclosures, are more distant relatives. Thus the community of blood relatives of an ulus as the family lines branch off is constantly forming separate enclosures, each with its group of kibitkas. Presently the more distant relatives form a separate ulus organized in the same way as a community of kinsmen.

In much the same way one of Seroshevskiĭ's informants described the development of Yakut groupings:[3]

> I will tell you how the gentes [Russian: rody] originated. Let us say that some old Yakut had two or three sons. They grew up, married and separated. Formerly there was much land and the Yakuts also kept many cattle, therefore they lived separately so that they might have plenty of room. So they became dispersed and multiplied. But meanwhile the old man had died and the original brothers had died. The flesh and blood relationship disappeared. The ancient Yakuts reckoned relationship *only to the ninth generation;* beyond that began the sygan concerning whom the old proverb says: "I need not disturb myself over such relatives if they fall in the water." Sygan of the ninth generation are already considered people of another gens with whom it is possible to marry. Each gens takes the name of one of the sons of the old man but all together are called by his own name. Such is the gens and such is the nasleg.[4]

[1] Shchapov, *Buriatskaia Ulumaia Rodovaia Obshchina*, 129.

[2] The Buriat apply the term ulus to a few closely related families. The much wider sense of the word in Mongol has been mentioned above. For its other applications among various peoples, see Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 56, note.

[3] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAkuty*, 436.

[4] The Yakut nasleg consisted, as indicated in the quotation, of several gentes and might be translated as "tribe." The term, however, is not Turkic and may have been borrowed from the Tungus; see Seroshevskiĭ, *op. cit.*, 473 and footnote.

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The mention of exogamy as determined by nine generations[5] of relationship is interesting in its probable relation to the Kazak "seven fathers" rule, to a consideration of which I shall revert presently. It may also be noted that relationship in general is designated among the Yakut by the word uru[6] and that during the libations accompanying the annual kumiss festival "all the people uttered the joyful cry 'Uru'."[7]

Yakut tradition refers to the establishment of new groups by the dissatisfied members of old ones,[8] and each son of the legendary hero was considered the ancestor of a section of the Yakut people.[9] Such a common ancestor was known as ebuge,[10] identical with the similarly used term among the Mongols.

The process of development of new gentes by branching has also been described by Shirokogorov[11] as it occurs among the Manchus. If a gens is growing rapidly it can generate new units which assume equal rights and functions with the parent gens[12] although retaining a sense of their common historical or legendary origin.[13]

Shirokogorov mentions also, though somewhat vaguely, the concept among the Manchu of the gens as determined by generations. After stating that a gens may produce new gentes by separation, he continues:[14]

> In the case where the great number of the clan members does not hinder the normal clan life and the members do not go far away, a *mokun* [the gens unit] may keep its organization without any change during nine generations, but the formation of a new *mokun* is strictly prohibited before five generations have elapsed since the last formation of the *mokun*. For example, if my *mokun* was founded by my grandfather, only my great grandson may form a new clan and always with special permission of the clan. But as a subjective notion *mokun* includes nine generations, so that I can say "my *mokun*" including in it only four senior, my own, and four junior generations.

Presumably, in speaking of the "subjective notion" of the mokun the author implies a contrast to an objective group consisting of the people actually living together as a functioning unit. I have indicated a similar contrast among the Kazak where the theoretical exogamic uru as determined by seven generations of descent from a common ancestor does not coincide with the named uru groups. The same confusion arises in connection with Buriat material. Thus Khangalov[15] states that a Buriat may not marry a woman of his own

[5] The concept of the gens as determined by generations is also indicated in the statement of Seroshevskii's informant (page 455) that blood revenge might sometimes be carried on through nine generations. See also Sumner, *The Yakuts*, 72.

[6] Seroshevskii, *IAkuty*, 507.

[7] Jochelson, *The Yakut*, 203.

[8] Jochelson, *op. cit.*, 45.

[9] *Idem*, 199.

[10] Seroshevskii, *op. cit.*, 474.

[11] Shirokogorov, *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 17–19.

[12] Shirokogorov, *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 50.

[13] *Idem*, 58.

[14] *Idem*, 50–51.

[15] Khangalov, *IUridicheskie Obychai u Buriat*, 141.

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gens, and then adds that relationship in the male line was an obstacle to marriage through nine generations.

The Yakut concept of the exogamic gens as defined by generations is apparent in the quotation given above from Seroshevskii's informant.

Present information is inadequate to explain completely the relation between group and generation exogamy, but it seems possible that the latter may have developed in connection with and as a result of the constant tendency of the gentes to give off branches, each of which considered itself related to the others and to the parent group by descent from a common ancestor. Thus as a result of rapid branching and formation of new groups, membership in different divisions might be no indication of the absence of close relationship which could be guaranteed only by the actual genealogies. The application of the method of reckoning possible matings by the number of intervening generations would then only be necessary between groups who were conscious of their recent separation. In other cases group membership would be accepted as indicative of a lack of close relationship.

The ultimate causal factor in the constant development of new groups appears to have been economic. Cattle raising could not be carried on in one place by large numbers of people because of the lack of sufficient grazing land. Sections of the original group therefore tended to depart in search of new pastures. Such an explanation of the branching process need not necessarily involve the assumption that the total number of groups was continually increasing. Some groups became extinct through the dying out of family lines or annihilation in war. In discussing Kazak uru genealogies my informants noted the names of several groups which had ceased to exist. Those which survived, however, and did increase in
161 numbers inevitably tended to split. That there was an actual growth of population which favored the branching process is indicated by census reports, although most statistics for the numbers of the nomads are little better than rough estimates. The Russian census figures for 1897 and 1911 which deal in very round numbers and do not distinguish carefully between different groups, suggest an increase in population during the fourteen year period of between fifteen and thirty percent for the various steppe tribes.[16] The Soviet census figures for 1926 are not readily comparable with these because of the different classifications employed. Levshin's estimate of the numbers of the three Kazak ordas together in 1832 as between two million and two million four hundred thousand[17] was based upon the guess of the Kazak themselves, who might more probably exaggerate than understate. That they did so is suggested by Ujfalvy's figures of 1,300,000 or 1,400,000 in 1878 which, however, are themselves without firm foundation.[18] According to the Soviet census of 1926 there were then 3,959,900 Kazak in Kazakstan and the other republics of Central Asia.[19] A comparison of Levshin's probably high estimate for 1832 with the 1926 figures suggests a possi-

[16] See Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 33–47.

[17] *Déscription des hordes*, 300.

[18] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 25.

[19] *Handbook of the Soviet Union*, 7; figures for the 1936 census are not available.

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ble doubling of the nomad population in slightly less than a hundred years. This is not a phenomenal growth[20] but it must be remembered that it was accomplished during a period of increasingly active domination by an alien culture such as is frequently marked by a decline of native populations. If maintained steadily over a period of several centuries it should be sufficient to necessitate the frequent formation of new groups in the pastoral economy.

On this point Bogoras writes:[21]

Extensive cattle breeding, when practiced for a long period of time, like agriculture, creates abundancy of food and so makes it possible for the tribe to grow in numbers from one generation to another. In this way the tribes of real nomads increased largely and became populous nations numbered in hundreds of thousands. . . . On the other hand the tribes of the primitive culture, living with reindeer breeding, hunting or fishing never have large numbers. The paleoasiatics of Siberia . . . are numbered often in simple hundreds, or at the utmost in a couple of thousands.

Although increase in numbers was apparently the underlying cause of fission, the immediate causes were no doubt various, differing somewhat in each instance. Usually the process would appear to have been a gradual one in which the new group came to be considered as a separate unit only after several generations. The custom of giving to each son a share of his father's cattle, by which new economic nuclei were constantly being created, favored the centrifugal tendency. Quarrels between individuals, and the dissatisfactions and rivalries of different leaders and factions no doubt frequently produced sudden divisions within particular groups. My informants emphasized that disputes between the large herd owners over the use of pasture land would often end in the breakup of the group. Personal jealousies and dislikes easily led to separation, or even to the expulsion of minorities who must then shift for themselves.[22] Pallas[23] noted the frequency with which the clashing claims of rival relatives produced regroupings of the people among the Kalmyk. Also secession to minorities sufficiently organized to make use of it, was a means of escape from the exactions of overbearing rulers. In this connection Radlov remarks:[24]

Die einzige Abwehr gegen Ungerechtigkeiten und Gewaltthätigkeiten ist eben festes Zusammenhalten der Familien und Nachbarn unter Anführung bestimmter Persönlichkeiten; in diesen Vereinigungen liegt der Keim zu immer neuer Gruppirung der Geschlechter.

The appearance of new groups by fission also took place on a larger scale than that represented by the branching out of blood related gentes. An excellent example of this is

[20] See for example, Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, 26–29. The population of Java is stated to have increased fifteen times in less than a century and a half.

[21] Bogoras, *Paleoasiatic Tribes*, 260.

[22] The exclusion of Jaouredai from the gens sacrifices by his half-brother, as cited above, is a case in point. Jaouredai departed to establish his own group.

[23] Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, 1: 287.

[24] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 428.

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the separation of the Kazak from the Usbeg as recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.[25] Concerning this event Elias[26] observes that it is " . . . valuable as showing not only how this particular tribe came into existence but generally how a new tribe with a new name may arise from mere local circumstances and passing events." The same process may be observed in the differentiation of the three separate Kazak ordas and the later emergence of the Bukei Orda as a distinct entity. A distinction, however, should be made between the branching process as revealed in the separation of such large bodies of people amounting to tens or hundreds of thousands, and as operative in the development of new gens units. The latter was essentially a splitting off of family groups while the former represented the breakup of old, and the beginning of new, political confederacies of frequently heterogeneous elements.

The formation of such confederacies, the amalgamation of lesser units into larger groupings, constitutes a second major process which was at work simultaneously with the branching tendency.

This process of amalgamation is evident on a small scale in the inclusion within the gens groups of individuals who belong by birth to other gentes. It is manifest also in the institution among the Mongols of subordinate or vassal gentes who lived and migrated with the members of the dominant group. These associations, however, are really social symbioses which may be distinguished from political unions wherein the component parts remain more or less distinct. The nature of what may be called tribal confederacies has been noted as they occurred among the Kazak and the Mongols. In many cases these confederacies were formed by groups which considered themselves more or less related by blood, but it is also apparent that political affiliations frequently cut across genealogical lines. Seroshevskii[27] mentions alliances of Yakut gentes for defense and offense which appear to be distinct from other groupings as determined by blood relationship.

Several types of political amalgamations may be discerned varying according to origin. Some were entirely voluntary unions for mutual protection against attack and common aid in aggression on other groups. Others were the result of force by which one group was subdued by another but after which "former enemies quickly became loyal allies."[28] In the third type, which would appear to have been the most common, it is difficult to distinguish voluntary from involuntary motivation. Here the reputation and prestige of a successful leader acted as a magnet to attract to him followers and supporters, not only individually but as whole tribes. Radlov[29] has noted the effect of this process among the Kazak, and Bartold[30] suggests that the Kangli, who subsequently became a numerous people, were originally only the small following of a famous man of that name among the Kipchak. A

[25] Page 82, and see above page 13.
[26] *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82, note.
[27] *IAkuty*, 460, 481.
[28] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 83.
[29] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.
[30] *Kazak*.

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fourth and quite distinct type of amalgamation was the imposition of a completely artifical system of administrative groupings in which former units were merged or broken up. The outstanding example of this was the reorganization of the tribes within the Mongol empire into divisions capable of furnishing ten thousand, a thousand or a hundred fighting men. At a later time a comparable realignment occurred on a smaller scale with the incorporation of the eastern Mongols into the Manchu military "banner" system.[31] The important point to note here is that such artificial groupings sometimes survived the system which produced them and became the bases of new federations. Thus Courant[32] points out that many of the nomad tribes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had originated as military divisions under the Mongol empire, and Yule[33] observes that the Karaunah tribe in Persia are first heard of as forming a tümen or division of 10,000 in the Mongol army.

Both major processes, the breaking down of old groupings and the building up of new ones from the fragments of the old may be observed in Mongolia in the period after the disintegration of the empire. Here the military-feudal formations into which the former gentes and tribes had been to a large extent absorbed, themselves disintegrated. In their place and from them developed during the fifteenth century new units (otok) organized on a territorial basis as the possessions of a particular prince. Instead of the decimal divisions of Chingis appeared a new military unit, the zoshun, which comprised the militia of the otok.[34] It is especially interesting to note that apparently there arose among the territorial otok new groups called aimak whose members were considered related by blood. The exact nature of the aimak in its relation to the otok and the old Mongol gens (oboġ) is not clear. Vladimirtsov writes:[35]

> The chief distinction of the aimaks from the otok was that those belonging to a particular aimak considered themselves one related group. The aimaks were of various sizes so that sometimes several aimaks might be found in one otok and at other times the aimak was co-extensive with the otok. It is likely that on a basis of territorial units arose two or more aimaks which then organized a new otok. It is important to observe a distinction between the aimak and the gens [Russian: rod], that is, the basic union of blood relatives. The aimak among the Mongols of the middle ages was a collection of nearly related families, a sub-tribe [?] and could consist of individuals belonging to different "bones" but who could trace their descent from one common ancestor. Thus the aimak was a union of relatives through their families, of different branches originating from the fragments of ancient gentes (oboġ)."

Although this statement does not greatly clarify the structure of the aimak it is important as indicating that throughout the constant realignment of groupings the principle of blood relationship remained active and continued to assert itself. In this connection Peisker[36]

[31] Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 145–54.
[32] *L'Asie centrale*, 7.
[33] *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 101, note.
[34] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 131–36.
[35] Idem, 137.
[36] Peisker, *The Asiatic Background*, 334–35

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contrasts "the transitoriness of the wider unions on the one hand" with "the indestructibility of the clans and camps on the other" and concludes that "the greater unions caused by political circumstances, having no direct connection with the life and needs of the people . . . often cease after the death of their creator [while] the camps, the clans, and in part the tribes also, retain an organic life and take deep root in the life of the people."[37]

Accompanying the simultaneous processes of branching and amalgamation is the apparent growth of a type of patriarchal feudalism in which the relationship of master and man tended to absorb the relationship based on common membership in a blood group. Such a development is suggested by a comparison of the traditional solidarity of the blood group with actual practice. Thus Grodekov in stressing the importance of the principle of gens unity writes:[38]

> A person finds protection only in his tribe. The tribe answers for his conduct. The purificatory oath is imposed on the tribe, not on the individual. The penalty is paid and received by the tribe. For the non-payment of qun [wergild] not the murderer is killed but a man chosen from his tribe. A bride belongs to the tribe. . . .

Emphasis is given to this concept in the Kazak proverbs quoted by Grodekov:[39]

> Never go hunting with a man from a strange tribe: he may shoot you from the side.
> A fool will forget where he was born.
> Better to be a herdsman in one's own tribe than a tsar among a strange people.
> He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is an apostate.
> A dog does not forget where he has eaten well; a man where he was born.

Dingelstedt sums up this view of Kazak life in the words:[40] "Le Kirghiz vit dans et pour sa tribu." Kharuzin also,[41] though largely on the basis of Grodekov's material, emphasizes the unity of the Kazak gens.

In practice, however, it appears that the principle of solidarity of the blood group was active mainly only so far as it affected the interests of its influential members. Nearly all writers on the Kazak have noted the dominance among them of the wealthy and powerful individual and the dependence on the rich of their poor and subservient relatives. The nature of this dependence has been stressed earlier in this paper and need not here be repeated. One may point out, however, that a similar emphasis on personal wealth and influence at the expense of the gens community is evident among other groups. Seroshevskiĭ's Yakut informant told him:[42] " 'He who was strong was right; . . . the strong and rich man, what

[37] The latter part of this statement can be accepted only so far as it means the recognition of kinship between related groups. Actually, as has been shown, the "camps" and "clans" were not stable.

[38] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 12.

[39] *Idem*, 13.

[40] *Le Droit coutumier*, 247.

[41] Kharuzin (N. N.), *Etnografiia*, 1: 2, 231–34.

[42] *Iakuty*, 455.

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he wished, he did'." And Jochelson states:[43] "The richest and strongest men were the chiefs. He who was feeble and weak lived in constant terror and only in a matter of life and death would he oppose the wishes of the rich and strong." Shirokogorov,[44] in discussing the solidarity of the Manchu gens as exemplified by the obligations of blood revenge, remarks: "If, for example, some influential member of the clan were to outrage an influential member of another clan, the two clans would become enemies." The repetition here of the word "influential" is significant and indicates that more than the claims of blood relationship were necessary to entitle a man to the benefits of group responsibility.

On the basis of the Kazak material it appears that the solidarity of the blood group was expressed not as a generalized responsibility of all its members for one another but rather as a personal dependence of the weak upon the strong. The former was perhaps the theory; the latter certainly the practice. In its ideal form, of course, this dependence implied reciprocal obligations of protection in exchange for service which might closely approach a condition of group solidarity.

There seems to be little evidence,[45] however, to indicate a time when the blood group was an integrated unit not dominated by distinctions of wealth and power. All that may safely be said is that there appears to have been a gradual intensification of such distinctions.[46] The growth of these distinctions could account for the contradictions between the theory and practice of group solidarity. Thus it is possible that as wealth tended to concentrate in the hands of fewer owners the poorer members of the group became increasingly dependent on them and the protective functions of the gens were transferred from the community as a whole to its masters.

In conclusion it is probably unnecessary to point out that none of these processes of fission, fusion and feudalization[47] can be regarded as abstract drives or automatic adjustments to social urgencies. Always the specific historical circumstances and cultural milieu must be borne in mind as they tended to favor or inhibit their development. In particular, further study is needed: first, of contacts between the nomads and the sedentary peoples to the east, south and west,[48] and second, a more detailed examination of the precise cultural settings in which the processes operated.

[43] *The Yakut*, 47.

[44] *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 59.

[45] Parker (*A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 85) refers to an unspecified Chinese source which says of the Sian-Bi nomads of the first centuries of the Christian era: "From the chiefs down each man had his own flocks and herds and managed his own property. No man served another." This, however, is very meagre and unreliable information.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi* 70, 74.

[47] I succumb, with apologies, to the tempting alliteration.

[48] See also Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 74–75.

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Customary hospitality - pp. 72-73
Fraternization or sworn brotherhood - pp. 73

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/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

4: Grodekov E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Kirgizy i Karakirgizy Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti
[The Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya Oblast]
Vol. 1. Juridicial Life.

By N. I. Grodekov

Translated from the Russian by Barbara Krader

Human Relations Area Files

1959

Tashkent, 1889.

[Title page]

/i/The study of the modern juridical life of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz is extremely important, both for the proper organization of the administration and the courts in the midst of the nomadic population of our Central Asian regions, and equally for science. 121

The need has long been felt for a study of the customary law of the non-Russians inhabiting the borderlands of the empire. Thus in the 1820s a collection of the customary law of the Siberian indigenous peoples, including the Kazakhs, was made by order of the government, under the supervision of the Governor-General of Siberia and a special commission. The collection was made by the peoples themselves, in their languages and was preserved in Russian translation in the second section of the chancellery belonging to His Own Imperial Majesty. Count Speranskii had the idea of compiling a code of all the local laws and customs in the empire, incidentally also for the Siberian indigenous peoples, and for this code the collection mentioned above could have served as material. But this idea was never carried out, and the material collected in Siberia was published only in 1876 from the copies preserved, by Professor D. Ia. Samokvasov of Warsaw University, under the title Sbornik Obychnago Prava Sibirskikh Inorodtsev / A Collection of the Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples. At the end of this collection, in the section of Kazakh customs, there is an account of the customary law of the Kazakhs in a strictly dogmatic form, obviously of the Siberian department, i. e., primarily of the Great and Middle Hordes. There is no mention of the Kirgiz in the collection. 114

As can be seen from the foreword to the section on the customs of the Kazakhs, this material was compiled in a special committee with the participation of Kazakh elders. Even from a cursory reading of this section it is evident that the material of the committee was composed to a considerable degree by Kazakhs invited into the committee. Such is the chapter "On religious worship."(1)

1. For example, article 7 reads "Whoever converts a Christian to the Kazakh religion, that person will be included with the faithful in the kingdom of heaven." While article 8 says: "If a member of a Kazakh tribe accepts the Christian faith, not only will he lose his rights of succession to his own property, but if one of them who has the express purpose of being converted

is captured before he has taken the Christian faith, he must lose his life according to the law, for having offended his law."

Special attention is attracted by later articles concerning /ii/ the rights and privileges of the white bone, and cruel punishments (death penalty, lashing, cutting off parts of the body, etc.) which are completely untypical of the Kazakhs, among whom almost all transgressions were and are paid for by remunerations. (1)

1. " 1. Article 67: "If someone kills a Khodja, then the entire volost pays the kinsmen of the murdered man the same fine which is paid for the murder of seven ordinary men. If this fine is not paid, then seven of the closest relatives of the murderer in that volost must be hung, including the murderer."

Article 80: "Among the Kazakhs, the owners of Kalmuk slaves have unlimited rights over them, and can punish them if they are guilty, or even if innocent..."

Article 84: "If one, two, three or more persons kill one or several persons, then the one whom the plaintiffs demand is handed over to them for immediate execution. The wergeld /khun/ is not paid in such a case..."

Article 116: "He who violates a betrothed girl, must pay the groom for this (an enumeration follows). If the offender is unable to pay he must be put to death."

Of the same order are articles 117, 118, 119, 123, 126 and others. But the most horrible of all is article 200: If a son or daughter who is already spoken for enters into marriage with another, without the knowledge of his parents, he must die."

A. Levshin published a work in 1831 entitled Opisanie Kirgiz-Kaisatskikh Ord i Stepei /A Description of Kazakh Hordes and Steppes/

which was very skillfully compiled and serves to this day as a basis for further study of the nomads of the Kazakh steppes. It contains an account of the basic principles of Kazakh customary law, but unfortunately, it is very brief.

At the beginning of the 1850s, Bonch-Osmolovskii, an official in the Asian Department and a cultured orientalist, was working on a collection and study of data on the juridical customs of the Kazakhs. His work, however, has not been published, and is thereby lost to the cause.

In 1865 Kirgizaskaia Step' Orenburgskago Vedomstva /The Kazakh Steppe of the Orenburg Province/, was published, a book compiled by Lt. Colonel Meier of the General Staff. (2) It contains,

2. Materials for the geography and statistics of Russia, collected by officers of the General Staff.

juridical customs of the Kazakhs, but all this is stated very briefly and, furthermore, in the general description of manners and customs. (3)

3. In Krasovskii's work Oblast' Sibirskikh Kirgizov /The Region of the Siberian Kazakhs/ published in 1868, the description of the manners and customs is borrowed from Meier and Levshin, and in general contains nothing remarkable on the subject of interest to us.

This is almost all the published material in our literature at the time of the compilation (in 1865) of the Proekt /iii/ Polozheniia ob Upravlenii v Oblastiakh Semirechenskoi i Syr-Dar'inskoi /Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions/. In 1867 the Turkestan Governor-Generalship was formed from this, governing on the basis of this Draft until 1887, in other words, for almost 20 years. If very great mistakes were not made in the Draft it was only because of the fortunate choice of personnel on the commission which compiled it.

During the administration of the Turkestan region by Governor General K. P. Kaufman, whose enlightened mind could not fail to perceive the need for a collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law, attempts were made in this direction. But the desired result was not achieved, for many reasons, of which the most important was that the matter was directed by chancellory procedure.

114 Meanwhile, the conception of Kaufman, who encouraged the study of Central Asia in every respect, did not remain without any result. Private works appeared in print instead of official ones.

Of these, one of the more important is that of Zagriazhskii, published in 1876 in Part IV of Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraya entitled "Iuridicheskii obychai kirgizov" /The juridical customs of the Kazakhs/. This work is quite complete and concerns the juridical life not only of the steppe Kazakhs but also of the Kirgiz. Its faults lie in the form of the account for everything is broken up into paragraphs and stated in strict dogmatic form, without variants according to hordes and localities and furthermore, the time of the compilations are not indicated, nor the place in which the customary laws were written down. Yet all this is of essential importance in such a work, for the juridical customs differ considerably for the Kazakhs of various hordes and localities which are far apart.

In addition to this fundamental work there are several small articles which have appeared at various times in periodicals. Of these an article by Ibragimov deserves to be mentioned, published in the Zapiski Geograficheskago Obshchestva (Vol. 8, 1878), entitled "Zametki o kirgizskom sude" /Notes on the Kazakh court/. This article is not a collection of tenets of Kazakh customary law but an outline of Kazakh court procedure and a characterization of certain customs. Among other things it contains indications which are of value to the jurist on the attitudes of the Kazakhs to Russian and Mosdem (according to the Shariat) court tenets.

The western Siberian statistical committees studying the Kazakhs /iv/ of the eastern part of the steppes, have turned their attention to their juridical life, and with this attempts have been made to make a critical study both of old materials and also of the juridical life itself.

In 1882, Pamiatnaia Knizhka Zapadnoi Sibiri /Memorial volume of Western Siberia/ was published in Omsk, in section III of which is an article by I. Kozlov entitled "Obychnoe pravo kirgizov" /The customary law of the Kazakhs/ compiled on the basis of the court decisions of the biis, taking into consideration the works of Samokvasov and Zagriazhskii, Levshin and others. In its approach this article is a critical study of the customary law of all the Kazakhs and a general characterization of it, with an indication of those innovations and changes which have entered the customary law from the Shariat and the "Vremennoe polozhenie ob upravlenii v oblastiakh Ural'skoi,

Turgaiskoi, Akomolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi" /Provisional Code for the administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions/. The writer also includes the customs of the Kazakhs of the Turkestan region parallel to the customs of the Siberian Kazakhs.

The latest work on Kazakh customary law is the publication in 1886 in Omsk by the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridcheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov/ Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/ (Pt. 1, Material'noe Pravo /Law of Things/). Data collected by the chiefs of the uyezds of the Semipalatinsk region served as the basic materials for this book. These were collected according to a program provided in 1882 by the Governor General of Western Siberia, and this was studied and supplemented by the compiler of the book, P. E. Makovetskii, a member of the statistical committee, by means of oral inquiries in the steppe, and study of the actual decisions of the biis.

The work of Malovetskii is a valuable contribution to the literature on the customary law of the Kazakhs, containing an indication of the historic origin of certain customs, and of the influence of the Shariat and Russian laws. In addition the book contains a collection of variants of customs according to localities and the circumstances of the case, and also a critical analysis, explanations, etc.

From the first days of my entrance into the administration of the Syr-Darya region, I noted the great gap in evidence on the customary law of the Kazakhs. The material published in this field in Russia has not been very satisfactory for the local present day demands because of the extreme limitations of the materials gathered, and its completely inadequate study. In addition to this, /v/ a considerable change in the customary law has been taking place under the influence of various powerful factors. One has been the influence of Islam, whose propagation among the nomads by ishans from Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent has grown more intensive since our pacification of Central Asia. There has also been the influence of the Russian dominion with new orders and civilization, the transition of the nomads to agriculture, the appearance of new types of industry, etc. The life of the Kazakh hordes and groups of tribes under the rule of the Khans and Sultans and under the strong independent kinsmen under the Kokand begs and hakims etc., is in part changed, and in part long forgotten. A broad wave of new attitudes and concepts has influenced the life of the people. Life has begun to produce new

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[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases
128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

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2) Kadyr Absaliamov, translator for the administration of the Chimkent uyezd, a Tatar by birth, who has lived in Turkestan for a long time and was by earlier profession a merchant, a supplier of provisions to armies, and a maintainer of a post road. He had learned customary law not from occasional accounts of biis but from constant dealings with the people, from the decisions of biis and from complaints, in general directly from life. 3) Torgai, a Kazakh of the Oshakty clan, a driver by profession, who has seen Orenburg, Troitsk, Vernyi /Alma Ata/ and other places. He is now engaged in agriculture in the Kurama uyezd. 4) The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov. 5) Bii Abd-rakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. 6) Bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd. 7) Sultan Daulet Bushaev, from among the Tiuri of the Perovsk uyezd. 8) Sagyndykov, bii of the Chimkent uyezd and others.

N. Grodekov

Tashkent
June 1889.

CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from [773] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan 173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

that the Kazakhs were descended from the former. He has also heard 173
the story that the Moguls fought with the Tatars and were conquered by them. From the battle 300 men survived who began to be called the three hundreds (hordes), and who found shelter in the mountains. Here they multiplied and came out onto the steppe.

The tradition concerning the formation of the Kazakh people from parts of various Uzbek tribes lives to this day on the lips of the people.

According to the tradition which is widespread in the Syr-Darya region, the father, i. e., the first chief of the Kazakhs, was a contemporary of Alasha-Khan, Alash, for which reason the war cry (uran) of all three hordes is Alash. (1)

1. The war cries of various clans are entered in supplement No. 1. 1

Alasha-Khan sent three detachments of unmarried horsemen of various Uzbek clans to a border region to guard his dominions. (2)

2. The Kazakhs indicate a place near Turkestan /the town/, from which the original three hundreds were sent out in various directions.

Since they were there for a long time without women, they attracted 300 tents of Doly (Gypsies or wanderers) to themselves by stories of their wealth and persuaded the women to kill their husbands, after which they took the Doly women for themselves. The leaders of the three hordes after Alasha were his three sons. The leader of the Great horde was Baishura, (3) the leader of the Middle horde was Dzhanshura,

3. It must be assumed that Baishura was the youngest son of Alasha and did not receive his share. At any rate it is said: the paternal changarak (the upper circle of the tent) remained in the Great horde. Therefore the Little horde calls the Great horde "the offspring of the father" (ata balasy) and the Middle horde "the offspring of the elder brother" (aga balasy).

and that of the Little horde was Karashura. As they multiplied and grew rich, the Kazakhs began to spread in all directions. The Great horde (ulu yuz) took the south, around the populated places, while

1 [Not translated -- A.]

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the i[illegible] livestock (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 7

1 [Not translated -- A.]

4:Grodekov--4 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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The father of the Kirgiz sprang from a mirage (sagym). He reigned among the Kazakhs and married one of their girls, from whom he had a single daughter. The father appointed 40 female servants to her. At one time the Khan's daughter came with her 40 servants to a great river, where she noticed floating foam. As they watched the foam the girls heard words coming from it: "You are right and I am right" (antalkhak mende ak). (2) Out of curiosity the

2. The form of these words is more correct in the History of the Khanate of Kokand by V. P. Nalivkin, p. 15: ana el'khak mana el'khak (and that is the truth and this is the truth). The story is also found in Puteshestvie po Okrainam Russkoi Azii/ A Journey through the Borderlands of Russian Asia/ by M. Veniukov, St. Petersburg, 1868. p. 155.

maidens dipped their fingers in the foam and then licked them, and it soon turned out that all of them were with child. Khan Sagym expelled them to the high mountains for he did not wish to kill them. Finding food in the mountains, they gave birth to 40 sons and 40 daughters, a total offspring of 80. When they grew up, these children married among each other. The people which took form from them became called the Kyrgyz (kyrk-kyz, 40-maidens). The Kirgiz remained living in the mountains and the Kazakhs in the valley. In the course of time some of the Kirgiz became famous and left clans to follow them, others degenerated and disappeared without forming clans. The name of one clan chief was Ung /On/ (the right), the name of another Sol (the left). The first descended from the daughter of a khan, and the other from the daughter of a vizir. Kirgiz clans descended from both of them.

. . . .

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The Kazakh nobles or white bone (ak suyek, tiuria, sultan) do not reckon themselves as belonging to one horde or to one clan. They do not divide into lineage (undivided, "tagk"). They are descendants of khans ruling in the steppes, for example, Ablai-Khan. According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd, the Tiuri are descendants of the Caliph Abbas (ibni Appas), and at the same time also descendants of Chingiz Khan. /Inserted Plate 7/1 Caption: The white bone.

7/1 [Not reproduced — Analysis]

4:Grodekov--5 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Sadyk, son of Kenisary Kasimov. /

/5/ One of the local singers, by the name of Maikut, relates that a certain princess whose father never let her go out, but kept her shut up in a dark room, became pregnant from an accidental ray of the sun which entered. Her father threw her into the water, but a hunter named Dompol saved her from it. From the ray she bore the chief of the clan of the ruling families (Chingiz Khan), and from Dompol she bore the sons Burgeltai, Budanatai, Tabanatai and Targaitai, from whom the Tiuri among the Kazakhs are descended.

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The present Tiuri (nagz tiuria) are considered to be those whose mothers as well as fathers were of the white bone.

Hodjas and Seids also belong to the white bone. Hodjas are considered to be the descendants of the fellow champions of the prophet, and the Seiidy, who are not numerous among the Kazakhs, are considered to be descendants of the son of Hussein, the imam of Zeinulabuddin, and therefore the best of the hodjas.

The hodjas live in tents around holy places, for example, Baba-Ata, in the Turkestan uyezd, in the northern spurs of the Kara-Tau. They are engaged in agriculture, transport and learning, and bear more resemblance to Sarts. There are also hodjas from the nomadic Kazakhs, in the Kurama uyezd, around Toi-Tyube among other places. There are no hodjas among the Kirgiz of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Fergana region.

In contrast to the white bone, the remainder of the people are called black bone, kara suyek, and also subjects, karashi, pukara.

The law at present, and the customary law as an example of it, makes no distinction between the white bone and the remainder of the people. When the aksuiaks are courteous, they are shown special respect. But when there is friction with them they are told: "We too are given freedom; when we are treated roughly we reply roughly." (Mikebai, bii of the Perovsk uyezd). In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the privileges of the white bone are absolutely denied.

Marriages are now concluded between the white and the black bone without obstacle. As before, however, the woman of the higher /6/ estate who marries one of the black bone loses her estate advantages and undergoes a curse (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

The Tulenkut were clients and riders /dzhigit/ from the poor, serving the Tiuri and being adopted by them. Formerly they served for the allotment of property (inchi), or for a bride price or in general

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they continued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use. 565

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1) 565 554 [558]

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

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4:Grodekov--7 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

576 The order of seniority is observed: 1) at the division of military booty (oldzha). Even though the man who first captured the booty may wish to take the lion's share of it for himself, those who are senior by birth usually take their share first; 2) in entering the house (nukhtagasyb kiredi, they enter in order) and in sitting down in their places. The most honorable place is opposite the entrance; 3) at the opening of a festivity (tui bystagan), they argue as to who, as senior in the clan, will begin the singing (ulen), for this one customarily receives a gift; 4) in the quality of the food served.

618 The seniority among the hordes, clans and lineages goes by direct
576 line. The last clan of the Great horde has precedence over the most senior clan of the Middle horde, etc. This is justified by the fact that the ancestor was senior (atasy ulkun). (2)

2. Among the Mogols the khans are succeeded by their youngest sons, i. e., those who have not received allotment. Even now the youngest sons, as inheritors of the father's tent (ulkun ui), acquire greater fame from the fact that they arrange the funeral and the wake. Guests and petitioners for the usual gifts and sacrifices come to them. Finally, they enjoy great respect already during their father's lifetime. They are only obliged to honor their elder brothers. After the death of the father the guests appear first in the home of the youngest son in order to honor the memory of the father (arvakh siileimiz, we honor the soul), but for counsel they turn to his elder brother.

The Dzhalair clan is now considerd the senior clan of the Great horde. At feasts when the food is served they ask if there is someone there from the senior clan Dzhalair (nukhtagasy Dzhalair barma?), in order to serve him first. At weddings the Dzhalairs begin the singing, and if none of them are present the Oshakty begin it.

618 /8/ There are indications, however, that at the beginning this clan was not the oldest in origin. Umurbek, bii of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, transmits the following story: Once Dzhalair rode out with orders to take horses from adversaries. Having stored up a large number of halters, (nukhta), he succeeded in driving in far more horses than his comrades. As a result of this, he received the nick name of nukhtagasy, which from that time on began to be used in the sense of elder in the clan. Nukhta-agasy means master or chief of the halters. /The informant/ Torgai, who admits that Dzhalair might have been younger and became senior as heir of his father's changarak /tent ring, i. e. tent/, repudiates

this story, however, on the basis that nukhtagasy does not come from 618
the word nukhta. The Kazakhs of the Oshakhty clan maintain that Oshakty is older than Dzhalair, although the latter has precedence as the lawful (nikeli) son. Yupar Baibishe, the mother of all the clans of the Great horde, from the lust which she conceived for a man who was walking beside her husband, bore a son without relations with him. She thrust the baby into the hearth (oshak), for which reason the people who found him gave him the name Oshakty. After him she bore a lawful son Dzhalair.

It is customary to give certain food to the honored person, i. e. 576
of the senior clan (nukhtagasy), the eldest in the clan or lineage (aksakal), finally the khodja, mullah, etc. If there is some to give, the honored person receives tea, millcakes, fruit (1) and the following

1. Cf. supplement No. 3.[1]

pieces of meat: to the first, the head of the animal (2) or, according

2. The tastiest part of the head is considered to be the nose.

to other people, the head with a flank (ianbas) and a haunch (mykyn), or the head with a flank and hooves; to the second person the flank (ianbas); to the third the thigh-bone (ortan yilik, ortai ilik); to the fourth a leg from knee to shinbone (asyk yilik); (3) to the last the

3. Asyk is the knee pan.

shoulder (dzhaurin). The fat under the horse's mane is considered to be one of the very honorable pieces.

According to data from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, pieces of mutton have the following sequence in degree of honor: the orta yilik /9/ (the thigh bone of a front leg) goes to the young men; the asyk yilik (the leg, knee to shinbone, of a back leg) to women; ker yilik or kari yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg) to the mistress of the house (baibishe); tus (breast) to the groom; iaurin (the shoulder and thighbone of a front leg) to the old men; tokpa (the thighbone of a back leg) to the grown girls (bui yitken kyzdarga); kiuimshak (the tail) to the women and girls.

According to data from the Kurama uyezd, the men receive: bas (the head), kabyrga (rib), umurtka (the vertebrae), bakai (the hoof and the bones over the hooves of all four feet), and the yilinchik (a little

1 [not translated -- A]

57/ above the bakai). (1) The women receive the yanbas (flank), ortan

1. They give the sheep herder the neck (muyun) and the large intestine (kuten).

yilik (the thighbone) and ker yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg).

Sultans, according to the opinion of Sultan Daulet Bushaev are not given heads, even though they are the most honored personages at a feast. It is customary to give them the asyk yilik (the leg from knee to shinbone).

According to bii Khalmakhammed of the Chimkent uyezd, rich men often regale their guests with the three lower pairs of ribs of a sheep, which are called sube kabyrga. They also give their guests kuirukbaur (2) even if they are not matchmakers (cf. chapter on match-

2. A small liver with fat from the fat tail.

making).[1]

The food, which is brought in on platters, (tabak) is given first to the most honored persons, who say a prayer (pata) such as: auveli kudanyng irzalygina, ikinshi tubanyng kabyllygna (or else murattyng asyyalygyna) mal bastyng bekeretine (for the grace of God, for the attainment of desires, for the thriving of the livestock and the people). When they themselves have eaten, they give what is left to the persons sitting below them. The guest gives (asatady) food from his platter to the host, putting the piece straight into his mouth or into his hand. The The leavings (sarkyt) are left by the guest to the daughter or bride of the host, and if there are none, then to the mistress of the household.

Among the Kirgiz the pieces of the animal are divided into samycha and kolmycha. These go in the following order of honor:
/10/ 1) The head with one flank goes to the aksakal.

2) The fat tail fat with the other flank goes to the biis, manaps, rich men, respected hodjas, etc.

3) Kashka yilik (dzhaurin among the Kazakhs).

4) Yuta yilik (asyk yilik among the Kazakhs).

5) Shivilchak or the shirak (bakai among the Kazakhs).

6) Both shoulders (taly).

7) Kung yilik (the armpits).

8) Kar yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg).

[1] [i.e. - Chapter V -- A]

9) Tush (the breast).

10) Muyun (the neck).

11) Ichay karyn (the intestines) are given to children and women, who usually get nothing of the best pieces.

Seniority is not ranked by direct line, i.e., the brother of someone, older or younger, has precedence (ulkun yol) over the son of the same person. Uncles are met with greater honor than nephews. (1)

1. The Khan is succeeded by his brothers, then his sons, then the sons of the brothers.

Before old men (aksakals), i.e., elders, mullahs and influential persons, even of strange clans, they sit properly, do not contradict, and fulfill requests. It is customary to exact an apology and a fine for reviling them or scuffling with them.

If a low person should chance to sit between high ones, he can be ousted or allowed to remain, in view of whether he and his father are good persons or not.

If a high person unjustly abuses an inferior, then a bii may say [683] to him: "Look here. If you do that again, not he but you will be fined."

When a high person beats an inferior, he is not punished for three blows, inclusively. And if the inferior responds with a blow during one of the first three blows, then he must pay a fine. /11/ Envoys are not [648] abused and not killed, according to the proverb: il'chige ulum kharam, death is forbidden to an envoy.

Inferiors, for example, young women, do not walk in front of elders, but go around behind them. If they pass in front of them by necessity, walking or riding, they show them honor (tazim) by greeting them or by some other sign of respect. If a woman bars a road to men, they stop her and force her to ride across behind them (the Perovsk uyezd).

The Tiuri are greeted after the usual salaam by the additional word aldiiar. (1) Of proud Tiuri it is said: it is a bad Tiur who prides

1. Apparently instead of "alla iar", they say "May God be a protector."

himself on an aldiiar (aldiiarga mas bulgan yaman tiure).

To ride up to a person or to a tent at a gallop is considered blameworthy. Such a person is asked reproachfully: "What happened?

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

[695] the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by
[628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a
[587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from
[429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and 618
debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships.

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and 631 618
Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle.

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the 631 618
Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, 778
data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, from whom the following answers have been received.

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division [695] to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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[672]

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
[571] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[694] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

The vagueness and imprecision of the borders of the volosts and 618
villages also adds to the importance of the clan origin. There are cases, quite often, in which Kazakhs belonging to one volost or one village occupy land for farming and winter camps in other volosts and villages. The organization of the land and the exact determination of the borders of the volosts and villages will have an enormous influence on the destruction of the clan principle. When every village has its own allotment of land then a transfer of tents will take place only for economic considerations and not to collect a majority of votes for one's kinsmen.

2) In the opinion of the chief of the Turkestan uyezd, the administrative division of the Kazakhs into villages and volosts has not by any means achieved its goal, and the clan principle is strongly maintained, as before. This is assisted, among other things, by the fact that the volosts were organized by clans or by branches, and all the transfers of Kazakhs from one volost to another were caused by a desire for clan unity.

3) The chief of the Kazalinsk (2) uyezd states that the division

2. On the transfer of the Kazakhs from volost to volost to their kinsmen, and on the force of the clan rulers in the steppe along with the volost administrators, see the article by E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti" /From the life of the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya region/, in Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, No. 17. In 1887 Mr. Aleksandrov writes: "Up to the present time a weakening of the clan principle has not been perceptible. In this respect the law of 1867 has not had the force of a destructive action."

into volosts and villages with elected functionaries, has suppressed to a considerable degree the striving of the kinsmen to play the leading role or to influence the administration by the people. /16/ A land demarcation of the volosts would have had a still greater influence on the suppression of the clan principle. Even now Kazakhs of one clan [423] but in different volosts, even in those very far apart, for the most part nomadize together on lands which they consider to be of the clan. For this reason they often do not allow villages to use the land although the latter have a greater right to it because of their permanent residence in those places and their revival of irrigation canals.

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4) The chief of the Kurama uyezd reported that there were no strong Kazakh clans in that uyezd, since its residents had already come here in small groups or singly during the Moslem rule. In transferring from volost to volost, the strong clans do not willingly separate their members, and the latter also are not anxious to break away from their clan. Those who do transfer are mostly the poor from broken clans. The Kazakhs who have strong kinsmen live more prosperously, because the rich help their poor kinsmen in difficult moments, and often pay assessments for them, while the poor pay for this in their turn by their labor. With the breaking up of the clans the poor, being left to their own devices, grow poorer from year to year, having no strong hand indirectly leading them. According to the opinion of the chief of the uyezd, the morality of the Kazakhs belonging to a large clan is considerably higher than the morality of the newcomers from broken clans. This is explained by the fact that the clan administration has not lost its importance even now, and the chief of the clan in the midst of the Kazakhs has even more influence than the Russian administration.

5) The Chimkent uyezd is occupied by Kazakhs of the Great horde, and the nomadic life is retained in absolute purity among them. Here every Kazakhs knows well what his clan is, his lineage and even his sublineage. The clan principle has been retained in full force, and with it the power of the kinsmen. The right reserved to the nomads to transfer from volost to volost has made it possible for the Kazakh clans to unite, and at /17/ the present time some single clan predominates in every volost. The volost administrator is elected from this predominant clan, and he plays the role of kinsman at the same time. The village elders are also elected primarily from the chief clan. Not one of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd has territorial boundaries, and the tent proprietors in most of the volosts are scattered over the entire uyezd. Although the elective principle has weakened the power of a single kinsman in an entire lineage, it has brought with it the formation of a small clan aristocracy, the atkamnars. (1) The atkamnars are mostly former officials of volosts,

1. Atkamnar literally means "rider of a horse", and in a figurative sense, a rich person.

or biis, or officials of villages, or even of groups of fifty. Since persons influential in the clan are elected for all these posts, 20 to 150 tents of adherents and relatives remain around them even after they havebeen replaced. The atkamnar is considered the patron of

his adherents. He acts as their representative at elections and in court cases.

In confirmation of what has been said, we enter below a list of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd, with an indication of the number of tents in each clan within the volost.

Aktash volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	889 tents
		Sikym	93 tents
		Seuvan	38 "
		Total	1,020 tents
Akmolinsk volost	Clans:	Sty	956
		Oshakty	228
		Kangly	16
		Kongrad	2
		Total	1,202
Arys volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1,160
Aksu volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	884
		Chimir	841
		Sary Aisiun	40
/18/		Dzhagalbaily	62
		Sikym	139
		Argyn	9
		Botpai	3
		Total	1, 978
Bairkum volost	Clan:	Kongrad	1, 462
Bishtamgaly	Clans:	Sirgeli	156
		Sty	900
		Oshakty	289
		Dzhalair	134
		Total	1, 479
Buraldaev	Clans:	Chimir	1, 053
		Sikym	8
		Abdan	9
		Total	1, 070
Karabulak volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 036 tents
		Shenshkyly	65
		Sirgeli	90
		Chimir	1 28
		Total	1, 319 tents

4:Grodekov--17 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Karamurt volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 344 tents
		Shaprashty	94
		Abdan	80
		Argyn	20
		Kangly	15
		Sty	19
		Botpai	20
		Oshakty	10
		Kirgiz	20
		Sirgeli	15
		Total	1, 637tents
Kazykurt volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	1, 421 tents
		Aiban	150
/19/		Sikym	50
		Sty	47
		Total	1, 368 tents
Kungei-Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	849
		Dzhalair	162
		Total	1, 011 tents
Mailikent volost	Clans:	Chimir:	1, 312 tents
		Kangly, Shenshkyly	413
		Dzhanys	50
		Botpai	251
		Total	2, 026
Sarykul volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1, 455 tents
		Argyn	19
		Kerei	17
		Total	1, 491
Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 827 tents
		Kongrad	12
		Total	1, 839 tents
Tilik volost	Clans:	Sty	1, 599 tents
Chayan volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 034 tents
Chilik volost	Clans:	Naiman	705 tents
		Argyn	249
		Kypchak	152
		Hodja	154
		Total	1, 160 tents/sic/
Chui volost	Clans:	Sikym	900 tents
		Dzhagalbaily	156
		Total	1, 056 tents

Dzhanys volost	Clans:	Chegyr	416 tents
		Dzhanys	603
/20/		Sirgeli	11
		Total	1,030 tents

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

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The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat. 171 171

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the exchange of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with the meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife", the fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the expiatory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established (among the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the repetition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

671 theft (among the Buriats), the succession of the children without
171 allotment (among the Yakut), the obligation to reciprocate in giving gifts (among the Yakut), Suyunchi (among the Buriats), matchmaking at a young age (among the Buriats); the woman's lack of property (among the Yakut); her private property consists of clothing and ornaments; in place of the dead bride, her sister is given away (among the Buriats); the widow marries a kinsman of her husband (among the Buriats); she is free not to marry at all (among the Buriats and Tunguz).

Among the Kirgiz, the zang or adat is the same as it is among the Kazakhs, with small deviations.

671 In the customary law the customs of private life are not distinguished from judicial customs; moral duties are not demarcated from juridical duties, nor domestic and administrative payments from court payments.

In the old customary law there was no difference between authority, being of good birth, and the court and administrative powers.

The word "law" /pravo/ in the European sense does not exist in the Kazakh language. The word khak means: 1) truth, 2) God, and 3) the right to receive something.

The oldest law was the right of the strong. (1) There could be

1. There are the proverbs: for one person two persons are God; "the people is holy", i.e., the will of the people is holy.

no individual rights. (2) Freedom (kengchilik) was not differentiated

2. On the contrary, the individual was entirely in the power of the clan. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers articles were entered from the collection of Kaitakh customary laws of Rustem khan of the 12th century: "if any village which belongs to the Kaitakh society detaches itself, it must pay 300 rubles" and if any one person detaches humself from the society he must pay 100 rubles."

from willfulness. The violation of someone's interests led to a fight resulting in victory or reconciliation. In the course of time the custom was worked out of reconciliation on the basis of mutual satisfaction. Voluntary concessions, for example, kunakasy, the allotment of inchi, are founded on the fear of confiscation by force.

Now the individual is undoubtedly beginning to be conscious of

the possibility of making use of the conveniences put at his disposal 671
by the /22/ existing order, in the sense of freedom of action, protection by law from persecution, the appeal of decisions, etc. The closer to the town, the more the rights of the individual are respected.

The main theses of the oral tradition of customary law are the 671
same everywhere. The details vary according to time and place. There 178
is already fear that the unity of the Kazakhs is disappearing (kazaktyng birligi kitedi), as a result of the decline of the clan principle and the community of property. The changed conditions of life have brought forth the rise, so to speak, of a new customary law. This has been influenced by the conversion to Islam of the Kazakhs, the proximity of the Kokandians in the fortresses, the transition of a part of the nomads to sedentary life, and the moral influence and decrees of the Russian administration. The main features of the new customary law are: the limitation of the clan bond and clan property to a narrower circle, which was also the aim of the law, according to which the Turkestan region was administered until 1887; (1) giving brides and

1. The Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya regions, 1867.

widows the freedom to choose a husband; the introduction of the use of written acts; the exchange of reckoning by livestock to reckoning by money, etc.

Now the old customary law has lost its force (adattyng kushi ketti), and a new customary law is rising. Formulas like these have begun to be used: in accordance with the customary law of the extraordinary session between these and these uyezds. A considerable part of the business of the present sessions of the biis consists of the adjudication of money for bills of exchange and receipts. Quite often such documents are examined as the certificates of Russian doctors, decisions concerning the capture of thieves corpus delicti, fraudulent records and receipts, reports with the special opinion of the minority, and information from the transport office. One finds complaints concerning the non-issuance of a copy with a decision, on the appropration of money which had been made over to be deposited in the uyezd pawn-broker's with the interest, on a silver watch which was lost at a prostitute's, etc. The session validates land and other decisions (osu ishni nygytamyz), collects the signatures of those who have been pacified, in /23/ anticipation of a renewed claim for the wergeld, and finally, it even ordains judgment by default, an innovation unheard of in the old customary law. Philo-

671 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an ex-
178 ample we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim.... In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz). " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former
562 volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

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as a slave (churi khisabi bulady), and 2) she is not easily beguiled by strangers since she lives on the steppe and works beside her husband, loading the camels, milking cows and nursing the children (bagane adamga kub kungul' bermeidi, bayina kyzmet kylyb tyuya artib mal saub bala chagasyna karab yuredi).

custom (minez rasm) of the Kazakhs and they enjoy great freedom (kazak keng bulady). Torgai spoke of the customary law in this way: "The customary law is really a suckling pig" /24/ (chuchkanyng bel'gi balsy). He does not subordinate himself to the customary law. As Kyul'baev, a Kazakh of the Kurama uyezd, expressed it, the customary law is the stable boy of the Shariat (adat shariatyng yilaukeri). In the Kurama uyezd a small number of sedentary Kazakhs have accepted the Shariat, but most of them hold to the customary law. However the administration is constantly receiving requests to introduce the Shariat among them. The best people are judged by the kazi, where they can soon be absolved by their personal oath, while with the bii, the oath is imposed on a kinsman in the third lineage or further removed, which makes the position of the litigant more difficult. In the Kurama uyezd the people are asked if they want to be judged by the customary law or by the Shariat, and they know that the customary law is agreeable (makul) to the Russians.

In the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd one finds the phrases: "by customary law"," by the full customary law" (toluk adat buyunsha), "by the Shariat" and "by the law." The last, by the interpretation of several Kazakhs, is intended to give the decision greater force.

Makovetskii, in the foreword to the first part of his Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridicheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov /Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/, (Omsk, 1886), distinguishes innovations from old customs, relating primarily to precepts established under the khan Az Tauke. Khan Tauke assembled seven biis at Kul'-Tyube (in the Syr-Darya region) /old Tashkent uyezd/, among whom was the famous bii Tule Alimbekov, and these biis combined the old customs of the khans Kasym and Ishim ("Kasymkhannyng Kaska Dzhol"-The Pure Road, of khan Kasym, and "Isymkhannyng Iski Dzhol" -The Old Road, of khan Ishim) into new customs, called Dzhety Dzharga. These customs were not written down, but were given the form of short sayings and proverbs, which have been retained to a considerable degree until now, and enjoy universal respect. (1)

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1. Levshin says of khan Tyavka (Tauke): This is the Licurgus, the Draco of the Kazakh hordes. He lived in Turkestan, and commanded all the Kazakhs, as a whole. For the supervision and direction of each horde there were three chiefs subordinate to him: Tylya in the Great horde, Kazbek in the Middle horde, and Aitak in the LIttle horde (Part II, p. 64).

Bii Mikebai of the Perovsk uyezd acknowledged himself to be in complete ignorance /25/ of the tradition related above. He had only heard the expression: "kazaktyng kaska yoly" in the meaning of the "the real customary law of the Kazakhs." The biis Sultan and Khalbii know that all three hordes used to gather annually for conferences (maslagat), (1) on the Martube hill (in the mountains near Sairam).

1. Concerning the gradual change of the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers under the influence of maslagat, both of courts and of councils, see Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /The Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, pp. 7-22.

near Sairam). The subjects of the conferences were questions of where to camp in the winter, where to go in the summer, how to achieve peace (buitsek tynchyimyz) and how to make war. But bii Sultan states positively that they did not change the customs (rasm). Until a new meeting of the hordes, the decisions of the last one were not broken (buzbeidy). Under Tauke khan, seven biis met together, "dzheti dzhargysh" or more exactly, "dzheti dzhargy," i. e., seven collaborators (ish bittiretgun). Among their number there were three eminent biis, one from each horde: Tule from the Great horde, from the Middle horde kaz dausty Kazbek, i. e., Kazbek with the voice of a goose (loud), and Aiteke from the Little horde. Sultan and Khalbii do not know that Tule Alibekov (and not Alimbekov) and the other biis combined the customs of khans Ishim and Kasym. The pure road of khan Kasym and the ancient road of khan Ishim are to them two names of one road through Kuk-Tyube, around Turbat, along which the khans had to nomadize when the Karakalpaks, having conquered Tashkent, expelled them from the valley. They do not give these expressions the significance of customs. At that time Tule ruled Tashkent, while he himself lived

in Sar- Tyube, near Tashkent. In the village of Kybrai lived his kinsman Kybrai the batyr. In the village of Bairikurgan lived his kinsman Baitik. In his old age Tule made his stable-man Yunus-Hodja of the Halcha tribe a collector of taxes or duvanbegi in Tashkent. After the death of Tule, Yunus-Hodja expelled the Kazakhs from Tashkent. The war with them continued for 15-20 years, until Mamet Sherif-Atalyk who came from Kokand to help him, vanquished the Kazakhs. This was about a hundred years ago.

Concerning the same questionof the Kazakhs in the Chimkent uyezd /26/ Isa Batyrbekov reported: "Esim Khan or the stoop-shouldered man Esim (esegey buli er Esim), as he was departing for Bukhara, told his vizir Kasym-Khan that he should be khan until his return (hence his nickname Khantursun), but made an agreement with him that he should not kill Esim Khan's family. After his return, 12 years later, Esim Khan found his family imprisoned in the Cheb or Khanym-chebi fortress on the upper course of the Sairam river. The proverb "the pure road, etc.," signifies the Kazakh customary laws established by both khans, or else the military road through the villages of Sailyk and Khatynailyk."

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/27/ CHAPTER III.

602 Degrees of kinship. -The authority of the parents. -Age of majority. -The clan of the mother. -Adoption. -Guardianship. -Blood brotherhood.

An unknown person receives questions first of all about his clan (Ne el sen? Syuyaging ne?). If the inquirer is of the same clan, then he asks about the lineage, then the sublineage, etc., down to the group, after which the direct descending list of the ancestors begins. Each is supposed to know his ancestors. "He who does not know seven ancestors is a backslider," says the proverb (yete atasyn bil'megen murted). (1)These inquiries serve as a testimonial of the

1. We were able to ascertain more than once that even children aged 10-11 knew their seven ancestors exactly.

individual. Guests are received graciously or rudely on the basis of the recognized degree of kinship. Kinship is reckoned, as they say, to the fortieth degree.

618 Transfer from one clan to another is impossible, but living and nomadizing with a strange clan is permitted.

582 Marriages are concluded between hordes, clans, lineages, etc. to the seventh "ancestor", i.e., the seventh degree of kinship inclusively, by the male line (2), and in the opinion of several people, to

2. Matchmaking takes place when seven ancestors have passed (yete ata utkensong). If anyone has a love relationship with a person more closely related than this degree of kinship, he is banished from the society (yurttan chygarady). Communication of bii Khalmakhammed, Chimkent uyezd.

the fourth and even the third degree. Among the Kirgiz, according to the statement of bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, marriages are concluded to the fifth generation. At the present time, closer relatives marry, even from the second generation, for which they are reproached by the words: "You are spoiling the customary law." But they do not dissolve the marriage and do not impose a penalty. (3) Mullah Asan

3. In the Svanetiya "Even those whose kinship is reckoned at the twelfth degree cannot enter into marriage." (Vestnik Evropy, August, 1886).

confirms this:"Earlier, among the Kirgiz as well as /28/ the Kazakhs, brides were taken from the seventh genaration; now they choose from the third degree, and are even beginning to choose them from the second degree, in accordance with the Shariat. Manaps and the simple people do not differ in this."

They do not calculate at every matchmaking how many generations (ata) have passed since the common ancestor of both parties, for it is always known which lineages can conclude marriages between each other (kyz alysady), since they represent the seventh or further generations of a common ancestor. It is equally well known which lineages and sublineages cannot conclude marriages, (kyz alyspaidy), because fewer than seven generations have passed since their division. Between lineages which cannot intermarry, it is not acceptable to answer each other in singing at a wedding.

The reason why the Kazakhs do not take brides from a closer degree of kinship is, first of all, that with close marriages there would be embarrassment between the boys and girls of one village, and there would be no restraint against their having intimate relations (oy nasady), and secondly, in such marriages there are few children (tukhmi usmeidi, "their family does not grow") (1), and also the husband does not love

1. The same motives restrain the Kanak in New Caledonia from choosing a bride from their village: Jamais un Canaque n'épousera une femme de son village. Ils disent qu'en se mariant entre eux, ce sang s'appauvrit, tandis qu'en prenant une femme d'un autre village ou même d'une autre tribu, il s'améliore; et puis, de cette manière on se fait des alliés en cas de guerre ou de querelles. (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 3. trimestre 1886. Aperçu général sur la Nouvelle Calédonie, par Octave Opigez, p. 437).

the wife (syuimeidi), and it is reported (nakl bar) that he is usually weak in the sexual relation (urgachiga kemkuvat bulady). Bii Sultan Kanaev adds that this is why the biis established (tokhtatkan) the present order of more distant matchmaking, in conference with each other (akyldaskan) and not breaking the Shariat (shariatka kabyl).

Kinship in the female line does not obstruct marriage, with certain exceptions.

It is impossible for a father to marry a mother, when a son has married her daughter, and vice versa.

Two sisters are not married to two brothers. Brides /Inserted

582 page. Picture. 2 Caption: The Kirgiz manap mullah Asan Dzhangel'din, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. / /29/ of two brothers must be no more closely related than the third degree of kinship.

Sisters may marry two first cousins, but even this is not done eagerly, and they say it would be better to establish a bond in two places rather than in one (eki tamyrdi br tamyr kylmaimyz).

It is impossible to marry your step-sister (not your own-ugei), from the same father but another mother, and vice versa. It is impossible to marry a step-daughter, whether a maiden or a widow. (1)

1. "Anyone who did that would become an infidel /Kafir/" cried bii Khamahammed.

[Picture not reproduced--A]

582 587 A widow may marry a step-son, born by another wife of her late husband. A widow does not marry her father-in-law, but she does marry his brother. A daughter cannot marry the brother of her father's wife, but she can marry his son.

It is impossible to marry one's step-mother (ugei sheshe). If a widow with her son goes over to the older or younger brother of her husband, who was already married earlier, and if he also dies, then a son can marry his widow, i.e., his own step-mother, as Torgai expresses it, by the Shariat, but not by customary law. If the wife of the uncle does not become one's step-mother, then one can marry her also according to customary law (Torgai).

According to Khamahammed, Chimkent uyezd, it is impossible to marry the son's widow /or/ the wife's mother. The son of one wife can marry the step-daughter of his father by another wife.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, Pt. 1, p. 2, this bii finds that two brothers can marry two sisters, or one can marry the mother, and the other the daughter. Sultan Abulfaiz, of the Chimkent uyezd, says the same thing, stating that he has encountered examples of it.

To marry the sister of one's step-mother is considered reprehensible, although this does happen for love. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that such a marriage is illicit.

/30/ The sister-in-law, the sister of the brother's wife, is considered the blood sister until the death of the brother. Therefore it is impossible to marry her until this time.

587 It is impossible to marry the wife's sister (baldyz), as long as the wife is living.

After the death of a wife, the husband demands her sister for himself in marriage, if she is still unspoken for, or her kinswoman, with the payment of a bride price minus 6 head of livestock from

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the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

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The kinship terms in Kazakh:
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

4: Grodekov--29 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

601 Mother's elder brother - nagashi, nagashi ata (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Mother's younger brother - nagashi, nagashi aga (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Aunt, father's sister - apa (amma in Sart).
Aunt, mother's sister - nagashi yenge (khala in Sart).
Father's elder brother - ata, nemere ata (amake in Sart).
Father's younger brother - aga, nemere aga (amake in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger brother - nemere (dzhien in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger sister - dzien.
Nephew, grandson of brother - shubere.
Grandson, son's son - nemere.
Grandson, daughter's son - dzhien.
Cousin, father's brother's son - nemere.
Cousin, father's sister's son - dzhien.
Cousin, mother's younger or elder sister's son - bule (khalavacha in Sart).
Cousin, mother's elder or younger brother's son - nagashi.
Second cousin - shubere.
/32/ Wife's elder or younger brother's son, in relation to her husband's son - dzhien.
Husband - er, bai.
Wife, - khatyn. Among the Kirgiz ayash.
First wife. - biabishe.
Other wives - takal, kshi khatyn.
Spouse's father /svat/ - kuda.
Spouse's brother - kuda byla.
Spouse's sister - kudacha.
Spouse's mother - kudagai.
Groom - kuyau.
Bride - kalyndyk (koruktyk among the Kirgiz).
Sister-in-law, wife of the elder brother - yenge.
Sister-in-law, wife of younger brother - kelin, kelinchek.
Husband's older brother - kainaga.
Husband's younger brother - kain.
Husband's older sister - kain bike.
Husband's younger sister - bikesh.
Husband of wife's older sister - yezde.
Wife's younger sister's husband - badzha.
Wife's older sister - kain bike.
Wife's younger sister - baldyz.

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Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkin ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

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The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd. 593

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily 683 punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children.

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In a similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not subjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her husband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

For stealing from parents, children who have received their 593 allotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is 685 considered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind
[675] (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

this for himself.

593

/35/ In extremity, the father renounces his son, khatti bizar, bizar khatt, before witnesses. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the bii places his seal on the document (for khatti bizar actually means "a letter of renunciation"). The form of the renunciation is: "If you are killed, I will not demand wergeld for you. If you kill someone, I will not pay wergeld on your behalf." In spite of this statement, however, a father cannot evade the payment of [672] the wergeld for a murder committed by his son after that, unless, when he refuses to pay the wergeld, he permits his son to be killed as a punishment for the murder committed by him. A son who has been expelled by his father goes to one of his relatives.

Sometimes a daughter is given to an ishan or mullah (1) as an [782]

1. The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds: there are cases when a sick father promises to give his daughter to his ishan if he recovers.

offering favorable to God (nazr), provided that he is not within the forbidden degree of kinship, and also sometimes to a blood brother.

It is said that under the pressure of poverty boys are sometimes sold in the Perovsk uyezd (for 20 sheep for example). The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov states that now they do not sell children.

A daughter is not sold, for there is a possibility of marrying her off for a small kalym. Bii Sultan Kanev recalls that in a time of famine daughters were sold for 1 or 2 heads of livestock or for 20-30 fillias /monetary unit equal to about 3-4 rubles/, and after the famine was over they demanded before him, bii Sultan, the rest of the payment up to the full kalym. The bii awarded the rest of the payment up to the full kalym of the category of "7 kulundi biya (2) and 2

2. Kulundi biya is a mare with a suckling.

buidak." (3)

3. Buidak is a two year old sheep. On the kalym /bride price/, cf. Chapter VI.

According to customary law there can be no protest against

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 608 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe", like the real mother.

* * * *

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as 884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was 582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, det us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

* * * *

Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

597 Touching the breast of the adoptive mother is a symbol that she considers the adopted one on an equal with her own children, whom she nursed, although she did not nurse him.

The adopted one is usually not considered as close as the true child, although he may gain more affection than the true children by his spiritual qualities and his services. The same can be said of adopted slaves.

When they wish to reject the adopted one, they give him an allotment only of inchi or only of kalym. In extreme cases it is enough to give him a horse for his departure. On the request of the adopted one, the aksakas may request the father not to reject his foster child without a serious offense (Perovsk uyezd). The adopted one, on his part, can always go away to his clan at any time.

The clan does not change through adoption, at any rate not now.

[582] According to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov, the adopted child (inchiles bala), coming from a clan and lineage with which marriage is permissible, can under no circumstances enter into marriage with those who have adopted him. This includes not only the family, but also the close relatives of this family. He is considered as a true son of the adopter and has a right to the name and the inheritance on an equal with the lawful children.

* * * *

429 After the death of the father, even though the mother is living, one of the close kinsmen takes the place of the father for the protection of the orphans (yetim), and the wards nomadize together with him.

This guardianship is not juridical but patriarchal, for which reason also there are rarely used words signifying the guardian: miraskhur, miras, mira(1), and according to Daulet Bushaev - vasy.

1. On hearing the word "mirasy" meaning "his guardian" they took the sy for a suffix and began to use "mira". Actually, the Arabic miras means inheritance, and miraskhur, the receiver of the inheritance. Among the Kazakhs these same words have received the meaning of guardian.

/39/ If no one remains alive in the tent but the successor, who is not of age, then he moves with all his property to the nearest kinsman (Perovsk uyezd). To this last kinsman other kinsmen come

and take what they need of the orphan's property, saying "when you eat (1) why shouldn't I eat?" (sen yegende men yemeyminbe?)(Torgai). 429

1. To eat is the equivalent of to use.

Only when the closest kinsman is completely unsuitable to be a guardian, then by demand of the remaining relatives, a bii or aksakal appoints another, if possible a close kinsman, or to speak more precisely, they do not appoint but give the minor into his hands.

In the absence of men, a woman is invited to be the guardian, the mother or a close kinswoman, for although women are bought by a kalym, in likeness to property, and although oaths are not sworn from the woman's side, it is not denied that they have a mind (akl), or otherwise they would not be allowed to give testimony in court. When male relatives are not to be found, women are themselves considered guardians. Outside aksakals are invited to be guardians only in the most extreme cases. In general, the guardian is usually of a relationship no further than the seventh degree.

Also the very close kinsman of the killed man, who presents the claim for the wergeld, or he who defends the rights of the deceased when there is no very close kinsman, and takes his place, is designated as guardian.

When the mother marries a kinsman of her dead husband, the children remain with her. But when the mother goes to a new husband of a strange clan, then the children remain under the guardianship of the former relatives.

The insane, cripples, etc., are not deprived of their property. Their closest kinsmen are considered their guardians. Even though they cannot earn their own subsistence, they are given wives without breaking the rule that the sons are married in order of seniority.

/40/ For minor sons (up to 15 years approximately), their guardians intercede on their behalf.

A girl must have the consent of her guardian to marry, if he is a kinsman. If he is not, she must have the consent of her closest kinsman. The guardian who is not a kinsman can only advise his ward, the groom or the bride, to defer the payment of the kalym until the spring when the number of livestock is doubled. The nearest relative can refuse his consent to a marriage which is desired by the guardian and the children themselves. The guardian is not forbidden to marry his female ward, with the observation of the usual rules. For example, when he is a close kinsman, he cannot marry within the forbidden 429 582

429 degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"
[582] rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razylyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan ber alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

settled by embracing with bared breast - kushaktaskan. I. Ibragimov states that they embrace each other across an unsheathed sword or across the Koran, which they kiss afterwards.

The children of tamyrs who continue the friendship are called ata tamyr. Spouses are called syuyak tamyr (hereditary friends). Other tamyrs are called "verbal" auz tamyr, as distinguished from the forms of strong friendship described above. Also they do not embrace. Torgai also ascribes to verbal friendship or simple acquaintanceship the friendship which is confirmed by squeezing the palm of the hand, barmak ustaskan. The proverb - friends always argue, people of the the same age are always hostile - (tamyr tube dau kurdas tube dzhau) - bears witness to the instability of the verbal friendship.

According to Torgai, this friendship / takyrstvo/ resembles the [608] custom of being considered as the representative /posazhennyi/ of the bride's father or groom's father (ukul ata) and the titular son or son-in-law (ukul kuyau, ukul bala). (1) One of these offers himself in

1. Ukul is a corrupted form of Arabic vakil.

this relation in order to receive a gift. After this they visit each other to receive gifts. When the titular son-in-law appears before the representative of the bride's father, the latter /42/ serves him breast meat (tus) just as he would his real son-in-law. But a good son-in-law, remembering that he is only titular, should not sit down in the place of honor /tur/.

According to bii Sultan, the ukul kuyau like a verbal friend, is only called son-in-law, but does not take a bride from the titular father-in-law. The latter may also be unmarried. The titular (tutingen) son-in-law lives with the titular father-in-law until his wedding, and then usually departs to his relatives. He also receives inchi, but less than the others who receive allotments. However before the allotment the father-in-law asks him if he and his wife will remain living with him. In case of a refusal, the former gives him a horse and a tent packed on a camel, and if there is no tent, then only blankets (tu sek orny).

Most young men usually have confidantes, "arifdas." It is permitted to take pleasing objects between them without asking permission. They give each other various trifles. Confidantes usually give bands for coats, and belts which they have made by hand. When young men meet their confidantes in private they touch their

572 breast. They visit the tent of their confidante under the pretext of wanting to know if there is any buza. If there is buza in the neighboring tents and they cannot drink together, then the girl is sent a cup of buza (1) secretly by children. She replies by sending a gift. They

1. Buza is an intoxicating drink, made from rice, millet or sorghum.

send each other greetings (salem) and verses (ulen). The young man sometimes even accompanies his confidante in the wedding procession to the village of her father-in-law, where she gives him a farewell gift. Her husband is not offended, since he has also had a confidante himself (Tashkent Kazakhs).

Among the Kirgiz, friends (tamyr, bilish) also give each other gifts. The doslyk is friendship which is unbreakable in this world or the next. Friends /dos/ embrace each other sometimes across a saber or across a knife. After the embrace they eat bread (nan toraydy). Among the Kirgiz youth there is also an "arifdash," but of course it is in secret, as the bii added when he reported this.

/43/ CHAPTER IV

428 The allotment to the sons. - Inchi. - Succession.

On the father lies the care of providing each son with kalym and an allotment, inchi. (1)

1. Inchi or enchi comes from the word en, the notches made on the livestock being divided, for differentiation.

Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the allotment to the sons, which depends entirely on the father, takes place in order of seniority and after their marriage.

An inducement to allotment is usually the crowdedness of the dwelling and the intractability of some individual.

The time for the allotment to each son also depends on the situation of the father's affairs, and is determined in the circle of the family, but not before the son is 15 years old, by the proverb: "at the age of 15, the master of the tent" (onbesh dzhil otau iese). Among the Kirgiz it is not before the age of 13 years, when majority is considered to be reached.

If the son requests it and the father does not wish to give him

his allotment at a given time, the son can wait or else leave without the inchi, but in the latter case he loses the right to demand it afterwards. They reply to such a demand by saying: "You did not wait for your father's consent." (atangnyng rizalygyna karakmadyng). In this case the son who is apportioning himself takes with him only what his wife brought at the wedding as a dowry. If the son behaves badly or does not know how to earn money and the father wishes to send him away the son will demand his father to give him a wife or an allotment. The people pacify them. If they are not pacified, then the part of the kalym which is not yet paid remains unpaid by the father, who sends his son away on a good animal (a good horse or good camel). /44/ This animal also takes the place of the allotment. If after that the son cannot earn the remainder of the kalym, then the father should pay it for him, for no father can avoid paying the kalym for his son. Otherwise the son is left to drive away the necessary number of livestock from his father's herd, without being considered a thief.

The apportionment of a son before he is married is always a sign of disagreement with the father. If the father becomes poor after that, the son, does not wish to support the father remembering his being given the allotment before his marriage. Then the people say: "We did not punish you then for stealing from your father (aibga buyurmaduk). Now feed and care for him." (as aukatyna kara, kut). The son who does not obey this instruction is scolded, beaten and despised (avgar kylady) by the people (yurt). If a son positively wishes to renounce the care of his father, then the son must give him the dowry brought by his wife and remove himself completely from the sight of the father (kasynan). If a son asks to leave his father peaceably before marrying, then he is not given his allotment, as he would probably go far away and lose the property, which in general the people do not desire. If this son agrees to join his older or younger brother, who have already received allotments, then they do not refuse him his allotment. The property of both brothers remains separate, in anticipation of arguments or demands for division. If a son absolutely refuses to marry someone, his father does not give him an allotment. If the son requests an allotment under the pretext of marriage, the father answers: "I will give you a wife myself, and only afterwards will I give you the allotment. Otherwise get out. "In such a case the father is guarding against the squandering of his property. Such is the data reported by Torgai. According to other information (bii Mikebai), if it is heard that the son "senselessly" absolutely refuses to ever marry and urgently demands to be issued his allotment, it is given to such a one. Among the Kirgiz,

428 Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds that then more is given, in view of the non-payment of kalym.

The father can apportion the younger son before the older if he wishes. Sometimes the older son says: "I will not part with my father, I will feed him until his death." After such a declaration /Inserted page. Picture of Torgai. Drawing by Akhmatov.7 /45/ the portion is alloted to the next son, not always with consideration of inheritance.

Making the division of the property for an allotment is one of the most difficult points of the customary law. Apparently they cannot divide the inheritance and frequently invite in experienced people for the division (burun inchi bulib yurgen adamlar). The matter is complicated still more by the fact that those who have not received their allotment steal from each other. Some say that the man receiving his inheritance will not consent to have the father himself calculate the amount of the share, but demands the participation of the relatives in it.

The maximum allotment depends on the father. The minimum is determined by elders, who have moral authority but not court power (Torgai).

Less is expended for the kalym of the sons (about one-third) than for their allotments (about two-thirds of the total property of the father).

Having paid the kalym for his oldest son, the father does not give him his allotment until he has fixed a certain part to each of his sons for a kalym, not excluding even that son (the youngest) who does not have to receive an allotment.

When making the allotment to one of his sons, the father spiits up the entire property, with the deduction of the kalyms, into as many equal parts (sybaga) as he has sons to whom he must make allotments, i. e., all except one younger one. In addition to these parts he also puts aside two parts to support himself and his wife in old age (Perovsk uyezd and the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). According to Torgai, the property is divided into as many parts as there are sons, with the addition of one part for burial (kurkeben asatau). If there is not enough property, then the last part is not necessary.

Everything that remains is inherited by the son who receives no allotment, and he lives with his father until the latter's death and buries him. If after giving allotments to his married sons the father dies and leaves nothing for the sons who have not received allotments,

7 [Not reproduced--A.]

the former are obliged to marry off the latter. (Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). First cousins and other kinsmen have no obligation in this.

/46/ If the father dies, leaving 4 sons, a year later at the memorial service they slaughter an animal and say to the elders: "We will divide the inheritance, help us" (biz bulek bulek bulamyz, inchi mizdy bulib ber). The elders ask: "Do you want to divide it in four parts or in two (with two sons to each part)?" They divide the property into 4 or 2 parts, depending on the answer, but give the larger share to the oldest. If among the four sons, two are not married, then they cannot demand a division into four parts. The elders would not agree (buyurmaydy), to this and would divide it into two parts, combining an unmarried son with each married one, and the latter would take the place of the father for the former, i. e., he would marry him and give him an allotment. In this last division of inheritance they again divide the livestock in half, giving one or two animals to the older brother who has taken the place of the father.

If the mother is still living in addition to the four married or unmarried sons, then the property is divided into 5 parts. She can remain with her share with the son she loves most. The property of this son and hers are considered one (inchisi bir). He takes care of the burial of the mother. The other brothers give a small subsidy (yardam berisadi) for the funeral.

If of the four sons two are married and wish to divide the inheritance into two parts in such a way that both unmarried brothers will be with one of the married ones, then two kalyms are set aside at the beginning, according to the account made at the matchmaking, and only after that is the property divided into 4 parts. If the sons are not yet affianced the elders calculate the number of livestock necessary for a kalym. If the property is not enough for the kalym and the allotment, they set aside the kalym anyway in a generally acceptable amount, and give up the allotmen.

An unmarried daughter goes together with a brother who has not yet been given a kalym, so that from the kalym received for his sister he can pay the kalym for his own bride.

If two unmarried sons and one daughter survive, and there is little property, one son receives the property and the other the daughter.

If there is no property at all, the daughter is given to both brothers so that the kalym received for her is divided in half. In this case /47/ she can live with whichever brother she wants to. Both of them alike look after the clothes of the girl and her other needs.

(teng karab turady).

If an engaged girl remains who is not yet married (uzetpegen), the older brother is charged with giving her away in place of the father and bears the expense of the wedding (toy).

Let us suppose that the father has 10, 000 sheep and 10-15 sons. Then without setting aside kalyms and allotments for each, he simply gives the son to be alloted a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 100 sheep without any special calculation (the determination of the amount depends on him), and adds as many camels as are necessary to carry the tent and goods (for a small tent 3 camels, and for a large one 5 camels). If he had only two sons, he would divide all the livestock into 3 parts, without making a special share for the mother. In addition, before the division of the inheritance 3 or 4 animals are separated out for the use of the father, out of respect for him.

If a married son receives a tent (ui) from his bride, he also receives his allotment in this tent. If not, the father gives him a new tent, or the value of it.

If the father has several married sons and they have their own tents, but the livestock, of which there is very little, has not yet been alloted, and the father or the sons propose to divide the livestock, then the elders divide everything without allotment, not excluding even the youngest (if the father wishes) in order to avoid envy among the sons. After this if the youngest son does not remain with him, the father with his livestock can join whichever son he likes best.

When the division of property takes place after the death of the father, the valuables and household furnishings (uskene) all go to the youngest son, so as not to spoil the furnishing of the tent, but the older sons take their choice of the clothing in memory of the father (akemning kuze).

If the deceased leaves childless wives behind him, in his tent, then the younger ones go to his brothers and the older ones remain /48/ with the step-children they like or with those who have lost their own mothers. Good children support their step-mothers out of respect to the deceased, even though several should come to one step-child. If a step-mother wishes to go away after a quarrel, they give her nothing. If she goes away peaceably the elders award her something for support (as aukat) and she goes to her clan (turkun) or to her son-in-law. Children cannot be left by their own mothers. The biis and the children do not allow it.

When the married daughter, by custom, visits her father's house (turkundemek), the father is obliged to give her a horse or a camel at least. After the death of the father this is given by the heir to the father's tent (ulkun ui, akening shangaragy). If a rich man has several sons and married daughters, he invites the daughters for this visit (turkundab kel'mekke) before beginning the family division of property, so as to discharge the debt, for the turkundemek is considered a debt (karz). He gives 1 or 2 animals to the daughters as they appear and for those who do not come he puts a like number aside (shigaryb koy ady) which he keeps himself for safe keeping. After this the division of property is made. The father is not inflexibly required to remain with his youngest son if he does not like him. But wherever the father does join the "large tent" the elders give more livestock, in view of the guests and other visits.

When after the death of the father the daughters appear at the large tent to receive the turkundemek, the head of the household assembles his older brothers for a conference, to decide whether to give each of them a gift or to make a joint contribution and to satisfy them with the sum received. Some bring a sheep to the contribution, others a horse, a coat, etc. If all of them refuse, out of egotism (ku buldy), the master of the large tent is obliged to give a little himself, since he has received a larger allotment than the others. The daughter indicates this in her request: "The smoke-blackened circle of my father remains with you. You live where my father lived. His property went to you" (akemnyng kara shangaragy sende kaldy, san akemnyng oturgan yerinda otursen mulkderi sende /49/ kalgan). All guests, tamyrs, husband's kin, relatives on the wife's side and demanders of various payments come to the master of the big tent. His nephew, /dzhien/the son of the daughter who has received her allotment comes to receive the "dzhiendik" when he reaches his majority. If he does not receive it the nephew steals it without being considered a thief. Some children, anticipating this, do not even wish to be inheritors of the father's tent (all from Torgai).

The Kirgiz divide the property, if there is one son, into 3 parts, of which 2 parts are for the father and mother. The old tent remains with the father, and he makes a new one for the son. If the father has an unmarried younger brother in addition to a son, the brother is married off first, and then the son receives his allotment. If there are two sons and the youngest is at peace with the father, they do as above. If not, the father gives both sons together not less than one-third, that is, one-sixth to each. With three sons, the parents re-

428 linquish half, i. e., each receives one-sixth. In general they give as much as is needed for support. For this reason the elders tell those receiving their allotment that they are young and will still earn their living, and tell them to be satisfied with little. "I myself," added the informant, the Kirgiz bii Daniyar, "told my father, as I brought him clothing (sarypay): 'If you want to give me property, do so, and if not, then give me your blessing (fatikha).'"

In addition to livestock, 1) the money of the father, if they all know of its existence, 2) land (1) and 3) debts are subject to the

1. According to reports from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, land is not divided, for those receiving an allotment can seek other land for themselves.

family division of inheritance.

428 If the debts of the father are discovered after the allotment,
426 then he is liable before the court and pays the son who received the succession. Formerly all the children paid the debts of the father after consultation with each other (kamtu klb). Now only he who receives the succession pays, and futhermore he pays it from his inheritance and not from what he has acquired, on which he is obliged to present proof or an oath. /50/ Children who have not received their allotments do not pay for living parents who are absent. Sons who have received their inheritance are legally not obliged to pay the debts of the father, because they cannot know about them, but morally they are obliged (khalal ul tuleydi). It is apparent from the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd that the biis reject claims against the sons for the debts of the father, basing themselves on the "exact customary law" (tolyk adat). Children who have received their allotments refuse to pay their father's debts, referring to the fact that "their portion is different, they have a special earmark" (inchim bulek, enim baska). But if they are ashamed to leave the debt to the father (atamyzga karz kylmaymyz), and wish to help the one who has received the succession, the debt is divided into 3 parts, of which one is paid by the successor, and two by the remaining brothers. Sometimes the rich sons are obliged to pay more, and the poor ones less.

Among the Kirgiz, according to bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, the debts of the father are not adjudged to be paid from the inheritance. They only advise that a debt should be paid, if it is proven, because of the responsibility in the future life (kyyamet karz).

If the plaintiff appears before the division of the inheritance, 428 the debt is disposed of first, and then the division is made. If this 426 is found to be inconvenient, then the sum of the debt is distributed among the children in accordance with the allotment received by them. If the debt is greater than the property and the children wish to make the division (during the lifetime or after the death of the father), first of all something is put aside for a funeral and memorial service, and then the remaining property is divided equally and the debt as well.

If the father has only one daughter, then he must pay his debts from her kalym. After the death of the father a daughter without property is never answerable for his debts. However if the inheritance and the tent go to the only daughter, her guardian or "master" (kyznyng iese) is liable from the inheritance.

If a bride dies before her marriage, the part of the kalym which has already been paid is obliged (suzsiz) to be returned, with the father of the bride being allowed to give it to the court for those obligations of debt which the son-in-law took upon himself in another connection (books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd).

/51/ The people require the son to pay the debts of his impoverished father on the grounds that the father went in debt in caring for the son (Torgai).

The inheritance (miras) (1) can consist of livestock, of money, 428

1. Perhaps there is inaccuracy in the division of means of acquiring property in Makovetskii (I. p. 37) as: 1) ata murasy - that inherited from the father, 2) uzi tabasy - that acquired oneself, and 3) burushty mal - profits from trade, matchmaking, loans and other affairs. At any rate Torgai divides property into: 1) ata murasy or ata mul'ki and 2) uz tabkany. But he did not understand the words burushti mal. Is this not the Russian word barysh /profit/?

of a tent with domestic furnishings, and of land, and in former times, also of slaves. The saying "among the Kazakhs the wife is inherited, among the Sarts the land is the inheritance" (kazaktyng katyny miras, sarttyng yeri miras) testifies to the fact that the widow is considered as an inheritance. The children can also be called miras.

Except for admonitions, no wills are recognised. The father cannot will so much to one son and so much to another. All the inheritance goes to those who have not received allotments, i. e.,

usually to the youngest sons, who are also obliged to bear the expenses of the funeral and memorial service. If the father wished to deprive the son without an allotment of the inheritance, the son would demand it through the bii, who would grant it to him unfailingly. The only means of depriving the younger son of the inheritance is to allot it earlier to the older son, while the father is living.

If the children of the deceased are under age and his wife young, the brother of the deceased, who marries her, rears the children until their maturity, so that there can be no argument about inheritance. If no children remain, the expenses as are covered from the inheritance, and the rest they divide among themselves. A daughter who survives the deceased is brought up by kinsmen, who use the inheritance to marry her off. From the remainder one-third is given her under the title of an allotment /inchi/, and the remaining two-thirds is divided among them. (2)

2. Communication of Chinybekov.

If in addition to children a brother of the deceased remains who has not received an allotment /52/ the property is divided in half between the nephews and the uncle (if they want to divide it). From the half received by the sons of the deceased, each son receives an equal share for his allotment, after the division of the kalyms for the unmarried.

If after the death of a son only the father and brother remain, the father, as the giver of the allotment, receives all the property of the deceased, although he can give part of it to his son out of good will. The same thing is true among the Kirgiz.

If there are no children the brothers are the successors. If there are no brothers, the male first cousins (nemere), then the second cousins, etc. Only when it is impossible to find any male relatives, is the inheritance given to the daughters and their husbands. According to Torgai, the inheritance is never received by the daughter because she always marries into a distant clan. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports the same.

If there are several equally close relatives, for example, uncles, the only daughter of the deceased can choose between them. Whoever is chosen by her as a guardain receives only her kalym, if this was not received by the father, but the guardian does not receive

the inheritance. This is divided equally among the other kinsmen. If she has a brother but he is still under age, then an older relative helps him with advice in sending off his sister to her husband. If there is no relative in the male line, she is sent off by a relative on the female line: the father of her mother (nagashi), the mother of her mother (nagashe sheshe), the sister of the father (apa). The sending off of the bride is preferably entrusted to an elder, for example, the grandfather (baba), so that there will be no suspicion of cupidity. In general, whoever takes it upon himself to send away (uzatamyn dise) the only daughter receives her inheritance for himself. But if he is an outsider, he is obliged to keep the property intact for two or three years in case of the appearance of a kinsman (Torgai).

If a widow remarries, she receives nothing from the inheritance, except in the case where she takes her son with her, for the inheritance belongs to him. If she does not /53/ marry and wishes to live with her father, she receives only a tent and one-eighth of the inheritance. Often the relatives do not let the young son go to the new husband of the widow. A grown son is free to choose between his relatives and the new dwelling place of his mother.

A son born of a widow from a lover, without marriage, does not receive the inheritance after the death of the father. If a girl is never married but has children, she is considered the lawful wife of her lover, without receiving a kalym, and her children are not deprived of the inheritance (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, property does not go away with the widow but remains with the closest relative.

According to Torgai, a widow can go away with the inheritance to the man she loves if none of the relatives remains alive. Such a widow, even though she may be old and ugly, will be married because of the wealth, though not without risk, for an heir may appear and demand his inheritance. Then her husband refuses to deliver it, under the pretext of expenses for the funeral and the support of his wife (khatyndy baktym kaktym), and the question remains debatable.

Among the Kirgiz, the widow, if the children want to divide the inheritance, remains with the youngest son. Here, excluding expenses for the funeral, as many shares are divided as there are sons, with the addition of one share for the mother. For example, when there are two sons, she receives one-third. This is the most just solution, but demanding people succeed in getting more for themselves.

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567] 1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[575] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[583] 582 Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride 836
which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 589
brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

587 In the folk poem Dzhibekkyz, the hero Tulegen, of the Dzhagalbayly clan is killed. His brother, when he comes of age, goes to seek the hand of Dzhibekkiz, the bride of the deceased. He says, among other things: "If she does not wish to marry me, I will return with my tail between my legs" (kutimni kysyo). From the time of the death of her first husband Dzhibekkyz has been waiting for the arrival of his closest kinsman or other relative. She says: "I was betrothed (bas kaskanym) from the beginning to the Dzhagalbaily clan, which is so rich that it is unable to look after its herds. If it is true that Tulegen has been killed, then O God, why do they not take Dzhibek? Surely there is one young fellow in his clan who would ask for and receive his bride (yesir)!"

If the bride dies, her father or kinsman gives the groom her unbetrothed sister or close kinswoman for a small addition to the kalym (called baldyzkalyn) of one or two camels. When there is no other girl, the kalym is returned in full if the bride died in the house of her father, i. e., before the wedding. If after the death of a bride, her sisters are still too young, their father invites the son-in-law to visit him, gives him a horse or a camel and begs him to wait until the girl is more mature. If the groom /57/ refuses to wait for her to come of age, two parts of the kalym which has been paid is returned to him, and one part remains for the bride's father. A bride can marry the younger brother of the groom, with the agreement of the groom's side. In this case, even though the visit to the bride has taken place, yasyrin kelyu, nothing is added to the previous kalym. If the oruntoy /cf. below/ has taken place, then a baldyzkalyn is paid for the sister in addition to the kalym, a sum equal to half the given kalym. In extremity, if no bride is available, the kalym is returned minus 1 kulundi biya, or according to other data, half the kalym if the groom had been going to the bride, or the entire kalym if he had not been going.

After the death of a bride, the groom is obliged to visit the village of her parents, otherwise he loses the right to her sister. In this case, for his new betrothal he is required to pay a toguz in addition (the books of the biis).

If a father who had received a kalym from one groom married the bride to another, in former times the first groom tried to kill the father or his rival, demanding to be given the bride, calling her tangbaly tayimning kuzi (the eye of the marked colt), and not agreeing to the return of the kalym or else demanding to be given her sister and one slave to be sent with her, to wipe away the dishonor.

the dishonor.

When the payment of the kalym is finished, the groom begins to go to the bride at her father's house, and she realizes that he is incapable of marital relations, she refuses to marry him as a result. Then respected persons give the groom over to be examined, and if in the course of a year this is not rectified, the bride is given the right to marry another, and the kalym paid by the groom is returned to him.

If a father betrothes his daughter in her childhood and receives the kalym for her, and upon reaching maturity she does not wish to marry her fiance, and her father does not wish it either, she still cannot go away from him unless the groom says that he does not want her for himself. /58/ In such a case the girl's father pays the kalym received from him and in addition a fine of twenty-seven animals, beginning with a camel and ending with sheep and goats.

If a girl who was betrothed in her infancy runs away with some young man after reaching maturity, then the latter must give her former groom a girl or else pay the bride price.

In general, according to customary law, the saying of a prayer [585] and the reception of the kalym are equivalent to a wedding.

In consequence of disagreement (oraz), the groom either becomes engaged to another girl or goes away for a long period of time. In the first case the previous bride is offended. The groom explains to her he will marry her after the other girl, but she does not wish to be the servant of others and returns the kalym minus 1 or 2 animals (kara). In the second case the girl's father loses patience and betrothes the girl to another. Then the groom appears and demands "either the kalym or the wife." The girl's father must give up the kalym with a fine of atton /a horse and a coat/.

The determination of the fine for breaking off the betrothal by one of the sides is completely dependant on the biis. If the refusal was caused, for example, by non-payment of the kalym, the fine is usually smaller. In general, if someone quits in the course of the payment of the kalym in installments, he pays a biilyk, and the sum which has been paid is returned minus one horse and one camel.

The choosing of the bride depends on the groom's father, who sends a stranger (khalis adam) in the capacity of a yauchi, so as not to expose himself to accidents which might spoil the whole affair. The yauchi begins the conversation, saying: "You have a falcon, we have a gerfalcon" (sizde lashin bar iken bizde sunkar bar iken).

584 They bargain over the amount of the kalym. The yauchi presents a gift kargibau, and receives as a gift a horse or a coat, which is called chege chapan (nail-coat), because he has validated the betrothal. The father of the bride sets the day, through this yauchi, for the coming of the groom's father with the formal proposal, for regalement and for delivering gifts to him (kiit kiib, sois yeb, kuda tusib ketsin). According to Makovetskii, "the formal proposal is frequently separated from /59/ the first agreement by many years, for example, if the groom and bride are in the cradle at the time of the agreement." Then the father or a kinsman of the groom becomes the matchmaker (kuda) who appears in the house of the bride, usually accompanied by relatives, for the formal proposal, the agreement about the kalym and the acceptance of the gifts kiit. According to Makovetskii, the more important the people making the match, the larger the number of matchmakers, sometimes more than twenty. As they approach the village of the bride's father, the matchmakers stop with his kinsmen and send an announcement of their coming from there. The bride's father notifies his relatives and friends of the presence of the matchmakers and orders the setting out of tents for the guests. When they appear, the matchmakers make the proposal in the presence of guests, which is accepted and validated by the slaughter of a white sheep and the reading of a blessing /baty/. The most valuable of the gifts is given to the father of the groom. This is required even when the groom's father is not among the matchmakers. In this case the gift is sent to him at home. According to the report of bii Khamahammed, the color of the sheep is indifferent; it can also be a kid and poor people can buy meat at the bazaar. He also says that the best gift is presented to the groom's father or to the person who is taking his place.

For the consecration of the contract which has been concluded, those present are regaled with fat-tail sheep fat (kuyruk) and liver (baur) which is cut into long strips. The platter with the kuyrukbaur is offered first to the groom's relatives and then to the bride's relatives. After this ritual the groom already speaks of his bride as "my lawful wife" (nikakhli khatynym). The feast, called kuda tusertoy, sometimes continues for several days. They arrange a baiga /horse race/, a fight, and the singing of choruses and soloists (zhirchi), who sing folk epics or compete in improvisations, [534] playing on the balalaika (dombra), violin (kobyz) and flute (sybyzga).

All during the merry-making the matchmakers play the most mournful role. The young women and girls make fun of them in all

possible ways. They strip them naked and drag them through the village with a rope around the neck, as the laughing-stock of the people. /60/ They are sewn into felt during the eating. They do such unpleasant things with them, that it is impossible to tell of them here. They drag them by the legs through the changarak /the hoop at the top of the tent/, etc. There have been cases where the women have caused the death of matchmakers from playing with them. In such a case their husbands and kinsmen are held responsible for the wergeld nevertheless.

After this the father or a kinsman of the bride, but with a smaller number of people than the matchmakers on the groom's side, visit the father of the groom and receive kiit gifts from him. According to bii Sultan, the kiit, which is determined by stipulation (kesimdi) is for the use of the bride's father. What the other matchmakers receive depends on the free will of the groom's father, without being fixed (kesimsiz). Regalement with kuyrukbaur is not obligatory. If the entire kalym is not paid on this visit, then the first installment is, in the presence of the guests. Further installments can be presented without witnesses. If the bride's father denies having received them, an oath is required of him alone. Relatives and acquaintances (tamyr, yekchet) contribute to the kalym (kalynga kosady) often of their free will. There is no custom for the matchmakers to give more than the value of the gift received by them from the bride's father (this contradicts Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 16).

Among the Kirgiz a rich father of the groom slaughters 4-5 sheep, a poor one 2 or 3. They are cooked at night. On the following day this meat, which is called "toy" is packed on a good animal, on whose head they tie a piece of cotton, called aktyk, for a sign (irym), and it is led to the bride's father. The animal is presented to him with the words: "for the transport of your treasure, " if it is a camel, or "for you to eat", if it is a horse. He is also given a sarypay. (1) The

1. Coat.

groom remains home. At the matchmaking they arrange baiga or kukbure /game played on horseback with kid. Cf. chapter XII/, the playing on the balalaika (2) and the zurna /type of oboe/.

2. The Kirgiz balalaika has 3 strings, while the Kazakh one has only 2.

4:Grodekov--55 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

584 The matchmaking can be from both sides (karsyma karsy kuda bulmyk, atastyrmak), in which case neither side pays a kalym.

/61/ The brothers of the father refuse to support their nephews in paying the kalyms of the latter (kalynmalga kosady). For the son of a poor but respected man the group of fifty or the village arranges a collection for the kalym (yurttyk kylyb yardam tigizedi). Here everyone gives as much as he wishes.

583 The choice of the groom by the bride does happen, but without the payment of a kalym (Perovsk uyezd). Earlier this did not happen, according to the report of bii Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. Now there are cases where the girl flees to the choice of her heart against the will of the father (erksiz). After this her chosen husband can be compelled to pay the kalym and a fine.

The man guilty of carrying away the bride appears before her father with gifts (tartu tartib), asking forgiveness by saying: "Forgive me. I too am your son (menen utingiz, mende balangiz). These gifts do not oblige the girl's father to refuse the kalym. According to Absatyamov of the Chimkent uyezd, the groom must pay a double kalym as a punishment.

584 The story of Karabai and Sarybai, who entered into matchmaking before the birth of their children, is confirmation of the sacredness of the betrothal. Sarybai died. Karabai did not wish to marry his daughter Bayan-Sulu to an orphan, and he travelled away with his herds and married her to Kodarkul. The son of Sarybai, Kazykurpish, came to Bayan-Sulu, and hid with her in a trunk, but his long hair(1)

1. Long hair for men is referred to in magic tales.

which hung outside betrayed him. Karabai's family spared his life, but Kodarkul killed him. Later on he himself was killed by the hand of Bayan-Sulu.

The Kirgiz do not determine the amount of the kalym at the betrothal. At the beginning they give 2-3 animals, and thereafter 1-2 animals annually. Only on the "ui dzhany kylgan" visit does the girl's father ask the groom for the first time: "How much more will you pay? You specify it. What went before does not count" (burungy mal isebsiz, inde kancha beresin? uzing bil'). Then the amount of the bride price is determined. If it is difficult to pay the designated sum after this, the parents of the groom, with /62/ other relatives, take a slaughtered animal to the tent of the girl's father. On the question of those who encounter them: "Where are you going?"

(yol bulsun), they reply: "We are going to our in-law /knashemu svatu/ to beat the forehead" (kudamyzga kulduk urgaly barayatyrmiz). The future wife's father forgives about one-third of the kalym for the sake of the groom's father. After this the wife of the suppliant says: "I am your matchmaker, and I too came to beat my forehead" (men de kudagaying men de kulduk urgali kel'dim), and for her sake he forgives about one-sixth of the kalym. Finally, for the sake of the rest of the family, he gives up still another small amount. The remainder must be paid without fail. The bride's father can fail to agree to the reduction and demand the payment in full (Torgai).

According to Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the Kirgiz pay at the beginning without keeping accounts. Later when the bride is 13-16 years old, the groom's father says: "My property is being exhausted, and if not my property, then at least my days are being exhausted. Give the girl. My son and your daughter are both grown" (malym yitti, malym yitmese, kunim yitti, kyzny ber, balamda chungaydy, sening kyzyng da chungaydy). The Kirgiz Daniyar says that after a year after the matchmaking an "opening of the doors" is arranged corresponding to the Kazakh oruntoy, and ishikachty (1), with baiga,

1. Concerning the word imchekkuru the informant says that inspection of the breasts takes place among the young people of the village, but secretly of course, and if someone sees it, then the outcome is nasty (yaman bulady). Judging by this, imchekkuru in Vambery's book, in the chapter on the Kirgiz, appeared by mistake in place of ishikachty.

kukbure, playing on the balalaika and the zurna. The women receive yirtich and the bride's father receives an animal. If he is satisfied with it he says: "I have opened the door" and makes a presentation of a coat. The groom asks: "How many more animals am I to give you? When will you give the bride?" The rich man overcharges more than the poor. By promising to keep it a secret, the groom can spend the night with the bride and have a foretaste of marital delights.

The groom cannot go to the family of the bride or into her village. If they see him there he is reprimanded, and in the Auliye-Ata uyezd his horse is taken from him and he is obliged to walk home in shame. In case of necessity he waits outside the village (aulnyng sirtinda). The women bring him food, for he /63/ can neither enter the house of the bride's father (ata) nor the house of the latter's family, including his elder brother (ulkun ata), the son of this brother (kainaga),

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and in general the older relatives of the bride's father (ul'kun ui). If the bride's father has not received his allotment and lives or lived in their home, then this also includes the younger relatives of the bride's father. The groom can enter the tent of the younger brother of the bride's father, and his younger relatives, but cannot sit in the place of honor, tur. An exception is made if the groom was already a friend /tamyr/ before the betrothal with someone from that family. Then he continues to enter the house of his tamyr without constraint, "because he is already not ashamed to do so."

The bride does not visit the village of the groom. Otherwise she could no longer return home. She also does not enter the village of the older or younger kin of her future father-in-law. If necessary she goes to a younger relative, if the father-in-law does not or did not live in his tent as not having received his allotment. Even this she can only do with a ransom (elyu) consisting of a scarf (oramal, bogdzhama), a headdress (yaulyk), a ring (sakyna), etc. with the goal of a good omen (irym kylyb).

The fiancee is called kalyndyk among the Kazakhs and koruktyk among the Kirgiz. Her being visited by the groom (kuyau) before the wedding, secretly (yasyryn), is called orunbargan or oruntoy by the Kazakhs, and ui dzhany kylgan by the Kirgiz. The girl's father, to whom the groom does not show himself, ignores his visit, and if strangers take it into their heads to scold him, he tells them he does not mix into other people's affairs. "Perhaps the groom is dead," says the girl's father, "so that he cannot come, although he gave the animal for slaughter." (ul'teruni bergen sung, ulub yatyr kuyau sha bara vermai).

The groom brings a goat (serke) to the oruntoy to be slaughtered (ul'tiru) at the bride's older brother's, at whose tent the oruntoy takes place, and whose wife (yenge) serves as intermediary, bringing the bride for one or two nights. The groom lies with the bride, but is not supposed to perform complete intercourse.

When the food is cooked they throw a piece of fat into the fire, saying: /64/ "may it go for the spirit of so-and-so" (balenning arvakhina tiisin) and give the names of dead relatives.

The purpose of the oruntoy, this ancient custom of all the Kazakhs, is the encouragement of the groom and the advisement to finish paying the kalym. There are cases in which the daughter is given away at the oruntoy, trusting the promise of the groom to finish paying the kalym, and evading the arrangement of a solemn wedding (Torgai). In the Perovsk uyezd it was reported that the

daughter is not given away to the groom until the full payment of the kalym, guarding against the groom's failure to fulfill his promise [585] concerning the remaining payment of the kalym. It is now becoming customary (Auliye-Ata uyezd) that after finishing the payment of the kalym the groom comes to receive the bride at night, and goes away secretly without celebrating a wedding. In the Kurama uyezd the poor do this, regaling those who are invited with only one kettle of groats (butka). In this case it is self-evident that they dispense with toymal (1)

1. The Kazakh Khudaykul of the Kurama uyezd has paid the kalym and toymal short of one mare. The father of his bride is advising him, out of covetousness, to give him one horse and take the bride away secretly. But Khudaykul is demanding the arrangement of a wedding on the toymal received, promising to provide the remaining mare.

/cf. table of kalyms, chapter VI/.[1]

According to bii Sultan and Makovetskii, when the groom departs for the oruntoy, he takes with him one fellow-traveller - kuyau yuldasy (Makovetskii has otagasy), - who accompanies him the entire time of the oruntoy, and also 5-10 riders, to transport the elyu, bosaga elyu, uigekerer and dzhirtys. The riders return at once when they have delivered the property and received kiit for it. The groom remains with the travelling companion in the tent of the father or uncle of the bride, and among the rich in a tent specially prepared for him. Sometimes a special tent is prepared for the companion. Then the matchmakers who encounter the groom on horseback or on foot ask for a gift for their "weariness" (intik ber) from preparing the tent. For leading the groom into the tent they ask for a gift again (chatyrbay-gazysy). Then the manager of the gifts (kade), the groom's travelling companion, distributes them, depending on the degree of kinship. The first and best gift is presented to the mother of the bride. After her is the bride's grandmother, etc. The uigekerer, for the entrance into the tent, consists /65/ of a camel or a horse. The uidzhirtys is entrusted in entirety to the mother of the bride for distribution "in the house." The auldzhirtys is given to the most respected woman "from the village," for distribution to the others. When the women announce that the gifts are inadequate, the groom sends his companion back for new gifts. After this the celebration of the oruntoy begins, continuing for one day. The bride is hidden somewhere, and the mistress of the house where she is hidden receives a kyz kashar gift for giving her up, consisting of cloth

1 [cf. cat 116, pp 69-75 - A]

58 (adryasa, tent cloth or calico) for 2-3 dresses.

In the evening, when the bed for the groom has been prepared(1),

1. The bed is prepared by women who receive a gift called tyusek salar for this.

two women call him, and for this they receive a gift called kuyauchakyrar. When he enters the tent, the bride's brother's wife sprinkles dried apricots, nuts and baursak (2) over him. This is called

2. Small pieces of dough, baked in sheep's fat.

chachu. Then the bride is brought in. In former times, when the bride entered the tent she threw fat on the fire burning in the middle of it, with the words: "fire - mother, fat - mother, give me your blessing" (ot ana mai ana dzharylga). The bii says "This custom existed at the time of Chingiz Khan, when they did not know books. It is a wicked custom." This same night one woman, lying behind the back of the bride and holding her tightly in her embrace, receives a gift called arka yatar or kyz kushaktar for her departure.

On the departure of the groom, the bride's father gives him a gift called "at the bottom of the sack" consisting of one animal, and if the kalym has not yet been completely paid, he fogives one animal from it.

The visits of the groom continue until the wedding. The rich groom rides in each time with his comrades. The gifts brought with them are less valuable and are designated for the bride's brothers' wives (yengeler).

If the groom dies after having visited the bride in the oruntoy, her parents bring her in mourning with gifts called aza into the village of the deceased, and here she mourns the groom for a year /66/, and then marries his brother or close kinsman. In the Russian period, adds bii Khalmahammed, this custom is being lost. But in earlier times it happened that 20-30 young men from the groom's village departed for the bride's village, in order to bring her by force.

According to bii Khalmahammed, of the Chimkent uyezd, in agreement with Makovetskii, Pt. I, pp. 7, 8, they distinguish the orunkelyu or esikachti, i.e., the first visit of the bride after the finished payment of the kalym, which is accompanied by a regalement of baursak with gifts called dzhirtich from the side of

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the groom, and also songs and kikbure races, arranged by the bride's father, from the yasyryn kelyu, which is the visit preceding the full payment of the kalym.

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A wedding can be performed in all months except the months of Safarai and Urazai (month of fasting) of the lunar calendar.

As opposed to the oruntoy celebration, the wedding feast, after which the bride is allowed to leave, is called the feast of giving leave (uzatatugun toy). The poor do not arrange an oruntoy but have the feast of giving leave directly.

The groom rides to the celebration of the wedding, taking place in the village of the bride's father, on a decorated horse with a travelling companion (yuldas), who carries sutakky with him for the bride's mother, a changarak for the new tent, door jambs and half of the necessary pieces of felt, as well as other gifts. The new tent is not put up at once, and sometimes not for a month, because it is necessary to buy appurtenances for it. The rich bride dons a headdress (saukale, among the Kirgiz shaukale). The groom appears before the bride's father in a coat with long sleeves. As he bows low before the bride's father, the bride's mother, the bride's brother and the latter's wife (yenge), the sleeves touch the ground. As he straightens up he passes his hands over his knees.

The bride's father, having received 7 or 8 coats, called toy dzhirtys, and one mare, provides regalement (as). The elders (kar'-yaler) sit, are given food and drink and watch the young men (boz-balalar) race kukbure. The prize on this day is a slaughtered kid, called sagulak. In the evening the girls gather in a tent other than the tent of the bride's father. The door is closed but the felts are raised all around. Outside /Inserted page. Bride wearing headdress. Drawing by Akhmatov.7/ /67/ sit the young men. A singing (ulen) contest begins between the young men and the girls. The young men sing together by twos. In order to prevent arguments, the older ones ask all the young men to sing in turn (kezek). The girls give a ring (sakyna) to the good singers, bracelets (bilezuk) and money. The girls are given dried apricots, flat cakes, etc. The elders listen to the singing.

The first day of the wedding is called the day of "the closing of the tent", otau dzhabar, in distinction from the "great feast" (ul'-kun toy). For closing the tent the women receive gifts, otau dzhabar. For muyuntastar (1) they receive a sheep which they divide.

1. Muyuntastar is the throwing of a sheep's neck through the

7 [Not reproduced -- A]

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tyundyuk /the felt covering the changarak at the top of the tent/, so that the new tent will not be smoky.

In the morning of the second day there is a kukbure race. (2)

2. In general the young men demand kukbure at every toy, before and after the baiga /horse race/. If they are refused, they threaten to tear down the tyundyuk from the tent, for the shame of the householder. (Bii Sultan Kanaev).

The kid with this is simply called ulak.

The festivity of this day (toy) goes in the same order as on the preceding day. But this time the women wish to amuse themselves and to take the bride away from the midst of her girl friends, where she is taking part in the singing. The girls defend their friend who is their same age, and the women take her away by force (tartady). This ritual is called taking away by force (tartis). Finally the women tie up the bride by force in a rug and carry her away, accompanied by the whimpering girls (singsiydy), who receive one or two pieces of cloth, called "for the taking", alym. The bride is thus carried into the tent of the bride's father, where a couch (tusek) has been prepared for the groom behind the bed curtains (shimildyk), with a white scarf (nikeyaulyk) (3) spread on it. The women demand

3. Cf. Supplement No. 4: yar-yar and audzhar.

that the groom lift the bride himself and carry her to the bed. The groom refuses to do this, saying that it is shameful for a man to lift a woman. Then one of the strong women lifts the bride for a gift called kyzkuterer. The girls go away, but the women remain in order to listen (tynglab turady) outside. Afterwards they take/68/ the blood-stained scarf (nikeyaulyk) to the parents of the bride, with the words: "Your daughter is chaste, God has been merciful, give syuyunchi" (kyzyng kyz iken, kuday yarlykab kaldy, syuyunchi ber). If the husband proves to be insolvent, he pays the aunts the value of one horse.

If the bride proves to be unchaste, the groom can have cause for complaint, saying that he paid the kalym for a maiden and not a woman (kyzga mal bergen men, khatynga mal bergenim yok). For this the bride's father is liable to a fine, which was formerly up to three toguz, and now up to an atton (a horse and a coat), but

they do not pardon it regardless. (Torgai).

If the groom himself causes the bride to lose her innocence at the oruntoy, he informs the matchmakers who spread out the nikeyaulyk of this, and in such a case they demand gifts for themselves, resorting to a threat which is never carried out, namely, to rip open the belly of his horse. (Bii Sultan).

If the groom is impotent (yaramisa), they wait three days. After that if the bride does not like the groom, she can use this as a pretext to announce that she will not marry him (tiymeymen). Then her father returns the kalym to the amount determined by the biis.

On the following day, for the first time during the day, the bride's father and mother invite the groom to their tent. He does not sit in the tur /place of honor/ but remains in the corner between the first and second cross pieces (yabsar - corner, link). He is given the sheep's breast (tus) to eat. The guests appear with food and receive money from the groom in empty cups (tabak). (Torgai).

According to Irsbek, among the Tashkent Kazakhs no wedding can dispense with the religious ceremony /venchanie/ (nika), for which the groom provides the payment, nikakyyar, 40 kopeks to the imam and 2 rubles to the bii. According to Daulet Bushaev, they give the mullah, depending on their station, 1 sheep and 40 kopeks, or 4 rubles, 40 kopeks in money, or another gift. According to Mikebai, the bii does not take a gift, anyway as a guest. The mullah receives eki bauly chapan "a coat with two fastenings", i.e., one coat, or eki tisti tusak, "a female ewe with two teeth", or 4 rubles. /69/ The rich give more. Only half this sum is given for a widow.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd the wedding ritual /brakosochetanie/ takes place in the following manner. While the prayers are read water is poured into a cup. The girl being married throws either earrings or a silver ring into it, and covers the vessel with a white kerchief. The groom fastens a stick in the form of an arrow to the edge of the cup with the white kerchief. After the prayers the bride takes back the object thrown into the cup, and thereafter preserves it as a pledge of happiness. One of the witnesses of the wedding (1) takes the cup

1. There must be one from each side.

and holds it in his hands in such a way that the fingers on the brim do not join on top. In this space husband and wife put their lips in turn (the husband first) and drink the water. Then the cup is passed

into the hands of all those present, who drink from it without touching their lips to that place where the wedding couple drank. The white kerchiefs go to the witnesses. (2)

2. Communication from E. A. Aleksandrov.

According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 11, the wedding ritual is performed only after the actual departure of the wedding couple, according to bii Sultan, it occurs before the ritual otausalar. It consists of the reading of the blessing "amin allaakbar" by the mullah. The bride, her girl companions and other women are behind a curtain, while the groom and two witnesses or warrentors (gua, vakil) sit in the middle of the tent, one witness on each side of him, with the family and other guests, without a curtain (in contradiction to Makovetskii). The witnesses, or according to Makovetskii the mullah, asks the groom if he is agreed to take in marriage (zhupti klyb aluga) such and such (giving her name) a daughter of so and so (the name of the father) and so and so (the name of the mother). The groom answers that he is agreed (kabyl kyldym, kabyl tuttim). Then they turn to the bride with the same question and receive a similar answer. After this /70/ the mullah reads the prayer called khutba. A cup (ayak) is brought in containing pure water in which they leave money, rings or something similar for the witnesses. The mullah consecrates it by blowing on it (dem salady), and then the witnesses carry it to the groom, the bride and the guests, each of whom takes a sip. At this time the groom and bride must touch the cup in the same place, which designates their unity symbolically. The mullah is usually given not less than 40 kopeks, but this payment (nikakyyar) is not obligatory. The village bii, who is informed of the wedding, also asks for nikakyyar and also receives something.

After the end of the ritual, the relatives turn to the newlyweds with instructions for a peaceful life. They say to the groom: "We have put the bone (i. e., your kinswoman) into your hands, treat her well, do not torment her nor beat her, and do not scold without fault" (kulyngyza br suyak berdik, muny yaksylab kutib bagyngyz azar berib urma, bi vadzh yaman syuilemengyz). They tell the bride: "Live in such a way that they will not curse me"(balam dzhaman bolma [illegible] atalga nalet kelterersen). Then the bride departs with the mother and the best man of the groom, while the groom remains to eat and to say farewell to the bride's father, and overtakes the procession (bii Sultan).

Now let us turn to a listing of the gifts which the groom is obliged to give the women: 585 431

1) Sutakky, to the bride's mother for nursing at the breast, is a camel or a horse, but no less than a good coat at 4 rubles. In the Perovsk uyezd the rich give 10 camels, and the poor a good animal at 40 rubles, or the same amount in money (Torgai).

2) Baldyz kurimdik - a keepsake for the bride's sister (baldyz). This gift is presented at the time of orunbargan, and in any case before the wedding, or otherwise the baldyz will take offense.

3) Yengetai - to the wife of the bride's brother, or the wife of that closest kinsman of the bride who follows after her father. The amount is similar to the preceding gifts.

4) Sauka lening baygazysy. The bride's headdress /71/ is put on by some woman who appears before the groom to receive a gift, a coat or a shirt, for giving up the headress to the bride.

5) Otau dzhabar - For the uncovered tent given by the bride's father the groom provides felts, and for covering the tent with felts he gives the women one animal.

6) Endikimdik - For the weariness of the women who ran and got out of breath (endikib kelgen) when the groom arrived, a gift of 20 or 40 kopeks.

7) Atbaylar - for tying up the horse - is a gift of 9 pieces of clothing (toguzkiim) or 3 pieces of matting. The women divide this among themselves.

8) Tyusek salar - for laying the bed for the oruntoy.

9) Shimildyk baylar - for tying back the bed curtains.

10) Kolustartar - for delivering the bride into the hands of the groom at the oruntoy.

11) Shashsipatar - for the right to smooth the hair of the bride.

12) Kurpa kamyltartar - for moving the bedcovers.

13) Ityrilder - for chasing off the dog that snarled at the groom. (1)

1. A woman who sits at the threshold of the tent portrays the dog.

14) Bakansaldymdik - for opening the tyundyuk /the felt over the top part of the tent/.

15) Muyuntastar - for the throwing of the sheep's neck through the tyundyuk by the women.

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16) Arka yatar (not among all the Kazakhs) - for the departure of the woman lying behind the back of the bride.

17) Kyzkuterer - for lifting the bride on a rug.

18) Kempir ul'di - so that the old woman who has been hindering the union will pretend to be dead.

19) Kuyau attandyrar - for seating the groom on his horse.

/72/ 20) Kyz kashar - For bringing the bride in, after her flight to her kinsmen.

Each of the last gifts is worth 20 to 40 kopeks, while according to Irsbai (Tashkent Kazakh), a small piece of cloth is given, similar to a kerchief.

When the groom refuses to pay after his money is exhausted, the women say: "even if the horse should die of hunger, the customary gift ought not to perish" (at ulse de kada ulmeydi), for according to the proverb; the bride can be without a kalym but not without gifts (kalyngsiz kyz bulady, kadesiz bulmaydy).

If the groom gives nothing, the women tear the clothing of his companion. The young men of the bride's village, who threaten to kill the groom, receive a gift called mushe (1) from him, consisting

1. In Budagov's dictionary, it says under the word mushe that mushe basy "the chief gift", a silk coat or a horse, is presented to the eldest by birth, and he gives it to the sultan or to another Kazakh, older than himself. The remaining mushe are presented in succession to the younger clans. The last one - a scrap of silk material or calico - is grabbed by someone who races away. He is followed and the one who catches him receives it, so that it finally remains with the man who has the swiftest horse.

of kerchiefs. The aksakal receives a coat at this time (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the relatives of the groom themselves drive animals to the home of the bride's father for the regalement of the guests, and arrange the entire feast. The women receive kishmish /raisins or seedless grapes/, pistachio nuts, and baursak from the groom. and the buyrek /kidney/, shiirak and muche (yota yilik) from the slaughtered animal. The groom who does not give them this is called bad, and they shame him, but do not beat him. They entertain themselves with kukbure and baiga, and with the balalaika and zurna /stringed instrument and type of oboe/. The bride's father gives a sarypay for the zurna player /zurnaichi/of the groom and the groom's father. On the first day of the wedding the kukbure is not

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called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1)

1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from her father (Torgai).

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

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The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire, wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

291 2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

586 high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals,
292 pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585 The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or kelinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i. e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtians. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

4:Grodekov--68 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

1. Cf. Supplement No. 5.

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The groom's father regales the guests and distributes to them something from the dowry, tyubetyeikas /skull caps/, etc., and arranges kukbure racing. After /75/ the departure of the guests, the girls of the village bring food and again each one begs something, a chest, a cushion, an amulet (tmar). This ritual is called congratulation (kuttuk), and people ride in to it from far away. Animals are given to those from a long distance. In the evening the bride melts fat-tail fat and smears her face with it, and brings the grooms father and mother respect (tazim) and a bow (salem).(1).

1. Communicated by Torgai.

In the Turkestan uyezd it is denied that the bride smears her face. There she only throws fat into the fire, in remembrance of the dead.

When the bride throws fat into the fire, the elders say: be of one accord, like fat (maydoy opatu bul). (Tashkent uyezd).

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As long as the groom's father is alive, his daughter-in-law cannot be in or enter the honored corner (tur). Otherwise her legs will hurt. After the death of the groom's father, the daughter-in-law throws fat in the fire, and then she can be in the tur. (Tashkent uyezd).

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The young groom does not avoid the wife's relatives, but visits them without restraint, for all the relatives of the bride, even those the same age, became acquainted with him at the wedding.

For one year the young bride does not go to her relatives "from shame" (uyalib), since now she is wearing not the girl's kerchief but the headdress of married women (yaulyk). She receives news of the health of her relatives and bits of news from her husband. Only in the case of the death of one of her relatives does she go to them to express her condolences (aza tutib).

A good bride both from shame and from respect (uyaladi, izzet klady) avoids the groom's father and all the kinsmen springing from him all her life, according to the proverb: the husband is not respected whose body is seen, the kinswoman is not respected whose face is seen (erding kadryn bil'meydi, etin kuredii, againdyng kadryn bil'meydi betin kuredi).

According to data reported from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the young wife does not show herself to the older kinsmen of her husband in the third degree of kinship, all the way to the most remote clan affiliation.

000 affiliation.

585 /76/ Among the Kirgiz, the bride is seated behind the curtain at the groom's father's. The yenge says: "pay for a look" (kurumdigin ber). Those who like her give her something. The bride in the "large house" (chung uide), that is, in the house of the groom's father, greets the groom's father and mother and throws fat in the fire with the words: "May God have mercy on you. May the animal join you from behind. May children join you from in front. May the years of your life be long, both yours and the groom's". (1) In answer to this the groom's father

1. Ak yalgasyn! Artingdy mal bassyn, aldyngdy bala bassyn! Kuyauing ukeauing umri yashi bulsyn!

and mother pronounce a blessing (bata).

/77/ CHAPTER VI.

Kalym. - Number of wives. - The marriage of a widow. - Divorce. - Akymar. - The children of widows and divorced people. - The position of women. - The illegitimate children. - Birth and designation of names.

583 The payment for the bride or kalym (kalyn, kalyn mal) goes to the use of the person who reared her and married her, i.e., her father, kinsman, guardian, etc. The extent of the kalym differs greatly between rich and poor, and between beautiful and unattractive brides. (1) A larger kalym is demanded for a girl from widowers, than

1. They offered a deaf and dumb girl in Tashkent for 5 cows.

from men entering their first marriage. After the payment of the kalym, the groom still provides the toymal and the elyu before the day of the wedding. The bride's father adds the same amount himself to the toymal he receives, and from this he arranges the wedding feast and buys the wedding couple a tent, rugs, blankets, a fur coat, the bridal headdress, utensils, clothing and other parts of the dowry.

The elyu is an animal to carry the tent and the entire dowry.

The kalyms of the Perovsk uyezd, according to bii Mikebai Sultanaev, consist of the following divisions:

/78/Names of divisions	Kalym of the rich "forty-seven"(1) (kyrk yete)	Kalym of prosperous, with the same name (ekinchi kyrk yete).	Kalym of poor "thirty-seven (otuz yete).

1. This means 47 three year old mares, cf. Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 5. In the Semipalatinsk oblast kalyms of 47, 37, 27, and 17 are used. Although the Kazakhs in the Turkestan area also remember kyrk yete in the sense of 47, the grammar permits another translation: "forty sevens".

Karamal	60 saulyk, 60 tokty } 500 rubles	40 saulyk 40 tokty	30 saulyk (pregnant ewe) 30 tokty (year old sheep).
Bash yakhaysy	60 tusak (barren ewe)	40 tusak	1 camel 1 horse
Yanama yakhsysy	1 camel 1 horse	1 camel	1 horse
Yeketu biye	1 mare in foal	1 mare in foal	1 kunan (three year old animal).
Tusat	1 horse	1 colt (tai)	1 tokty
Kalyntyuya	1 camel	1 camel	1 tailak (two year old camel)
Sutakky (2)	1 camel	1 camel	1 horse, 1 coat.

2. Sutakky have already been mentioned among the voluntary gifts of the groom to the women.

/79/ Toymal Elyu	100 sheep 10 camels for a new tent 20-30 horses for the furnishings, etc.	In the same proportion but less	Very little, or not at all.

583 Not all these divisions exist now. If they do exist in some places, the bride's father gives them out, especially the bash yakhsysy, in the form of gifts after the matchmaking (kiit), together with other gifts, consisting of clothing and food.

The smallest of kalym in the Perovsk uyezd is dzhiirme dzhesti, i.e., 27 heads of animals.

The special form of kalym called "tomalak kalyn" is arrived at by mutual agreement, which determines the total sum of animals or money as though at a sale. (1) With this there is no toymal or elyu.

1. In the Perovsk uyezd, someone gave 1500 rubles in money.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are the following kalyms:

1) According to Abdrakhman:

Names of divisions	Rich	Poor
Karamel	8 kukundi biye	8 kulundi biye (mare with colt)
	12 buidak (two year old sheep).	2 saiyak (gelding, barren mare).
Yeketu biye	2 horses	
Tusat	1 horse	nothing
Kshi at	1 horse	
/80/ Ul'kun yetim (1)	120 sheep	nothing

1. Ul'kun yetim "the great prisoner" means the captive or the child of a captive woman which was given in former times in payment of the kalym. They gave 5 camels in place of a captive.

Kshi yetim (2)	3 camels (of which one female pregnant or with baby camel).	nothing

2. Kshi yetim "small captive" was substituted for by 4 camels.

Toymal	Undefined (kesimsiz)	nothing
Elyu	"	"
Gifts (kiit) from bride's father	100 tillias /ca. 300 to 400 rubles/.	"

583

2) According to Kunakbai:

Names of divisions	Former kalym among the rich	Present kalym	Among the poorest
Karamel	8 kukundi biye 12 buidak	8 kulundi biye	atbastagan toguz.
Bas yakhsysy	5 camels	1 camel	"
Ayak yakhsysy	3 camels		"
Toymal	9 mares 50 tillias	Appoximately 20 tillias /ca. 60-80 rubles/"	
Elyu	As many camels as the bride's father has wives.		
/81/ Yirtich (adras, bikasam /striped silk/, chintz etc. given out as kerchiefs to women at wedding)	Approximately 20 tillias /60-80 rubles/	Approximately 10 tillias /30-40 rubles/	Atbastagan toguz.

3) According to a third report:

Names of divisions	Among the rich	Among the prosperous	Among the poor
Karamel	80 saulyk 40 buidak	8 mares with foals	30 saulyk 30 buidak
Yakhsysy or rekara (large animals)	12 camels and 4 horses	2 camels and 4 saiyak (horses of various ages)	2 camels and 1 horse (or less, depending on means).
Toymal	20 horses	3-4 horses	1 animal.

4:Grodekov--22 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

4:Grodekov--73 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

583 According to bii Khalmakhammed of the Chimkent uyezd, the kalym with the toymal etc., consists, as far as he knows of the following categories:

Kalym of the rich "47" (kyrk yete):	The "37"(otuz yete), which is usually with the agreement of the bride's father, when the kyrk yete has been agreed upon, but they cannot pay it:		Kalym of the poor:
Gifts of kiit,	approximately 400 rubles.	Kiit approximately 2 tillias /6 to 8 rubles/	
8 kulundi biye (mares in foal); of these 4 can be replaced by 60 sheep.		8 kulunde biye.	7 kulundi biye(of which 3 can be replaced by 1 good horse or camel).
/82/ 12 buidak zhylky (not old enough to sire foals, i.e., 2-4 years old)		6 buidak zhylky or 4 buidak zhylky, 1 yeletube tyuya, 1 yanam at.	2 buidak zhylky.

Six of these can be replaced by 30 sheep. Among the remaining 6 horses there is usually: tusat, i.e., a good horse, which the receiver will point to himself (tus salady);kshi at, "small horse", i.e., 4 year old; dzhanamat, "other horse" a good horse; yeketubie - 1 mare, yeletube tyuya, "camel tied to rope with running noose", a camel of medium value; some do not give yeletube tyuya. Ul'kun yetim or "bas yetim" - 120 sheep.

4:Grodekov--74 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Kshi yetim - 5 camels Toymal (1) - ca. 400 rubles	Toymal ca. 20 tillias /ca. 60 to 80 rubles/	The groom gives the bride clothing and transports her to his dwelling.

1. The toymal and the iu yirtis is returned by the bride's father in the form of the dowry.

Ui uirtis (cloth to be given away) Ca. 60 tillias (228 rubles) or less	Ui yirtis - 10 to 15 tillias /ca. 30- 45 rubles/	
Elyu - 1 camel or 1 horse apiece to each wife of the bride's father, and 1 camel to his father (not obligatory, this is within the kiim).	Elyu - as in the kyrk yete column.	Elyu - a camel or horse if possible; otherwise they depart on foot or on a horse lent by acquaintances.
/83/ Bosaga elyu - "for the right to cross the threshold", 1 camel. For the arrangement of the feast - about 1 1/2 batmans /432 lbs. or more/ of dried apricots kishmish /seedless grapes or raisins/ on a camel, which is returned if the animal was not the elyu tyuya. To be slaughtered for the feast - 2 fattened mares. Prizes for kukubure and baigas.	Bosaga elyu - a foal etc. in a smaller amount.	

The matchmakers do not make an agreement on the amount of the toymal. It depends on the degree of solvency of the groom at

583

the time of the wedding. The groom gives tillias and receives from the bride's father horses, camels, rugs, blankets, fur coats, clothing of all sorts, a samovar, in a word, complete equipment, which is called yagal. Among these objects it is necessary to mention the dzhelek', a wrap of red material which the newly married woman wears for a full year, and the saukale.

Among the Kirgiz manaps, the kalym formerly consisted of 100 horses, but now is 30 to 40 animals (kara). Among the simple Kirgiz, a kalym for a beautiful bride consists of 15 to 17 animals (kara), and 9-10 animals among the poor. The toymal is usual only among the rich Kirgiz, and then only in a small amount, for among them it is not customary to give gifts of things (yasau). They give only a tent, a rug, and a coat in the dowry, and formerly they gave th the shaukale in addition. They seat the bride on a horse, and pack the entire dowry on one camel. Therefore there is also no elyu. (Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov).

/84/ According to the report of the manpa mullah Asan Dzhangeldin, the size of the kalym was formerly indefinite. Now the rich rarely pay up to 100 heads (kara) of various animals (andai diger). The usual kalym is not over 9 heads or 100 tillias /ca. 300 -400 rubles/. Among these 9 there are usually 1 camel, 4 horses and 4 cows, and among the poor 1 camel and 8 small animals (sheep and goats). The poorest give a tokaltoguz, in the sense of a toguz without a camel (1), namely: 1 horse, 1 bishti (2), 1 kunan, 1 tillia,

1. Tokaltoguz also signifies a toguz of things, without animals.

2. This is the name for a horse 3-4 years old among the Kirgiz.

taiturpak (sucking calf), 1 sheep and 1 goat. Among them no tents are given or draught animals. The wedding couple departs on foot.

In Tashkent the kalym given by the rich is 12 kara (3), while

3. Kara is "black animal", i. e., one animal. In the Auliye - Ata uyezd it is equal to 3 ewes with 3 lambs.

people of the middle class give 10 kara, and the pooe give 9 kara. With this the toymal consists of 20, 15, and 10 tillias, or else only of 8, 7, and 6 tillias. At the wedding the bride's father gives 1 sogum (bull) for the regalement, and 2 kids for the kukbure. The elyu equals 5 tillias, 4 tillias or 1 horse and 3 tillias.

For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the 583
kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more 595
than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd.[1] / /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567]
The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765
according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587
months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[1] [Not reproduced-- A.]

765 should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Alek-
587 sandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

587 The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /86/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to
589 remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that, even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

587 After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older' and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

atives of the deceased to marriage with the widow by stealth, begins to live maritally with her. Then the lawful husband does not wish to take her "because the hem of a stranger has touched her" (itegi tiibti), but /87/ he makes a complaint nevertheless and receives satisfaction in the form of a horse or a camel(1), and the people sanction

1. The new husband at first suggests little, for example, a horse. The lawful groom does not agree to this, threatening to kill. Then they propose more, a camel, etc., until the legal groom is satisfied (razy klady).

the arrangement which is made.

If the widow marries a stranger, with the agreement of the relatives of the deceased, her children, even those not yet born, remain in the house of the former husband (2) and the new husband

2. There are cases where all the children go with the mother.

pays the family of the deceased at least half a kalym, or else provides a girl.

If after the mourning period a kinsman of the groom does not appear to receive the yesir, the biis give the widow permission (achyk khat) to marry according to her choice. (3)

3. The law of 1867, in case of an unsatisfactory decision of a people's court on marital matters, let them turn to the uyezd chief with a complaint. Usually the Russian administration has permitted the widows to marry according to their choice. This type of decision, going contrary to custom, has given birth to disputes between the choice of the heart and the lawful groom.

When the widow has already had a wedding (nika) with an outsider without the permission of the husband's relatives, then the marriage is considered valid and only the question of the amount of compensation to the husband's relatives remains open. The lawful bridegroom, even though he does not receive a full kalym, has never gone away empty-handed (kuru kalmaydy) thus far.

A bii does not believe an accuasation of marital infidelity with-

out witnesses.

The lover, about whom there has been a complaint to the bii,

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

683 562 [587] /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (ultirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinas shykty ma?); If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber); If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The relatives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really 683
do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but 562
sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara.

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the
fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad 586
tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband.

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for 682
mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship 562
as it is said.

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her 842
father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliyaga tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter.

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I 586
have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce.

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The 587
fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd,

587 a divorced woman can marry her husband for the second time only if she has been married to another, received a divorce from him and has lived unmarried for 100 days. Here the influence of the Shariat is felt.

586 A marriage is dissolved after the husband has been absent without report for 7 years, if in this period he could not be found, and means for support of the wife were not brought from him. The wife in this case is acquired by the older brother without a kalym.

A marriage is dissolved in the case of incapacity of one of the spouses (szharamsiz, bili dzhok, erlikke dzharamaydy), even after long years of living together. If the husband denies his impotence, the wife orders him to establish the truth under the observation of the elder (the bii books of the Perovsk uyezd). According to the declaration of Aver'yanov, the former chief of the Namangan uyezd, a Kirgiz woman who was complaining of the impotence of her husband, was led into a special place, lay down there, in the presence of the biis, and invited her husband to prove his capacity for marital relations. The husband proved to be impotent. (1)

1. According to a report of I. I. Ibragimov, one Siberian bii ordered the married couple to be intimate, and appointed several persons from among his intimates to observe them from outside the tent. In addition he appointed one person apiece from the side of the plaintiff and the defendant. The observation led to nothing for the observers, like the couple themselves, contradicted each other, so the bii ordered them to be led into a special tent and to make the same experiment, but in hot water. The husband proved to be impotent.

The wife, when she declares that her husband is impotent to his relatives, asks permission to marry another. The husband's relatives, seeing no basis /91/ for refusing, oblige her only to choose the new husband from the same clan and lineage, so as not to cast a shadow on their lineage. The new husband in such a case does not pay the first one a full kalym but a "kin" one the amount of which is greater, the more distant the degree of kinship. (1)

1. Communication of Torgai.

If the wife does not wish to live with her husband because of his incapacity for marital life, but in the meantime it is shown that he is capable of this, she does not have the right to leave him. If by examination of the husband it is proven that he is incapable of marital relations, the wife, having received a letter of divorce from him, with the signature of solid persons, can marry whomever she wishes. In this case the previous husband of this woman must pay her new husband half a kalym. (2)

2. Communication of Sagyndykov.

The settlement which is reached when a wife leaves her husband is based, among the Kazakhs, on the amount of the kalym already received for her from the husband. Among the Kirgiz the settlement does not depend on the size of the kalym. Among them they simply decree from 2 to 3 toguz /nines of cattle/ for the use of the husband. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Kirgiz, from the time of matchmaking, when the bride is 2-10 years old, until she is mature (17 years) pay without reckoning until the parents come to the bride's house with one animal (so as not to come with empty hands) and determine the amount of kalym remaining to be paid.

In imitation of the Shariat, the customary law allows akymar (property) to be alloted to the wife in case of a divorce (khatynyng inchisi). The akymar can consist of livestock, immovable property and money.

The groom determines the akymar of the bride before the people, but without a receipt. He does not distinguish it from his own property and does not put it into her hands. In the case of a divorce, the wife, her closest kinsman (iese) or her clan (dzhamaasy), demands /92/ in court and receives the promised akymar. After the death of the husband, if the widow has a dispute with his relatives, they do not give her the akymar. If, however, she takes leave of the relatives of the husband on good relations, the heir gives her something in place of the akymar. If the husband grows weary of the old wife, and marries a young one, he can apportion the earlier wife with the akymar, with the addition of an allotment for her child. He apportions her to his son, or brother, or around himself. He is free to send her to her own kinsmen /turkun/.

Among the Kirgiz there is no akymar, but for this purpose there is a "contribution to the wedding"(nikaga basken mal), collected

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only the latter is not customary. (1)
837

1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
685 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

[684] 1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd). [628]

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in 588

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

586 If after the departure of the husband a child is born after 9 months and 10 days or more, the husband divorces the wife, and she 837 marries her lover, who pays the former husband a kalym, either his 848 daughter or a kinswoman. If the husband does not wish a divorce, he receives the wife with the strange child and a fine from the lover of 2-3 camels (in former times he received a full kalym). If the child was conceived by the lover, but not during the absence of the father, it is considered the lawful child of the husband. According to Torgai, children of widows, born out of wedlock, remain /97/ with her until her death. Before she dies they ask about their father and look for him.

848 It is impossible to speak of illegitimate children of unmarried girls, according to Torgai, for on the steppe all the girls marry (kyz dalada kalmaydy). In the Kazalinsk uyezd such children are buried in the ground. According to Aleksandrov and Makovetskii, a child born of a widow and the brother of her deceased husband is considered a legitimately born member of the family. (1)

1. Staff Captain Grombchevskii reports the following concerning the attitude of the Kirgiz of the Fergana region to illegitimate children. Bringing a child into the world from fornication not only covers the family of the girl with shame, but also her entire clan. In order to avoid the scandal they try to marry the girl upon the first signs of pregnancy. When this is not successful, they have recourse to stopping the prenancy. This is either done mechanically, or by giving the patient an infusion of the "usma" plant, or finally they put the child to death immediately after birth. Illegitimate children do not succeed the father, and are usually banished from the village as soon as they are big enough to herd livestock or to support themselves by other means. They are called kharam, kharmzade, valadizina, and in the Ketmen-Tiube volost also gartakum (born of a libertine). There are cases, however, when the birth of a child out of wedlock is not considered a scandal, namely, 1) from a groom and bride, if they later marry, 2) from a widow and

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the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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It is said by the baksy (sorcerer) Aike, of the Kurama uyezd, that when a woman in labor cannot give birth (balany bittirmeydi) or is giving birth improperly (egri), the sorcerer calls in the spirit Nurperi and others to give her more strength. According to the evidence of E. A. Aleksandrov, during birth they always send for a sorcerer, if there is one in the neighborhood.

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When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzholdas) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, they [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

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An hour after the delivery, when the woman who has given birth is bleeding, she is sometimes being pressed down (basady) by the evil demon (albasty) Martu. (1) Martu will cause her death if a man or a

1. Martu never frightens men.

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura-
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow
776 girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating
846 fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling (suuk).

When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give
553 the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another,
551 then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long life, for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut, Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta (stop). Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom), Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower), Saltanat (kingdom), Batpa Zaura, i. e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

700 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1) 852

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma;ehyatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz). 576 561

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

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/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

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423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where sanxan], shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1 [Not reproduced --A]

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute workers. 423

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311 /103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/. [731]

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 39 bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig. [805]

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield. 686

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues. 427 423

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depending on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 425 476 312

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
426 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
427 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
432 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover
312 are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i.e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees
or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees
and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and
he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know
the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which
remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water
appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld
will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt
caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water,
some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land,
but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned
without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot re-
main in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned
by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this
time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back, in any case
even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can
make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the
land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers
give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan,
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 423
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair 695
and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows
whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land,
and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about
20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors
have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this
land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30
years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no
documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps,
established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

423 side, i. e., the actual proprietors have no documents, these last are
695 required to swear an oath on the quantity of the land in dispute.

If land is planted by two clans, and one of the clans makes a complaint against the other, and during the investigation it is ascertained that one side has a document, and the other does not, and also lacks khan, kazi or beg documents showing that the land is in common between the two clans, then the side which has documents can refuse the other the use of the land.

If both sides on the disputed land have documents they must be carefully examined by learned mullahs who must decide which side has authentic documents and which has fraudulent ones, or those not worthy of attention. Nevertheless, an oath concerning the quantity of the disputed land is required from the side presenting the authentic, weighty documents, in order to support the suit.

If a dispute arises between two clans using common land, on which both sides have buildings, mills and trees, and if one side has nominal documents from khans or begs, while the names of the other /107/ side are not noted in this document, the affair is decided in favor of those having documents. Meanwhile those without documents must be indemnified for the value of their buildings, and then dispossessed from the land.

If one of the disputing sides shows a document delivered by the other side during the peaceable use of the land by them, and the document says that the side presenting it yields the other a certain locality, or a certain number of kosh (1) of land, or else that a

1. One kosh is a pair of oxen and the amount of land tilled by them.

certain locality belongs to it or a certain number of kosh of land, then the side in possession of such a document is required to take the land on the basis of the document. Their claim to a larger quantity of land and water than is mentioned in the document is ignored.

If it is impossible to settle a land dispute of two clans using common land on the basis of inquiries of persons not implicated in the case, or on the basis of documents, it must be found out which side constructed buildings on the disputed land first, and to give an oath to this side.

423 The law of 1867 did not touch upon the land organization of
671 the natives at all. Now the code for the administration of the Turkestan area (the law of 12 June, 1886) establishes the land organi-

zation of the nomadic population in the following manner.

State lands, occupied by nomads, are left to the public use of the nomads without time limit, on the basis of customs and rules established in the code of 12 June, 1886.

The lands being used by the nomads are divided into winter camps, summer camps and cultivated land.

The winter camps are left to the /108/ public use of each volost separately, without time limit according to actual use and in accordance with the customs, and in case of disputes - according to the quantity of livestock owned and the extent of the economy.

Special assemblies are designated, with the permission of the Governor, among the volosts of the uyezd for the distribution of the winter camps and the examination of disputes caused by this distribution. When there are disputes between the volosts of different uyezds, the assemblies meet with the consent of the relevant authorities. The assemblies, under the chairmanship of a person specially appointed by the Governor, consist of three elected persons from each volost. The judgments of the assemblies are presented by the chief of the uyezd for the approval of the Governor and are entered in special books, which are preserved in the regional administration.

The distribution of the winter camps is made among the masters of the tents by village meetings. The number of livestock and the extent of the economy are taken as the basis for the distribution.

Each nomad has the right to build living quarters and farm buildings on the sector put at his disposal for the winter camp, and the community may not demand their removal. These buildings constitute the property of their owners. The land occupied by the buildings is transmitted by inheritance as long as the constructions exist. When the buildings are destroyed the land reverts to the community.

The summer camps are left to the public use of the volosts of the entire uyezd, and the actual use by them is determined by customs. The Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya oblast retain the right to cross over into neighboring steppe regions for summer nomadizing, but these are used with the permission of the Turkestan Governor-General, who enters into preliminary consultations with the steppe Governor-General concerning this.

After the mutual agreement of the communities on places suitable for both their winter and summer camps, special sectors are set aside for those wishing to engage in agriculture and growing hay. The distribution of land among the agriculturalists /109/ is left to a voluntary agreement among them according to custom.

423 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their
671 property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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233 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and
221 is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men,
[782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i.e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza - an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

[423] Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[424] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

514 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

herding and because of your estrangement from sedentary life with 574
its commerce and bazaars where every traveler, no matter where he comes from, can find shelter and means of life for pay, it will be difficult for you, especially when your descendants are multiplying, to travel from one to another with your own food supplies. You do not carry your own sheep with you on a day's journey, much less carrying a beast on a long journey, especially with your manner of riding a-stride. And therefore here is ny eternal testament to you. Do not take pay for food on your mutual visits to each other. Always be with each other like invited guests. In this way you should have the right of kunakasy or shelter and food as a gift without pay each from the the other. Take one quarter of the property remaining with me for this, and consider this no longer as hour own property but as common property and as an inchi which is never divided among you until the end of eternity." May it be so. We will not forget your /113/ testament was the humble answer of the children of the noble Alasha, founder of the clan.

According to the report of bii Mikebai (of the Perovsk uyezd) the master of a tent pays wergeld for a guest who dies of hunger, and for his horse which dies of hunger, he pays another horse. This does not happen now (according to Kunakbai, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). At least in the year of the rabbit, many died of hunger, but there were no suits for not having given kunakasy. Among the Kirgiz they also do not pay wergeld and do not pay for a horse which has died of hunger.

When they hear of the coming of a guest, those closest to 574
the tent bring their mite on their own initiative for the kunakasy. 576
Urban Kazakhs (of Auliye-Ata and Tashkent) give their guests only shelter, and for food the guests go to the bazaar themselves. The Kirgiz leave the welcome guest alone with the feast. It is the business of the guest to invite the host in or to give him the leftovers (sarkyt)

The attitude of the Kazakhs to hospitality is indicated by the proverb: "If a guest stops once, this is happiness, if he stops twice it is misfortune. " (kunak br konsa kutteki konsa dzhut).

The host only answers for the safety of the guest and the protection of his property if they are not at war, or in a feud or in personal enmity. Nevertheless there are cases (according to Torgai) where a plaintiff appears in his adversary's tent, and people there exhort the master of the tent to forgive the offense, since they say, the appearance in the tent is a sign of submission and honor is now satisfied (aldynga kel'geni namusyngnyng bitkeni). They advise him to forgive the adversary, recalling the proverb: "If someone comes in to you, forgive him even the wergeld for your father" (aldynga kelgende

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).

576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A thief

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

vice of the aksakals (yakhsy ksiler) (communicated by Kunakbai). 612
When the kinship is more distant, if they do not give livestock they give something cheaper or else food. /115/ An aksakal makes a collection from the people (yurtchilik) for the benefit of the poor, even against people's will. A collection is also taken from the people for influential people, to pay their private debts. (1) Poor people who

1. From the affairs of the Syr-Darya Regional Administration, it is evident that also under Russian domination, collections are made from the population for influential people, with the permission of Russian authorities. Thus, one of the uyezd chiefs presented for the approval of the military governor a judgment of the volost deputies of the Dzhulek volost for the sacrificing of one ruble from each tent to cover the debts of the volost administrator Ayake Bikdzhanov. He received an answer from the military governor that he did not consider it "suitable to approve officially a collection of one ruble from each tent on behalf the volost administrator Bikdzhanov." (Instruction of 17 March, 1876. No. 2727). In 1878 it was permitted to take a voluntary contribution from the Kazakhs of the Dzhulek volost, of an amount not exceeding seven thousand rubles for the payment of the private debts of the same Ayake Bikdzhanov, in view of his exemplary fulfillment of official duties during more than ten years and the extremely poor position of the family remaining after him. (Proposal of the military governor to the chief of the Perovsk uyezd, 21 August, 1878. No 4127).

beg support from their rich relatives and do not receive it, steal from them or borrow what they wish for a time or forever. Prizes for races are divided by the clan of the winner. The seeking of wergeld among kinsmen ends with a wergeld "of kin", i. e., a small wergeld (karyndas khun).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd, assist- 612
ance is asked of relatives, under the name of nemeurin or dzhylulaye- 735
kan, under the following circumstances: 1) when someone is deeply in debt; 2) when someone has been ruined because of a false suit against him; 3) when someone is required to pay a wergeld. (2)

2. He who wishes to turn to the people for general help, invites representatives of the sections of the clan to him,

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feasts them, and then makes a speech to them, in which he tells of his failures, or his straitened circumstances, ending by pointing to their ancient custom, established in times long forgotten, when people like themselves helped each other. The suppliant never fails to bring in the proverb: "If water is taken from a lake with spoons, the water does not decrease. In the same manner a community which shows help does not become poor" (kisyk tap algan minen' kul' tausyk mas bergek mek musaparge il' tausul' mas). To this they reply: "If one man spits, nothing comes of it, but if a whole cummunity spits, a lake is formed" (ber tu kurse ber bular kak tukurse kul' bular). And thus the question is resolved for help to be shown by the general people.

However, help in the payment of debts, as bii Sultan and Khalmakhammed were obliged to admit, is always shown in proportion to the influence (kadryna yarasa) of that person in the community who has become indebted So that if an uninfluential but good man went in debt for a large sum and turned to his kinsmen, their contribution would cover only a small part of the debt.

/116/ According to Torgai, it is necessary to distinguish dzhilu and yurtchilik. Dzhilu is the forced contributions of friends, kinsmen and relatives, in case of fire, plundering of the village by enemies, the payment of wergeld and hunger. Yurtchilik is putting the debts on the people. In both the dzhilu and the yurtchilik, reciprocity is a condition of this contribution. But in the yurtchilik they are almost forced to pay, under the pretext that in the time of their fathers and grandfathers there were cases of reciprocal yurtchilik, or by threatening to cut off the hems and thus to end the mutual giving of yurtchilik (yurtchilik kylmaska itek kesti kylamyz). Incidentally the hem is not cut off. This is only a metaphor.

The poor person who asks for support says to the rich man: "Give me the grass of your livestock" (malyngnyng shubin ber magan), i. e., remunerate me for my right in common with you for that grass, on which your livestock are grazing. Support, in the form of a collection from the people under the direction of an aksakal, is arranged when all the livestock of the poor man have been slaughtered. Anyone who refuses to contribute loses the right to support in his turn, when a similar disaster happens to him.

This support extends even to the service of mating bulls. If

the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i.e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts. 476

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

/118/ CHAPTER VIII.

Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

241 465 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 465 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pasturing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyzmekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

A master who is touched by the plea of the servant, who throws himself down at his feet and holds him by the hand, sometimes forgives the entire suit. When there are blows from both sides, the matter passes without attention. 466

A servant is not fined for negligent service, but is only dismissed with a settlement. At present some require a servant to pay for damage resulting from his negligence. For example, if a sheep is lost during the day, some sue for half or one-third of its value. But if it is lost at night the shepherd is not guilty because he sleeps at night. Sometimes a koychi gives a friend a sheep belonging to his master, which the latter does not even miss. The shepherd justifies himself by saying that it ran away. If the deception is uncovered, the shepherd pays the value of the sheep and an additional fine in the amount of one sheep. If the master recalls that there were losses of sheep even earlier under this shepherd, he then requires an oath concerning these losses from the shepherd himself, or if the shepherd lives with his family or his kinsmen, he requires the oath from them. The master may consider it a dishonor to himself to take an oath from a shepherd as a person not his equal (koychinyn dzhanyn almaymyn, durus ksi imes). In this case the biis require the oath from the master himself. 466 233

The shepherd is not held responsible for sheep eaten by wolves even when conditions had been made for reimbursement of damages. A shepherd is not held responsible at all for falls and natural death (adzhal') of the livestock.

Only a rebuke, but not a suit is made for the shearing of wool with scissors (kyrktys) from the master's sheep by a strange man or by the shepherd himself, for the wool, milk and working power of the animals is considered "the beneficence of the animals" (malnyng khayry), and no payment is made for their use. /120/ A person who demands payment for them is reproached with the words: "Let that man perish who has not grown wealthy" (bay bolmay ulsin).

A strange animal joining the herd (buralky, nukatyk) is in general acquired by the shepherd. A greedy master can demand it for himself on the ground that his livestock attracted the strange animal. Among the Kirgiza strange animal joining the herd goes to the shepherd if he does not declare it to his master. But if the master finds out about it, he demands it for himself because it joined (singib kitti) his herd. Some keep the strange animal (bularky in Kirgiz), others slaughter it for kudai, a feast of the people. Under the Russian dominion it has been established that a runaway or strange animal 466 233 425

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233 joining the herd must be presented to the authorities. The master who loses an animal turns to the authorities who investigate the whereabouts of the lost animal.

According to Makovetkii (I p. 43), the amount of syuyunchi
425 for the presentation of a lost animal goes up to one-fifth its value. An exception is the sheep: the person who finds it keeps its offspring, and returns the lost animal to the owner. But if he spoils the sign of the owner on the sheep, then he returns the sheep and its offspring. Torgai says that the person who finds a pregnant sheep returns the ewe and the lamb to the owner, so that if the finder ever loses a pregnant ewe he will also get it back with the lamb. But if the owner of the found ewe declares himself only after two or three years, he is given one ewe, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat, " and they say: "If you recognize your lamb, take it" (kozysyn tanysang alakoy). Torgai also knows another opinion, by which an owner who appears after two or three years is granted only half a sheep, having in view the expense and labor of its maintenance (bagyb kagyb). If the person who found the sheep denies it, the oath is required of the owner himself. For the return of his lost horse, cow or camel, the owner must present seven witnesses (isbat), of whom two must swear an oath. If the finder has informed everyone of his find, it is not thievery for him to put his brand on it.

/121/ Livestock are kept for two or three weeks. After that, they declare to the volost administrator that the owner has not appeared.

If the animal found gives birth to a calf, the calf is not divided from its mother and also belongs to the owner, while if no owner appears, it belongs to the finder. If many livestock are lost, and fewer found, the finder is accused of having hidden the rest. This kind of case is settled on the basis of testimony from unimplicated persons, without an oath.

Things which are found (nerse, buyum), go to the finder if no one witnessed the finding. If there were witnesses, the find is kept by the finder from one to two months until the owner appears, who then receives his object for the payment of syuyunchi.

The longer the object is kept, the larger the amount of the syuyunchi. Speaking approximately, for an object worth 1 ruble, the syuyunchi amounts to 20 kopeks, for something worth 10 rubles, 2 rubles, for something worth 20 rubles - 5 rubles, for a horse - 1 tillia /3-4 rubles/, for a camel, 5-8 rubles. If the owner of the thing does not declare himself, it becomes the possession of the finder.

When money is found it is divided among all those present when it is found, with the obligation to give it up if the owner declares him-

self.

If the youngest among the travellers finds a coat, cap /tyubeteyka/ or other parts of clothing, he gives what he has found to the eldest, on the demand of the others. If all are of the same age, the thing found is given to the person of the white bone. If there is no one belonging to the white bone among them, it is given to the guest, i. e., the person of a strange clan. If there is no guest, it is given to the mullah. If there is no mullah, it is given to the married man, because married men are in general senior to bachelors. If all are married, it is given to him who married earliest. This giving out of clothing is called baylagan. 425 576

If a fox is seen in a strange trap (kakpan), the finder takes it for himself and leaves the trap. To take the trap is to steal, but taking the fox is not stealing. (1) Even in /122/ court when the 425 224

1. If an owner of a trap or a hunter with a dog catches a first fox, and if a Kazakh who rides by by chance, even a stranger, announces that he needs it /122/ for a gift or for the success of his future hunting, the hunter gives it to him. In case he refuses he pays a fine.

trap is required to be given up, it is never demanded that the fox taken at the same time be given back.

If a hunter (mirgen) kills a wild ass before others, he gives its back (sauri) to the oldest of these, or to the mullah, and in general as was related above. The giving up of the animal which has been shot is called syralyga. (All the above information from Torgai). 224

In the Perovsk uyezd, money, clothing, strange livestock joining the herd, etc., which are found, remain with the finder, and it is brought to the knowledge either of the supposed owners or of the authorities. Then the find is given back to the owners for syuyunchi, which is equal to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its value, i. e., approximately four times less than when it is taken from a thief. They are given back to kinsmen without pay. If the owner of the object does not declare himself in one or two years, the object found becomes the property of the finder. If the find was not announced to the public (dzhau kege shygarmak) with the purpose of appropriation, and then the owner of it appears, then the object, or if it no longer exists the value of it is returned to the owner, with all his court expenses, but without a fine. The concealment of a find from the investigation of an owner is considered thievery. 425 [685]

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

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422 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping
577 (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner
422 on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraud-
685 ulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported
672 immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or
422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

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Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

008 a horse, sheep or some other object.

When the farmers are threshing, gathering the grain from
735 the threshing floor, or measuring it, poor people who do not have their own fields go about to the threshing floors of their clan or community and collect alms, keusen. They are usually given a wooden bowl containing from 2 to 6 pounds of grain, or else one or two handfuls. /Inserted page. Picture of girl from the Perovsk uyezd.[1]

431 /125/ "Bazarlyk" is asked from someone who is riding back from a bazaar.

If a bii concludes a matter successfully, the people who are close ask for "satal" (1) from the biilyk he has received.

1. In general satal is given by everyone who has gained a profit or made a find. (Bii Khalmakhammed).

If a rich man gives his son a small allotment, the latter turns to his sisters, matchmakers and respected outsiders and asks for "inchibasy" (Torgai). They give him something, for example, a ewe, with the wish of increasing his herd. (2)

2. According to the communication of the Kazakh Katpa of the Kurama uyezd, inchibasy is set aside to support the mother in her old age, before the division among the family. According to bii Sultan the word inchibasy denotes in general that cow, good horse or other good animal which is selected (tanglab alady) by the persons receiving their allotment, or by their father or mother, as the "beginning" (bas) of their allotment.

If the father has arranged the betrothal (ayttyrsa) of a bride for his son, the latter asks a man of the same age for a congratulatory gift called "nemeurin." This one gives him something, thereby gaining the right to demand a similar gift when he is in a similar position (Torgai). According to bii Sultan, the nemeurin is customary both during the allotment and during the kalym. In the first case the kinsmen give sacks, lassos, utensils and livestock, and in the second case only livestock or money.

A person who has bought something new is greeted with the words: kutty bulsyn, i.e., to your happiness! The owner of the object expresses his thanks by saying: aytsyn, or kuttuktamak sizden bulsyn. In the first case they demand a gift of "baygazy" from him,

1 [Not reproduced --AJ]

under the threat of cutting off a piece of the new acquisition, for example, the toe from a boot. In the second case he himself asks a gift from the person who greets him. If the new thing is a coat, the women (without the greeting) ask for a gift for sewing on the fastenings, "tonbau", even though they do not sew them on, or itekkesti, "for cutting off the hem", threatening to cut off the hem. 431

If the wife of a friend gives birth, it is necessary to send cooked mutton by a third person, with a piece of material for a shirt for the baby. The husband of the woman who has just had a baby asks: "Why have you come?" (nege kel'ding). The person sent replies: "I have come with /126/ a greeting" (kuttuktab kel'dim). The former answers: "Choose what you wish" (kalagandyngdy ayt). The envoy chooses an animal or a hunting bird, saying: "I came to ask this" (sony tilete kel'dym), and then he receives it.

When it is planned to arrange a betrothal to a beautiful girl, and she lets it be understood that many already have her in view, and therefore it is necessary to leave some sort of substantial proof of one's words (byr nishane kylsang iken, byr bil'gi kureyetib koysang iken), one animal is presented, with a promise to come for a betrothal. This gift is called kargybau or batayak.

On moving into a new dwelling or halting place, the neighbors give the greeting: 'konys kutty bulsyn", or: "konys dzhayly bulsyn." The gift to the guests on moving into a new dwelling is called erulik.

If someone enters accidentally into a place where women are engaged in weaving or in making felt, the women hand him a piece of wool, the acceptance of which obligates him to give a gift, like a muskmelon, etc. This custom is called "yung salu." Women working on tobacco plantations give tobacco instead of wool, called "temeke salu."

People who meet a hunter ask him to apportion parts of his game, under the name of "chyralga."

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The time and place for trade is not limited by any rules. On the steppe, Sarts, Kazakhs and Tatars exchange manufactured goods, dried fruit, medicines and other objects for wool, fleeces and other products of herding. 437

Among themselves the nomads buy and sell on credit /v dolg/, with various terms of payment. Witnesses of a bargain are not obligatory, but when the seller and buyer do not know each other there are usually guarantees.

000 usually guarantees.

It is possible to sell property in the absence of the owner only
437 under the following circumstances: in case of close kinship, of trust,
432 and by order of the authorities. (1)

1. In the latter case they choose only that animal which in not working, not in a caravan, in general the least necessary one.

/127/ An object purchased from minors is returned without fine on the demand of the father.

[685] A person who knowingly buys something stolen is considered a thief.

The buying of livestock or objects which are not in sight is
437 avoided. But if they do buy sight unseen, a horse is understood to be a five year old stallion or a three year old mare, and a camel a five year old male or a three year old female (Perovsk uyezd).

A deposit is unknown to the Kazakhs.

At the bazaars there is always a special middle man (del'dei') for each type of livestock, a Kazakh or a Sart, who tries everything to bring the two sides to an agreement, putting the hand of the seller into the hand of the buyer by force.

In addition to shaking hands, the act of sale is validated by the seller by the words: Use it with good fortune, etc. (bereke tap, khayrin kur, iygliginga tutun, etc.), and by the buyer with the words: "May one be returned to you a thousandfold; May you too benefit" (biring myng bulsun, sen de bereke tap).

437 Both sides can still back out until the money has been paid.
After the payment they cannot. However the seller can take back
432 the object sold, with the consent of the buyer, for a certain sum to pay it off (pshayman, pshaymana). The buyer too can request, but not demand, of the seller the breaking off of the sale if the animal is in the same condition as it was at the time of purchase.

If in about a week's time faults are shown in the animal which were not mentioned during the sale, but outside people knew of their existence, the buyer can refuse the animal or demand the return of the money paid. In anticipation of this, it has become customary for the middle man to say to the buyer during the sale: "Look yourself, to see if the animal is absolutely healthy. Once you have bought it, it will be yours, even if it dies today." (Collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, according to the communication of

bii Umurbek, the sale of an animal /128/ is broken off (saudasy kay- 435
tady) without a fine, when the owner does not mention its faults which 432
are known to him, but not later than 2-3 days, depending on the type of livestock, since a deadly disease in an animal is recognised in a short time. (1) If a sold animal dies, the buyer does not receive his

1. For example, yamandatpa or yamaldatpa in horses is recognized in a day.

money back, because he could have filed a complaint before its death. In a sale a period of time is often designated within which it is still possible to return an animal for the sum which was paid for it.

According to a communication from Torgai, an agreement concerning the faults of an animal is usually one of three kinds:

1) During the purchase it is asked whether the animal has anything wrong with it. When the answer is negative the buyer suggests the designation of a period of 3-4 days, within which he can return the animal if faults appear in it.

2) The seller, who is hiding the faults of the animal which he is selling cheap, says: "Look yourself. Take it or leave it, as you like. If you cross this mark (drawn on the ground by him as he says the words) the animal is yours."

3) The seller declares: "If it has a lawful defect (aybi shar"y) (2)

2. For example, glanders or farcy (manka), or lameness.

I will take it back. But if it is sick it will stay with you." If later one of the aybi shar"y is discovered, it is declared the next day. If the seller says to this: "This defect was not there yesterday, but you saw it yesterday", then an oath is designated, namely, they give one of them (preferably the buyer) a choice between receiving an oath from the seller that the defect was not there yesterday, and giving his own oath that it was there. If both sides are unwilling to swear, the animal is returned to the seller with a buying off payment from the purchaser, or else the animal remains sold and the buying off money is paid by the seller. If the seller has gone away and only the warrantor, i.e., the middle man is at hand, who has received the middle man's /129/ money (shirinkame), or another warrantor, then he is made responsible. But the warrantor refuses to pay the pshaymana. He would say that he only guaranteed that the animal was not stolen, but did

431 not guarantee its quality. The bii requires the warrantor to find the
seller, but does not sentence him to pay the pshaymana. If the seller
432 is not found the case remains without further result.

Formerly it was possible to renounce a purchase or sale which was already completed, on the ground that it was bought for too much, or sold too cheaply. There is even a proverb: "The sale of a horse can be broken off for a month, and the sale of a camel, in the course of a year" (at saudasy ayinda kaytady, tyuya saudasy yilinda kaytady). This is never done now. If the buyer or seller claims he was deceived in the sale of an animal or other object, saying that they convinced him falsely of the expensiveness of the object, its newness, of the general pennilessness of the bazaar, etc. the sale is not broken off, because they do not believe the claimant, and feel that he is simply renouncing the sale (aynydy).

Among the Kirgiz, an agreement is made on the period of time within which an animal can be returned, in case defects are discovered in it. If such an agreement was not made, it is not customary to return the animal. A declaration saying the animal was too dear, although without defects, is also not accepted among the Kirgiz.

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426 When borrowing on credit (karz beresek) the presence of witnesses and guarantors is obligatory. In general, they try to have witnesses.

If the defendant denies the existence of a debt, then an oath is required on general grounds, as in cases of crime. But a debt (1)

1. The requirement of percentages (usum, payda, idzhara) is not obligatory. Credit is given with interest and without it. According to the communication of Abulfaiza of the Chimkent uyezd, honorable /130/ Kazakhs take 20% a year, called deduazde, i. e., 12 for 10. Bad persons take 20 kopeks a month for one tillia /worth 3-4 rubles/. According to a report from the Perovsk uyezd, Kazakhs take 20 kopeks a month for a ruble, or else nothing. Among the Kirgiz, 20 kopeks a month interest (tuam) is paid for 4 rubles.

is exacted without a fine. The biilyk and the court costs are required from the debtor.

/130/ When livestock are taken on credit for the purpose of selling them, animals of the same breed are given in the repayment. If they were females, females are returned after a year with their offspring or without, sometimes with the addition, in place of the offspring, of other animals or money, depending on the circumstances.

Vouchers of debts are entering into usage more and more. Usually they indicate the sum of the debt with the interest based on the period of time of repayment. When part of the debt is paid, this is noted in the voucher.

If a person stands in debt to another according to a voucher, money is exacted from him even though he does not recognise the claim as valid. But if a claim is made without a voucher and the defendant does not admit it, a personal oath is required from him. If the defendant demonstrates that he had actually been in debt to the plaintiff, but had paid him the money, then an oath is required from the plaintiff personally, who swears only if the defendant presents to the court the entire sum being claimed.

The leaving of things as security (geru, shargy) is unknown on the steppe. (1) But they do mortgage winter camps with the buildings on them. This is done by people who owe money, but do not have any livestock. A winter camp worth 15-20 tillias is mortgaged for 8-10 tillias, for 1 or 1 1/2 years depending on the agreement. If they have mortgaged for half a year, it is expected (kutadi) to be paid off in a year. If they have mortgaged for one year, they wait for two years. After this term they demand that the mortgaged property be sold or given up to the person who has taken it as security. An evaluation is made and an extra sum is returned. (Torgai).

1. In cities, pawning /zalog/ among Kazakhs is considered as one of the forms of an amanat.

/131/ The value of domestic animals according to customary law. 000 (Table follows).

/131/ The value of domestic animals according to customary law

/132-133/

Names of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Karamulla, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd		Other reports	According to the Kirgiz Kurpesai Douletkulov, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	Notes
Camel, tyuya	1	bota		~10 rubles	1 baytal	10 rubles		1 tay	
	2	tayiak		15-20 rubles	1 bisti at, with a small amount of money added	15 rubles		1 yliky	
	3	kunanatan	konadzhin	25 rubles	1 bisti, 1 tay	20 rubles	Bii Sultan reports 40 rubles for Chimkent uyezd; Torgai reports that it was formerly 40 rubles. The books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd have 40 rubles.	2 yliky	The time of mounting and castration is the 4th year, when they go up to 432 lbs. A mounting Bactrian camel is called bura, a dromedary - alek.
	4	dunanatan	dunadzhin	30-35 rubles	1 bisti, 1 kunan	25 rubles		3 yliky	A four year old male is equivalent to a three year old female. (Auliye-Ata uyezd).
	5	bisti atan	bisti ingen	30-35 rubles	2 bisti	30 rubles		3 yliky 25-30 rubles, depending on the bazaar. Earlier it was more expensive.	A five year old male is equivalent to a four year old female. The value of a camel begins to decrease at the age of 13-14 years.
Saddle horse, at Herd horse, dzhylky	1	kulun, ak zimye dzhabagy		4 rubles	1 koy, 1 serkesh	4 rubles		1 koy	
/134-135/	2	tay		8-10 rubles	2 koy, 1 kozy, or 2 koy, 1 serkash	8 rubles		2 koy	
	3	kunan	kunadzhin baytal	16-18 rubles	3 koy	10 rubles		7 rubles	The time of mounting and castration is the 3rd year. The mounting male is aygir.
	4	dunan	dunadzhin-baytal	16-18 rubles	4 koy	13 rubles	Stallions and mares 20 rubles, according to the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd	8 rubles	The Kirgis in place of kunan and dunan also say bishti, and in place of bisti-asi, they say asi. A six year old animal is called yekeasti, a seven year old is called uhasi, etc.
	5	bisti at	bisti baytal	20 rubles	5 koy	15 rubles		9 rubles (now 12 rubles)	The price of a horse decreases from the age of 10-11 years.

4:Grodekov--116b E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Names of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Kazanmulla, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd	Other reports	According to the Kirgis Kurpetal Douletkulov, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	Notes
cow, bull sig, ukuz	1	buzau. among the Kirgis: muzak		3 rubles	1 buydak 2 rubles		2 rubles	
	2	tana. among the Kirgis: tay turpak		5 rubles	1 koy, 1 serkesh 4 rubles		3 rubles	The time of mounting is in the second and third year. A mounting male is buka.
	3	kunanukuz or naupasb	kunamsir	8 rubles	2 koy, 1 serkesh 8 rubles		4 rubles	
	4	dunamukuz	dunamsir	12 rubles	4 koy 10 rubles		5 rubles	
	5	bisti ukuz (azi)	bistisir	20 rubles	5 koy 15 rubles	20 rubles, according to the bis' books of the Perovsk uyezd.	7 rubles (now 9 rubles)	The price decreases from the age of 8-9 years.
Sheep, koy	up to 3 months	kozy		1 ruble	1 1/2 rubles		1 ruble. If 1 ruble is borrowed during the summer, 1 kozy is given back in the autumn.	The time of mounting is 1 1/2 years. A male is koshkar.

4:Grodekov--116c E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

435

Name of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Karamulla, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd	Other reports	Notes
sheep, koy	From the 4th month, when shearing koyas	tokty		2 rubles	2 ulak		
	From 8 months	buydak		2 1/2 - 3 rubles		2 1/2 - 3 rubles	
	2 years	isek	tusak	3 rubles	tusaks 1 buydak, 1 isek.		
	3	kunankoy	kunan saulyk	3 1/4 - 4 rubles 3 rubles	3 kozy	4 rubles	
	4	dunan koy	dunan saulyk	4 - 4 1/2 rubles 3 1/2 - 4 rubles	3 kozy	5 rubles	
	5	bisti koy	bisti saulyk	4 rubles 3 1/2 - 4 rubles	3-4 kozy	6 rubles	After 5 years the price decreases.
Goat, eshke,	1	ulak		60 kopeks	-	40 kopeks	1 ruble.
	2	shebish	tushe	1 ruble, 50 kopeks	-	1 ruble, 40 kopeks	
	3	kunan serke	kunanichke	2 rubles	-	2 rubles	
	4	dunan serke	dunanichke	2 1/2 - 3 rubles	-	3 rubles	
	5	bisti serke	bisti ichke	2 rubles	-	4 rubles	
Donkey, isek istek	1	gure		2rubles			
	2	taylak		4 rubles			
	3	Kunanisek		5 rubles			The time of mounting is in the third year. The male is angi, the female is mashi.
	4	dunanisek		6-7 rubles			After the age of 10, the price begins to decrease.

Footnote: The bits exact the payment of the prices indicated when the actual bazaar price of a missing horse is unknown, or when the obligations are stated in livestock, not in money. Variations are permitted from these average prices. A pregnant animal is considered more expensive.

4:Grodekov--117 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

1489 /138/ Drivers (kerekesh tyuyekesh) are dependent upon caravan heads (karavanbashis) /keruanbasy/. The latter are of two kinds: 1) Well known (bel'gili) and influential (ulkun) persons, living in cities, where they give the merchants guarantees of the scrupulousness of the drivers; 2) persons who are less influential (kshi, ksi) who are placed first at the head of the caravans, and receive the invoices from them. In addition to these appointed karavanbashis, the leaders of the caravans are usually also the best people in general among the drivers.

The drivers can transfer their licenses /bilet/ to the leader of the caravan, even though each has his own camels and a special cargo.

The karavanbashis go in advance.

The custom among the urban karavanbashis to help the drivers out with favors (yagalsyb salu) until they find work, also exists among the Kazakhs. (Torgai and Umurbek).

Merchants can send their cargo without the use of karavanbashis, by drivers who have guarantors. Before sending the cargo, the merchants and the drivers, or karavanbashi in their place, exchange written bonds on the quantity of the cargo, the price of the shipping, and the time of delivery.

The karavanbashis cannot abolish the low wage established for one of the drivers, to the detriment of another.

The karavanbash chooses the time and place for halts and spending the night. He settles arguments between drivers on the road. He forces them to pay debts and imposes fines for stealing. Occasionally heavy corporeal punishment is arranged, which is administered standing, not lying down, and for this there can be no complaint. Umurbek admits even that if there is disagreement between the karavanbash and the collective opinion of the drivers he must be obeyed, although in such cases it is difficult for him to get his own way.

489 According to the old customary law, the drivers had to pay
672 damages even without a preliminary agreement, on the basis of the
685 rules of acceptance for safe-keeping.½ According to the new customary law those who are not obligated by signature, the affixing of a seal and stamp /tamga/ do not pay. The exhaustion /139/ of the camels and their falling down is not taken into consideration by the sender of the cargo. The losses are born by the driver. He changes the tired camels for fresh ones, or buys others, changes the loads of the fallen animals onto other camels, etc.

According to Torgai and Umurbek, a driver is not responsible to

½ [Ct. cat. 116, p. 109 -- A]

the owner of a camel, when he has rented it for money (kere) from an outsider, and it falls, for some reason or other than its load being too heavy. But he is responsible for a camel which was taken for use without pay. However, they rarely pay in full (tutas), for the bii takes into consideration the fact that the camel was given on the basis of acquaintanceship, and arranges an agreement for 1/2, 1/4 or one-eighth the value of the animal. The demand in court for the full value of the camel would be a manifest rupture of the conditions stated above. 489 672 685

If a driver loaded a greater weight on a camel than that permitted by the owner of the fallen animal, for example 648 lbs. instead of 576 lbs. (1) the value of the fallen camel is divided into as many

1. Every camel has a known lifting capacity. Some carry only up to 432 lbs., others up to 648 and even to 720 lbs. The average weight without straining is about 500 lbs.

parts as there were pounds in the load, and the driver is required to pay as many parts as there were extra pounds, in the given example, two parts.

The owner of a spring and a well can refuse to give a caravan a place for a halt and water, because of its inadequacy for his own needs, and for other reasons. It is impossible to complain about this in court. But if an owner with extra space does not allow a caravan to come in in winter during bitter cold, and people or livestock freeze as a result, customary law asks wergeld for the people and the payment of the value of the livestock. 489 [423]

Now drivers are not willingly permitted to stop near a village, for a loss may occur in the caravan for which the drivers will blame the nearest village. [472]

In case of a complaint in court concerning a loss taking place between two villages, the biis make an inspection of the place and /140/ measure the distance of each neighboring village from the place of the loss by means of a rope. Then the village is accused of the theft, which is shown to be closest (Tergai). Accordi[illegible] other sources, the biis do not measure the distance but ac[illegible]illage h is considered less dependable. (Report of the chief of the [illegible]kent uyezd, the biis Sagyndykov and Sultan Kanaev and other [illegible]ns of the Chimkent and Kurama uyezds).

[illegible]here are no drivers among the Kirgiz, since the Auliye-Ata [illegible]z have few camels.

/141/ CHAPTER IX.

673 Crimes. - Thievery. - Baranta. - The salavat and limitations - Syuyunchi.

There is no word for "crime" in the Kazakh language. Dzhaman is means evil deed. That all crimes are no other than evil deeds is, of course, only in the eyes of those injured. When the latter speak of violence (zorlyk) and torture (dzhabr) the transgressors of their interests boast of their own heroism (batyrlyk).

The word guna (sin, wrong) does not fit our concept of crime. In the epic of Guruly beloved by the Kazakhs, among other things, Avaz-khan is called gunakar because he dripped a bowl. He is obliged to shoot a certain number of ducks because of this.

The people distinguish a bad act from a sin. Evil done to the detriment of religious rituals and certain forms of incest are a sin. Sin is considered more serious than crime, but according to the concepts of the majority, murder is considered more criminal than a minor sin.

The offender who is subjected to punishment is called aybdi, aybdar. The word "transgressor, criminal" is translated most closely into Kazakh by the word ury, thief.

673 695 The view of the customary law toward crime is extremely simple. Criminal acts which have been under examination or which continue, do not exist, when there is no plaintiff, or when the plaintiff retracts his suit. Therefore in all suits without exception a reconciliation is possible and the affair can be broken off by the plaintiff. Crimes which are known about by the aksakals, biis and the entire people, but /142/ on which no plaintiff declares himself(1)

1. In other words, an injury to people without a clan, or an injury to people of a clan of small numbers.

are not punished. It is obvious, that the judgments are governed not by a feeling of justice, nor by a religious feeling, but a desire

bring the sides to agreement and avoid civil war, also in part the danger of injuring weak clans, which might join forces ainst the strong ones, and finally by unwillingness to destroy the ndations of family life, the clan principle, and those few customs d rules of nomadic life (zang, adat, rasm) which have been worked t over time and under which the people have lived well.

[Should be "dropped" -- A]

4:Grodekov--120 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Folk custom not only permits but also obliges the persons who have suffered to avenge the crimes committed against them. The avenger is usually the person who has suffered, but a part or even the whole clan has a right to take part in the revenge. The entire clan considers itself obligated to avenge a case of the secret kidnapping of a girl by a Kazakh of another clan, or the driving away of a considerable number of livestock, which may belong to only one person, but one who is honored by his kinsmen. Also specific insults not only of an honored member, but of any Kazakh, which are made by a mob, call for armed defense and the resentment of the entire people. 628

The limit of the revenge is considered to be doing harm to the adversary on an equal level to the harm suffered from him. Then the hostile lineages or clans already take part in pacifying their members. But if the avenger does not cease to wreak damage on his adversary, he is subjected to fines of an atton or higher, and in extreme cases to corporeal punishment on the part of his kinsmen. The fines go for the use of the person suffering from superfluous revenge.

Peaceful agreements are permissable in every offense and crime. The fines in such cases (outside of court) go to the use of the person who suffered, or else, when they are considerable, they are divided among the closest kinsmen of the receiver.

Although custom does have the concept of more /143/ serious and less serious crimes, it does not divide them into criminal and civil crimes. 673

A crime which is committed with premeditated intent increases the blame. The commission of a crime with provocation, especially if it is called forth by the sufferer, lightens the blame. Circumstances which lighten the offense are: the thoughtlessness of the transgressor, or the honor and respect he enjoyed before the crime was committed. 672

The commission of a crime in the steppe in an open place by day lessens the offense. A crime committed in a tent at night increases the offense. Poverty does not lighten the guilt. It does not excuse thievery, for example, for the clan is held responsible. A clan which has not helped a poor man, pays all claims against him three times,

ne compelling him to reform, and forcing him to make prom-
his oath. (1) The commission of a crime in a state of drunken-

After the third time he is driven out. A poor man 685
nd a person without a clan gives up his daughter in place
f money, and pays off the sum required of him from the

673 Wealth
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685 kalym he receives for her. But if he also has no daughter, he enters into the service of the plaintiff.

672 ness lightens the blame, and in the opinion of some, even frees the offender from a fine, and he is only obligated to pay for the damages.

Official persons are not punished more severely than private persons for a crime.

Crimes committed for reasons beyond the control of the person's will (illness, temporary insanity, etc.), do not bring punishment upon the persons committing them. In such cases the kinsmen are held responsible as not having watched over the activities of their sick fellow members and not having protected the sufferers from danger. Those who are insane from birth and deafmutes are not punished for crimes committed and their kinsmen are not held responsible for them. Offenders who are under age are not punished. Their parents and close relatives are held responsible for them. Husbands are responsible for the crimes of their wives, but the wives are not responsible for their husbands. The successors of deceased criminals are held responsible in property for their crimes. /144/ In general, the responsibility in property for crimes extends to the seventh degree of kinship inclusively.

685 In Makovetskii (Pt. I p. 81) we find that punishment is decreased when a theft is committed in a strange volost. Certain 672 biis of the Syr-Darya oblast disagree with this. They maintain that suits for theft should be judged with equal strictness, whether they are committed in an outside volost or in one's own, against the defenseless (for example, from children), or against the strong. (1)

1. Aleksandrov reports that the Kazakhs of the Kazalinsk uyezd steal livestock primarily from other clans and uyezds. The people are indulgent about this, considering it something which goes with youth, although they sometimes are reproachful about it in words.

Careless actions which result in damage are judged as crimes. thy persons compensate for the damage with property , or for caused to the health they pay wergeld in the amount established istom. These cases are called angsyzdan, and the people regard more indulgently than they do cases committed for revenge or other aims.

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for other aims.

Accomplices (sirek) of a crime are subjected to punishment, usually in equal amount, although differences are allowed according to the extent of blame (Kunakbai). The plaintiff can, however, in the absence of the accomplices of the crime, exact a penalty from the person present, obligating himself not to make any further suit (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). (2) 672

2. It has now come into custom in the Perovsk uyezd to revenge oneself on one's personal enemies in the following fashion. If strong evidence exists against the defendant, the plaintiff names one of his personal enemies as an accomplice of the defendant, causing him unpleasantness and trouble about his oath. [578]

For the ringleaders (bashi or urybasy (3), i.e., those who first

3. According to bii Sultan, the word dzhortuulbasy, head of a gang, has not been used since the time the wars (yaugerchilik) stopped.

began to carry out the idea, punishment is not increased. (4)

4. It is said that the person who first committed robbery, giving rise to a long baranta, pays toguzy, while the others, who are guilty of taking strange property are sentenced to muynyna kosak kutine terkeu (cf. Chapter XII).

According to another opinion, the ringleader is usually called into court. He pays the entire penalty, and can then /145/ split it up among his accomplices. Now they interrogate the ringleader who is called into court about his accomplices as well, in order to call in all of them. If they do not find all of them, they penalize those who are found, requiring them to split it up with the rest and recording this obligation into the report of the judgment. The distribution of the

ng the defendants is left to them. If they cannot come to an
it, the bii apportions the payment of the value of what has
en, in accordance with how much each person took for him-
the fine is divided equally.

eat, 116, pp. 200-207 -- A.]

672 The person under whose instigation and advice the theft was
685 made, pays a fine, after which the thief returns the object stolen without a fine (Perovsk uyezd). According to bii Sultan, instigation and calumny is a sin which God never forgives (kudanyng kechpes gunasy). There are now many instigators (azgrushi) and tell-tales (suztasushi). The biis do not believe them. In confirming the proverb entered in Makovetskii: "He who ordered the beating is not punished, he who did the beating is punished" (ur degenge zor kel'mes, urganga zor keler) bii Sultan Kanaev says that the instigator escapes punishment because he will not acknowledge his instigation, and that even though the instigation can be proved, in general it is better to impose the punishment on the actual criminal. E. A. Aleksandrov also reports that the instigators and those assisting the crime are not recognized as guilty by custom.

Those who conceal crimes and transgressors, or objects obtained by crime are called to responsibility equally with the criminals themselves. The receivers of persons under suspicion are called to account like thieves. Unconscious concealment is not persecuted. Not giving up a thief, even though he be one's own son or father, is considered being his accomplice. The person who saw the crime but did not speak of it in the inquiry is also considered an accomplice (Perovsk uyezd). According to Kunakbai of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the person who conceals property pays nothing, and if he was sentenced to pay an atton, for example, he can demand its return from the thieves. The person who conceals /146/ the thief himself does not pay. "A reprimand of him would be useless," added the bii.

Connivers and the other persons implicated are not subjected to any penalty, but they do not escape the inquiry and a reprimand (Perovsk uyezd). They are called kumekshi. The kumekshi is not a thief, but is not clean of thievery (kumekshi ury imes urydan kuru imes) as bii Sultan Kanaev expressed it.

673 The number of acts which are not considered reprehensible, or which are not prosecuted by customary law even though reprehensible, is considerable among the Kazakhs. (1)

1. In Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 60 it says: "The comparatively low level of culture of the Kazakhs not only explains their general view of criminal activity, but also their attitude to many acts which are prosecuted among civilized societies, and which are considered fully lawful among the Kazakhs.

Without even speaking of the many police infringements of the law, of which the Kazakhs have no concept, it is impossible not to mention here their attitudes to such acts as abortion, putting a newborn child to death, forsaking a man in danger, swindling and taking the law into their own hands. These are regarded either as entirely unreprehensible acts or else, in the case of swindling, as acts serving as the basis for civil suits. Taking the law into their own hands in the form of baranta even constitutes a kind of heroic deed.

Among the acts which are not considered reprehensible are 1) Abuse and every sort of verbal insult; 2) light blows;(2) 3) theft among

2. The sufferer of the blows considers himself satisfied if he can boast that he hit his adversary, even if only once.

kinsmen; 4) immoral acts, committed with the consent of both sides; 5) taking the law into their own hands; 6) abuse of power; 7) all crimes, committed against the defenseless 8) all crimes, committed against members of other tribes.(3)

3. When asked about the proverb: "the property of the unfaithful is allowed (to be taken), their daughters are allowed (to be made concubines), and their blood is allowed (to be spilled)" (din sizding maly alal, kyzy alal, kany alal), bii Sultan Kanaev began to explain the word unfaithful - as someone who does not pray, does not fast, etc. - but then added: "if the padishah gives the order to make war (padsha buyursa chaubal dib), but it is not permitted in a stealing manner (urlyk pen alal imes)."

We turn now to the listing of several misdemeanors which are recognized at the present time as deserving of reprimand, reproof and even of a fine, but for which there are rarely suits in court, since the plaintiff usually has great difficulty in getting a fine to be imposed./147/ (Table follows).

4:Grodekov--125 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd
Instigation to fighting and murder (sukan-chilik)	Rebuke (1) of the aksakal and forcing to repent.		Not punished	Formerly the whip. (durra): Now a fine of 3 rubles.

( )

1. The reason why Sultan Daulet Bushaev imposes a rebuke, etc., and the biis of the Auliye-Ata uyezd do not, is that the former represents the patriarchal point of view, and the latter the present practice. In the words of Kunakbai, nowadays a rebuke, etc., does not lead to anything. (Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii Kurama uyezd
Repetition of the same misdemeanor.	Corporal punishment and shaming.		Reprimand of the bii.	Forfeiture of trust, denouncement as a mutakhan (shameless one) and banishment.
Noise and disturbance of nocturnal peace.	Rebuke or corporeal punishment.		Not punished.	It is called tentek, dzhindy. It is not punished.
False alarm, crying attan (to horse!).	Compensation for damages incurred.		Compensation for damages incurred.	Called maskharabaz. Scolded but not punished.
The same, if a woman miscarries a child from fright. /148/	From 3 to 4 camels to one-half wergeld.		Not punished. But if woman is influential 100 rubles fine.	The payment of the appropriate wergeld.
Fast riding in village, around village, or approaching tent at a gallop.	Rebuke.		Not punished.	A scolding. The offender is called akhmak.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--126 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--127 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Digging holes without warning signs, or destroying these.	Rebuke and medical treatment of those hurt.		Not punished.	Warning that if someone is hurt, the digger will pay.
Slander, false denunciation. (tukhanchilik	Forfeiture of trust (zhenimsizdik). sizdik).	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly a whipping. (durra). Now a 3 ruble fine. ruble fine.
Not giving help when seeing theft or brigandage.	Reprimand		Not punished.	Not punished.
Not reporting the commission of a crime.		Not punished.		

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Not giving help in danger, as a result of which a person dies.		Not punished	Not punished.	They suspect murder and impose an oath.
N t helping one's own in a time of general uproar or /149/ harming one's own.	2 or 3 nines.			He is considered a traitor (ala); In time of upheaval he is killed /149/ (chaub kitedi).
Malicious luring into danger, resulting in death, e.g., from beasts.		Can demand a partial wergeld.		Full wergeld.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--128 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--129 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Not giving kunakasy.		Not punished.	Not punished.	In case of death, wergeld is paid for a person, and the value for a horse.
Affront and insult of kinsmen.	Corporeal punishment, depending on the desire of the kinsman.	Affronts and light blows administered to kinsmen, and strangers, even tiuri, is not punished.		They are pacified and warned against repetition.
False witness.	Forfeiture of trust and the remuneration for damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
False oath.	Punishment in future life and remuneration of damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Punishment in future life. Same report from Kazalinsk uyezd. Bii Sultan, of the Chimkent uyezd reports that the guilty party answers in /150/ the future life. He is called muttekh. They spit on him at the end of the oath ritual. His words are no longer believed (suzi bi igtibar) and he is not chosen to be one of the oath takers.
Cheating and deceit of any kind.		In the opinion of Kunakbai and many others, it is not punished. They only repay damages.		

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--130 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

4:Grodekov--131 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Unjust judgment of an affair by a bii.	Not punished.		Not punished.	
The acceptance of gifts by a bii who has justly (tene) decided a lawsuit.	Not punished.	----------	----------	
The extortion of gifts by a bii.		He loses respect (beti kara).		
/151/ A fight in which a horse is wounded.	Atbastagan toguz, or, according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd, atton, but if the horse dies, the value is paid.			If the horse dies of the wounds, it is paid for, otherwise not.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Unjust blows (1)	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

1. Among the Kirgiz no suit is entered for abuse and blows between equals. For abuse of an official person, the bii makes a reprimand and sentences a beating, while for blows borne by a superior, he requires sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made (el kyldyrady). For a wound to an equal, the bii requires a sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made. For a wound to a thief (uruny bashiny yarsa) no suit is brought (reported by bii Daniyar).

Blows from which death resulted.	Full wergeld	In the opinion of many others, full wergeld. (In practice it is not observed, according to reports from the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds.)	
Blows suffered by a strange woman, resulting in miscarriage.			According to Torgai, wergeld is immediately (tokhtausiz) required for miscarriage without an oath as to whether it took place with or without blows. (Table continues).

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Blows administered to a husband /152/ or another, because of which a woman miscarries.				According to Torgai, if the /152/ guilty party does not present the oath of two persons that the miscarriage was the result not of fright but of something else, he must pay wergeld according to the miscarriage. The choice of the side which must swear can also be given to the plaintiff.
Threat of murder.		Not punished, in the opinion of many. According to bii Sultan, an admonition is made: Stop, leave these ways (tasta, bu filingnan kait)!		A fine of 25 rubles.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--133 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors

	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Petrovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Attempt to murder.	Three nines (tyuya-at-siir-bastagan toguz).	According to bii Sultan, "ayb for the knife", i.e., an attempt to murder (pshak ayby) costs 1-2 nines.		
/153/ Attempt at theft or brigandage.	Atton	In the opinion of Uymaut and others of the Chimkent uyezd, it is not punished. Sazabai agrees. According to Umurbek and others, there is pardon or a fine no greater than an atton.		
Fire resulting from carelessness.	Payment of damages.			Payment of damages (tuleuin beredi).
Setting a fire maliciously.	Payment of damages, with addition of fine or prison.			Payment of damages with fine of 50 rubles.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--134 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--135 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Contributing to suicide.		Not punished. But can demand partial wergeld.	Not punished.	Full wergeld.

If a violation of the rules of morality is punished, it is punished primarily by domestic measures, as is evident from the following list.

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umur-bek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai
Lewd behavior	Rebuke of aksakal, admonition (taufik) and forced repentance (tauba).			

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--136 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
/154/ Turning this behavior into a profession.	Order to husband or relatives for corporeal punishment and supervision.			
Adultery with a married woman, proven as only one visit of the lover.	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly 1 nine (1)

1. Torgai says that he posed a question to the biis (Umurbek and others) of the Auliye-Ata uyezd: "You know better than I, tell me: khatynyng amining ayby bar ma?" They answered that no fine is imposed for adultery. He answered: "You have eaten dirt! In earlier times they imposed one nine."

Adultery discovered in flagranti.	One nine.	Up to 1 nine	20-30 rubles.	
The same with a fight resulting in miscarriage.	Tyuya bastagan nine.		50-100 rubles. for miscarriage.	

(Table continues).

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4:Grodekov--137 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliy-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
The same with a girl.	3 nines.	Kunakbai: the corruption of a girl with her consent even though she is betrothed, and regardless of age, is not punished.	There is binding, beating and 20-30 rubles are exacted.	From 1 to 3 nines. Formerly 3 nines.

Note. If the girl was betrothed the fine goes to the benefit of the groom. If the groom /155/ renounces the bride, the fine goes to her father, who gives the groom another bride. If the girl was not betrothed, the betrothal of the guilty man to her relieves him of the fine.

The rape of a woman in general depending on the circumstances of the case.	From 2 attons to atbastagan toguz.	From 1 atton to 1 nine.	From 5-30 rubles	If she is a girl, he must marry her.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
Incest	Corporeal punishment and banishment from the village, after a public reprimand.		Death from the hands of all the people. No case had ever taken place.	
The same, by force.	The same, with humiliation.			
A sin of sodomy.	From 3-5 camels.		Not punished.	A coat and asking for forgiveness, with the slaughter of an animal.
/156/ Copulation with livestock.	Corporeal punishment and humiliation.	Not punished.	There are no male mules among the Kirgiz.	Not punished. No case of it had occurred.
Procuring.	Atton.		Not punished.	
Pimping of a mullah.	Forfeiture of clothes, all property, and banishment from the village.		The guilty man flees, abandoning everything.	

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681 Reimbursement of damages is required for every kind of infliction of loss, damage to objects, etc., if it took place as a result of carelessness. For wounds and similar bodily injuries, the medical treatment and the support of the injured person is at the expense of the guilty person. If evil intent is observed in this, a fine is imposed to the value of the damages, in addition to the damages.

We append examples:

682 1) Clumsy medical treatment. A doctor (taub) who heals clumsily is suspected of evil intention, but he is not called to account. Only the expenses for the funeral (as su) of a patient who died can be referred to his account. He answers for it in the future life (akhiratda zamin).

2) Being bitten by vicious animals. If the owner of an animal did not know his qualities, he does not pay the expenses for the healing of the injured person, and for the damage suffered (bite, tisteb algan, dislocation, mirtildy, death), for "the animal does not know what he is doing." However the animal itself may be adjudged to the sufferer. But if the owner knew that his animal was dangerous to human beings, (adam khur) he should have either kept it tied up or slaughtered it, or sold it at a distant bazaar. For not having taken these precautionary measures, nor having kept an eye on the animal known to be vicious, he pays for the damage caused by it /157/ (Torgai and others), or a full wergeld to the report of Baymet Sagyndykov.

If a mounting camel or stallion bites or kills someone, the animal itself is given to the person who has suffered. Wergeld is not exacted.

If a camel walking about untethered bites someone, he is surrendered in place of wergeld. But if a person rides into a village on a camel and it bites someone, the rider pays a full wergeld. (1)

1. The owners are not held responsible if the animals bite each other. Only children arrange a fight between animals (taiasteru) and they are not held responsible for damage (Perovsk uyezd).

685 3) Injury to strange animals, cutting out the tongue, disfiguring their appearance, is punishable by fine, and if the owner of the animal consents, by the buying of the animal from the owner for its original price. If the injury resulted in the death of the animal, its value is paid (Perovsk uyezd).

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Animals are subjected to having their tails cut off for cropping grass from strange fields. But the owner of such an animal has the right to start a suit for disfigurement, in which case he himself pays for the damage from grazing (Kazalinsk uyezd). 685

There have been cases in which the owner of the animal with its tail cut off died a natural death during the period of time before the tail grew back. His heirs had the right to demand wergeld from the guilty person, as for murder. (Kazalinsk uyezd).

4) Arson. The person who sets the fire is sued for the total loss, for example, the value of the house or of the material and the wages of the workers, if he cannot clear himself with an oath. He is also required to pay a fine of one-tenth the value of the property. (2) 685

2. In the Chimkent uyezd the fine for setting a winter camp afire, for brigandage and for baranta is equal to wergeld for a man.

Suits concerning arson are investigated strictly (Katta suraydy) and are not settled without oaths, solely by testimony of witnesses. For unpremeditated arson a fine is not imposed, as is the case in all /158/ unpremeditated misdemeanors (yazym), which came, as they say, from God (kuday kykdyrgan).

Fires are permitted, to clear the steppe of the tough grass the previous year, which the livestock do not wish to eat, and also for the fertilization of the land to be ploughed. Such fires are forbidden in ploughed fields, hayfields and around buildings. In the Kurama uyezd, the testimony of four dependable persons is enough for conviction for intentional arson, requiring the payment for the damages and a fine equal to this (tengurtak). For example, for a loss of 400 rubles, the fine is also 400 rubles. Wergeld is paid for persons lost during the fire.

5) No punishment is given for deceit. The property taken by deceit is simply returned.

The following are examples:

a. A gift (syuyunchi) received for the report of false news is returned. They are scolded with the word muttakham (dishonorable), etc.

b. Money demanded in the form of an order by warrant, etc. is returned. Trust is forfeited.

c. There is no suit for denying one's own stamp /tamga/ (Abdrakhman).

d. For the affixing of a strange seal, and for every sort of fraud

payment of the losses can be required. The payment for a new receipt and for court costs can be required for assistance in changing a receipt, after which the debtor is freed from the obligations of the original receipt (the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd). The Kirgiz bii Daniyar finds that there is no suit for the making out of a false receipt and affixing a strange seal to it.

e. There is no fine for the substitution of something else for what was taken for safekeeping. However the biis hold to the proverb: Whoever behaves treacherously with objects given him for safekeeping will suffer punishment in the future (amanatka khyanat kylgan akhyret dzhaz tartady).

f. The sale of an object of lower quality as something of higher type constitutes deceit, and the bargain is broken off.

/159/ g. If one and the same thing is sold to two different persons, it is adjudged to belong to the one who paid the money for it first and carried out the ritual of shaking hands, with the words: bereke tap ("to good fortune"). The money is returned to the other without a fine.

h. The middle man is not held responsible for arranging a sale of something he knows has been stolen, if he can produce the seller. But if he cannot find the seller he is held responsible before the person who suffered the loss, and pays a fine, for the middle man is considered a guarantor, kefil' (bii Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, and Torgai).

i. The conscious buyer of stolen goods must also present the seller, as was stated above.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that "a small deceit in trading is investigated. In case deceit is discovered, the dealer is obligated to return the payment received for the article. But if he does not desire to make the return voluntarily, and refuses to take the affair to court, the injured party has a right to take the payment by baranta. A complaint from the sufferer from baranta is not accepted or, when it is examined, it leads to the exaction of a fine from the person who caused the baranta."

Bii Sultan Kanaev cannot remember from his practise any suits concerning acceptance of things for safekeeping. According to him, only losses due to deceit should be required to be paid.

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There are no special words among the Kazakhs to express the

concepts of stealing and brigandage. Urlyk is stealing or brigandage; ury is thief, robber and criminal in general, urlamak is to steal, tartyb, almak is to take away, to ransack. Theft accompanied by violence is not judged more severly than simple theft. 673

Among the Kirgiz, there is more severe prosecution of the theft of a considerable number of objects, for clear robbery and for taking away by force (bii Daniyar).

Robbery accompanied by violence occurs in the following forms among the Kazakhs: 674

1) The plundering of every kind of traveler: such as Sart merchants and travelers. It usually opens with /160/ a request for nasvay, tobacco, or with a double meaning, for that "which is in the belt."

2) Driving horses out of the herd at night.

3) The latest kind of robbery is asking for a ticket, the presentation of which is ignored, the declaration by the robber that he intends to rob, and frightening by various threats and charges, with the request to give this or that. The aim of these circumlocutions is to discover whether the traveler has any chances of defense or not. However, robbery by force is rarely accompanied by murder.

According to the reports of the biis Sultan and Khalmakhammed, it is permissible to rob or to kidnap and not to return the objects gained in the cases below: 685

1) The father and grandfather can rob from a son and grandson as often as desired, and as much property as desired. It is even possible to sell everything a son has. It is permissible also to sell the son into bondage, i.e., to surrender him into service for a year, and to spend the money received (balanyng uzin kyzmetke satyb zhese kham khallal').

2) A son can rob from his grandfather and father up to three times. The fourth time a fine is imposed.

3) A kinsman can rob another kinsman to the third degree of kinship (first cousins).

4) The dzhien asks his uncles (older and younger brothers of his father) for a gift, and if he does not receive it, he can rob them up to three times. If he steals too much, they take away the superfluous part from him, leaving him 1 or 2 heads of livestock. If he steals a horse which is a racer (bayge at) the uncle can demand its return in exchange for something else. If he steals for the fourth time, they tell him: "You have forfeited the rights of a nephew" (dzhien dikten ketting).

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602 The wife who leaves her husband in a disagreement should not
685 take anything with her. This would be robbery.

Robbery is permissible between relatives more distant than the third degree, with the obligation of return in so far as possible in the following cases: a) for the payment of kalym. because the increase of descendants is /161/ a laudable affair; b) for the payment of a debt; c) in time of famine; d) for a necessary trip and for the pursuit of thieves. (1)

[626] 1. Sometimes when something is missing in a village they put a bakan (pole to raise the changarak/the hoop in the center of the tent top/ when putting up the tent) up in the middle of the village and ask the thief to place the missing object under the bakan, threatening otherwise to invite the mullah in to discover him. The mullahs have various devices for discovering a thief. They bake a flat cake, blow on it (dem salady), and give everyone a piece, and when the thief swallows his piece, he will choke on it. They put a bladder (kuuk) in the hand of everyone, in turn, and in the thief's hand it swells (kebedi). They blow on a metal pitcher, calling the names of everyone in turn. When the name of the thief is called, the pitcher begins to turn around.

685 Furthermore these same biis permit taking away a horse from a known thief who is setting out to steal, if there is proof of this. They add however, that ayb is paid if the horse is taken away without proof, even though it be from a man banished from the community for stealing or one deprived of good name (muttakham). Taking away game caught by an eagle is not robbery but is taking the "chiralga" gift by force; therefore they require it to be returned without ayb. If the taking of the game were done secretly, then it would be stealing, and ayb would be paid. Finally, it is permissible to steal in return for stealing, i. e., baranta.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the words of the honorable Kazakhs, Umbet Galiev and Nurman Sarchinov, of the Kazalinsk uyezd, that stealing from the son and from the father is not permitted. In general such an act results in punishment for the younger persons, and ayb or shaming before the village for the older.

674 Horse stealing is more predominant than stealing of other livestock because horses are easier to arouse (chapchan). It takes

place especially often in the border regions of uyezds, because the 174
search for the animal and the bringing of a suit in a strange uyezd is accompanied by difficulties, and with the solidarity of the biis, volost officials, translators and other persons with their constituents, it often ends unsuccessfully. As a result, on the borders of the uyezds boys and girls stand watch (kuzetedi) over the livestock until dawn. Long spears (nayza) with standards are erected before the tents of rich men to frighten away thieves.

/162/ Professional thieves have accomplices in the neighboring uyezd for the sale and mutual exchange of stolen goods. They steal from their own volost and from a strange volost without discernment, blindly (kuzi sokur ksidey). But there is a proverb among the Kazakhs: "A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea. It is easier for the first to perish from stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief" (uru kasyk el tengiz, ol urluk kylyb uzi kuruydi onyng ushun el kurumaydy).

Since a repetition of robbery is punished more severely by customary law, one who has fallen into stealing sometimes moves to another uyezd where he is not yet known, and in case of another conviction he is punished as though for a first case of stealing.

A thief is often registered in another volost, and in case of a complaint, the volost administrator refuses to find the stolen object on the basis that the thief is not subject to him. Meanwhile the administrator of the volost in which the thief is registered is unable to know anything because he is so far away.

The Tiuri of the Chimkent uyezd also command stealing. They [181] consider it shameful for themselves to engage in agriculture.

The tents of thieves stand alone, or in small groups of 3, 4, or 5 tents. In general the more people there are, the safer it is in the steppe.

Stolen property when it is found is confiscated in favor of the 185
owner, even though it may have already passed into strange hands by means of sale or as a gift. The person in whose possession it is found must produce the one from whom he received it, within a certain period of time. Sometimes the bii requires the person who has the stolen property to ride with the plaintiff to that locality where he hopes to find the seller of this property, and show him to the local authorities. If he finds the actual thief there, he demands from him a reimbursement of his losses. If the accused does not carry out the demand to go to the place where he says the thief is, and asserts that

685 he bought the stolen property from a person unknown to him, he himself is considered a thief.

/163/ If the accused cannot indicate the source of the stolen goods or gives confused testimony, he is considered the thief.

If the victim of the theft, without having tracks or a witness, 685 casts suspicion on someone, stating that the suspicious person was 694 around the village where it was committed on the day of the theft, or else that he was near the stolen objects, then information must be obtained as to where the person under suspicion spent the night, with whom he had the evening meal and whom he met on the day of the theft. If the persons interrogated testify that the person under suspicion did indeed spend the night and sup with them and was nowhere else on that day, or that when they met him he was innocent of theft, then he is cleared of the accusation without an oath.

If the victim of the theft puts a purely verbal suspicion of the theft on someone, it must be learned by questioning outside people, whether the person under suspicion was at home on the day of the theft or in another village. If it is shown that he was at home on that day or in another village, then he is cleared of the false accusation made against him. But if he cannot prove this or is unable to find the people with whom he was staying or those whom he met, in that case he must be considered the thief and be obligated to pay for the stolen property.

If suspicion is strengthened by the vague and evasive answers of the suspect, then he must swear for the quantity of the stolen property.

If a theft is made from someone and he, without being able to find the stolen property anywhere, presents an accusation of a certain person, saying that a guest of the accused made the theft, in such a case it must be learned when the guest departed, who saw him on the road, and where he stopped. If the accused host can show three stop-overs of his guest, he is cleared of the accusation. If a person who met the guest, or if his hosts for the stop-overs testify that he /164/ was innocent of theft, then the guest as well as his host are cleared of the accusation without oath. But if the host is unable to give answers to all the questions noted above, and then, when obliged to find that guest within a certain period of time, is unable to do so, then he must answer for it himself.

If the master of the house says that a guest stayed with him and was fed by him, but who it was and where he went is unknown to his host, and that he does not know the direction in which the

guest left in the morning, then the victim of the theft declares that 685
he does not believe this, for the master of the house made the theft 694
and sent the stolen goods away with the guest. If the master of the house then declares that he cannot find the guest, an oath is required from his side.

If during the investigations of the thief, evidences lead to a certain village or tent, their owners must show (izim shygaryb ber), on demand of the plaintiff, where these traces passed out of the village again. Otherwise the aksakals and the people are called as witnesses of the existence of fresh tracks which end in this village or tent, after which the relevant owners are held responsible before the court.

If someone suffers a theft and in following the tracks of the stolen property comes to a village, and the inhabitants declare that the theft was not committed by them and that they know nothing about the tracks, in case the tracks exist in the snow, an oath is required from the victim of the theft. But if there is no snow, the oath is required from the side of those who profess ignorance.

If the object in the suit was taken away not personally by the defendant but by a rider sent by him, and if the defendant disavows it, the rider is held responsible.

When a stolen head of livestock appears by itself accompanied by a loose animal, the decision is deferred, even for a year, to await information as to where the loose animal belongs. If this cannot be learned in the given length of time, then the person on whom suspicion fell earlier is held responsible. If he provides testimony about the stolen animal showing that it is homebred (koltuma), then his side is put to an oath before it is taken away from him. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Mikebay of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii. /½

/165/ When the stolen animal is confiscated, agreements are 685
often made of the sort that the plaintiff pays half its value to the person from whom it is confiscated, with the understanding that when the thief is found he will pay each of them the value of the animal.

If several animals are lost and only one is found with the thief, it is concluded from this that he also stole the others, but a special oath is decreed for them.

When the stolen livestock is being returned, the rule is observed that the animal returned should be of the same quality, sex, age, and in general of the same value as that stolen, otherwise the

½[Not reproduced -- A.]

685 thief should pay the owner the difference in money. In this last case, and also when all the stolen livestock is paid for in money, care is taken that the animal should not be underevaluated, for otherwise the owner demands the exaction of an additional payment (tolyktyk) from the bii.

686 694 An animal recognized at the bazaar is not confiscated. The person who has brought it there must present the man from whom he received it; otherwise, if he declares it to be his own property, they go to the bii (Abdrakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

An animal which is recognized in the possession of an outside person, who did not steal it himself but bought it at the bazaar, is confiscated only if the person recognizing it proves by his personal oath, and the testimony of five (1) witnesses, and the oath of one

1. According to other information, seven witnesses.

witness that the recognized animal or other property actually belongs to him. The animal is not confiscated until the decision on the case. If a sheep is recognized in the possession of a man who bought it at a bazaar, neither testimony from witnesses nor a personal oath gives the owner the right to take it away, since the sale of sheep at a bazaar takes place without guarantors and there is no sidzhil' (2)

[695] 2. A copy of a decision of judges, kazis and other officials is called sidzhil'. According to this copy, a thing which is recognized by an outsider, who proves by the testimony of witnesses his right to it, is confiscated. A copy of such a judgment is given to the defendant, /166/ so that he can sue the person from whom he bought it for his losses. There is also a sidzhil' in civil suits for money. If an animal is confiscated by sidzhil' a karkara destroys the force of the sidzhil'.

The testimony of several persons, with their signature and seal, with the countersign of official persons is called a karkara. In this testimony it is explained that such and such an animal, with an exact description of it appended, constitutes the homebred property of such and such a person.

for them ordinarily. (Communicated by Yunusov).

685 /166/ Placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered to be stealing. According to Abdrakhman, this happens rarely. For

placing a brand on a loose animal a fine can be imposed of half the 685
value of the animal. Placing one's brand on an animal with one for safe-keeping, is not considered reprehensible if such a one is returned on the first demand. According to Kyulbaev (of the Kurama uyezd), putting one's brand on a strange animal unnecessarily (bikerge), whether it is a loose animal or one received for safe-keeping, is punishable by a fine of 20 rubles. According to the Kirgiz Daniyar, placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered as clear (zakhir) stealing, and is punished in proportion to the penalties of the assemblies (siez kesimi menen) i. e., for one sheep 4 sheep must be paid and 4 rubles in addition.

The owner of the lost object usually appears before the person 685
suspected of the theft accompanied by two or more outside impartial
persons (khalis ksi), exceptionally, only one, and searches (tentedi) 627
him. The outsiders serve as witnesses. If the suspect does not permit himself to be searched (tentkizbese), he is considered to be guilty.

When a thief is caught by the owner of the stolen livestock, he usually gives up or promises to give up everything which was stolen by a certain period of time, often according to a voucher, asking only that no suit be charged for the exaction of the usual fine. The owner may be satisfied by the return of his property and by taking away a horse or a coat, i. e., atton (1) from the thief, as a reward

1. Sometimes a horse and gun or some other object is taken under this name.

to the captor.

When there are several thieves, the one who is at hand is held 685
responsible. When only the father of the thief is at hand, a suit 672
directed against him is accepted by the biis for trial, on the basis of responsibility by reason of kinship.

/167/ If a thief rode a strange horse when committing the crime, the owner of the horse is a participant in the theft.

If the plaintiff confirms the fact that when the defendant was 685
caught the latter gave him money in order to end the affair, and if later the accused clears himself by an oath, the money in question is ruled to the defendant.

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According to the communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev, a 697
thief from a distant place, whom it would be difficult to find again,

697 is imprisoned at night in a pit which is covered by a grating, and someone sleeps on top of the grating. He is not kept in the tent lest he kill someone, flee, cause a disturbance, and among other things, do wrong to someone. They put horse locks (ksen) on the legs of a thief from a nearby place, passing them through the sidepiece of the tent at night, and pemitting him to walk about in them during the day.

Among the Kirgiz, captured thieves are bound and then subjected to corporal punishment (dzharb kursetedi) until /vpred'do/ the affair is investigated by the bii. Without denying the injustice of puinishment before the judgment of the affair by the bii, Kunakbay (Auliye-Ata uyezd) justifies this custom for those cases where the thief is caught red-handed or was armed with a spear or an ax (aybalta).

If the thief is caught in the act of stealing and refuses to go to the nearest volost official, arguing that he is innocent, or if he attempts to flee, then he is bound. If the thief continues to deny his guilt after that, or to make various claims, he is beaten in order to force confession (chiningdy ayt). The volost official to whom they take the prisoner asks him such questions as: "Are you a thief? Where did you steal from? (or come from) If you are not a thief, clear yourself and I will let you go free. But if you did steal, I will give you over to the owner of the stolen goods." The thief is transferred into the hands of the owner. The owner of the stolen goods keeps the thief in his tent until the presentation of his suit /168/ in court. The prisoner is kept bound or in general in such a way that he cannot escape (kitpes kylyb baylaydy) his legs are fettered (ksen salady), and also he is beaten, but not much (kub savamaydy). They do not beat or abuse a well-known person(bilimdy ksi). A bii does not accept complaints from the thief for blows, saying: "That is your punishment (dzhaza)". (Communicated by bii Abdurakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

194 If the thief is captured while stealing at night, his captor con-
fines him in the tent and interrogates him: "Why are you stealing?
172 Was it not you who also stole what was lost last year and the years before?" Bound and confused, the thief often confesses, while being beaten, to all these crimes, of which he is completely innocent, and of which they accuse him only in order to frighten him. Later they inform the volost official of his confession and send him the thief himself. The volost official also holds the thief in confinement, interrogates him and notifies his relatives. The best people from among

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his relatives appear and say to the volost official: "Give up this thief to us. We will interrogate him well. If he is guilty of something we will make him pay for it. If he is innocent we will present you with proof" (bul uyyny bzning kolymyzga ber, muny abdan khub suralyk; algan bulsa, maldy alyb berelik, almagan bulsa, almagan iken dib sizdi isenterelik). In agreeing to give up the prisoner, the volost official takes a receipt (tilinen khat) for the fulfillment of the promises mentioned above.

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The owner who has already received his property can receive a supplementary atton from the thief. Sometimes the biis and aksakals among the relatives of the thief say: "He is innocent of other thefts (uzge maldan): take atton from him and give him a voucher for the fact that you will not open suit against him for anything lost" (falan vakytda dzhogalgan degen maldy suramaska), or else: "But if you are thinking of opening a suit, give us back the atton you took from us." They never take the atton anymore, however. This custom existed under the Kokandians and khans. In this way, as was explained above, the thief was often released without bringing him to a court examination (Torgai).

/169/ A candid confession does not lighten the punishment. 685 On the contrary, when the bii sees the offender acknowledging the 695 fact of his commission of the crime without shame, he may considere him a hardened ruffian or a professional thief and impose a higher fine because of this, or punishment by whipping. (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

The plaintiff for his part, seeing that the defendant confesses from honesty and straightforwardness (er iken, muynyna, alyb otur, chinin aytty) can resign from the whole suit or part of it (Perovsk uyezd).

When there is a voluntary confession (azamat iken, uzi kelib aytty), with or without a court summons, the punishment can be reduced, and in view of repentence, completely forgiven, but only with the consent of the plaintiff (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a defendant denies the fact of his confession at a previous interrogation by a village elder, confirmed by a written act, the biis consider it possible to require a purificatory oath, as with a simple disavowal.

Stealing with house-breaking or without house-breaking, from 685 a trunk and from an open place are punished alike (Torgai). (1) There

1. According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 81, the easier a theft is, the more shameful it is considered. On this basis

685 the stealing of sheep is more severely prosecuted (sheep are watched less carefully than other livestock), namely, a fine of one toguz is imposed for the theft of one or several sheep, in addition to the return of the stolen animals. It was stated in the Geographic Society's outline for the collection of folk juridical customs (p. 31) that a larger reimbursement was demanded among the Kazakhs for the theft of sheep because a high value was placed on them for their numerous offspring. It will be seen below in the chapter on punishments that this custom does not exist in the Turkestan region.

is no special punishment for damage to a wall, a lock, etc., in the process of stealing. Reimbursement for such damage is included in the fine imposed.

The theft of a fettered animal is punished in the same way as the theft of livestock grazing freely.

681 There is no special exaction for the hiding of traces of a crime. An exception to this is hiding the body in a murder (cf. wergeld).

[682] In Makovetskii's book, Pt. I, p. 79, it is said: "Violence during /170/ theft of property, for example, the infliction of wounds, is regarded as a separate crime and there is special punishment for the theft of the goods and the infliction of wounds." The biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmahammed find that violence and theft are judged without division. A fine is exacted as for an ordinary theft, and only expenses for the healing of the wounds are added. If there were blows without wounds, then nothing is added to the fine for the theft. The proverb: "You cannot skin two hides from one sheep" (bir koydan eki teri soymaydy) is relevant here, i. e., two punishments are not imposed on one criminal. Only an inexperienced bii can impose two fines (bil'mes bii klady eki ayb).

681 683 A criminal who has already been convicted for one and the same crime is punished more strictly. (1) For the second theft they

1. This is the opinion of many, including the Kirgiz Daniyar, and agrees with Zagriazhskii and Samokvasov, but conflicts with the opinion of the Makovetskii collection, Pt. I, p. 65.

require the confiscation of all the property of the thief, with his release on guarantee, or depriving him of liberty. For a third theft he is banished, with the declaration that they refuse to pay and receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

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receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

Secret driving away of livestock is not called baranta, (2) but

2. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers, p. 366, it is stated: Baranta has several meanings: a) livestock; b) crime, in the sense of ordinary theft, taking away by force, and seizure of a strange object; c) military seizure, driving away or capture of people and livestock; d) punishment, in the sense of stealing and plundering according to the old Russian law, most recently the confiscation of property; e) the seizure of strange property before trial, to ensure the rights of the creditor, also in the case of lack of satisfaction for personal injury, material loss, etc.; f) measures for the assurance of the fulfillment of the court decree, g) the right of the relatives of a murdered man to rustle /"barantovat'"/ the property of the murderer before the carrying out of blood revenge. Finally h) the right of a prince to confiscate property from his subjects.

stealing. Also the word baranta should not necessarily be taken to mean a raid with the purpose of stealing without a special reason for it. For a raid to be able to be called baranta (barymta), it is necessary 1) to make the departure by day and not by night; 2) to have the raid openly announced as baranta; 3) for the raid to be aimed at obtaining satisfaction for some sort of loss, theft, murder, kidnapping of a bride or wife, offense, etc. (3) /171/ Baranta also takes place when

3. In the report on the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd (Prikaz po voennonarodnomu upravleniiu Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti / Order for the military-national administration of the Syr-Darya oblast/ of July 30, 1886) an example is entered from the books /171/ of the extraordinary session: the Kazakh widow Manteke Sundetova complained that the Kazakh Ismailov had taken her daughter by baranta /zabarantoval/ and that she had spent 100 rubles to hire people to pursue the kidnapper, and she asked that the defendant be required to pay 1280 rubles for the defamation.

the defendant does not permit the requirement of the bii to be exacted from him.

According to bii Kunakbay, baranta does not take place for only one offense, or for the rape of a bride without taking her away, etc., when no losses (chygyn) resulted because of this offense, etc.

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Baranta is directed not only against the livestock of the adversary himself, but also against the livestock of any of his kinsmen, (1) even if it be his aksakal. In the first case the property

1. Compare the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers, Section VI, the customary laws of Rustemkhan of the 12th century, 81: "baramta is to be taken from those who are not divided from the clan of the accused"; 49: "A fine is required from anyone who does not allow the baramta on his own account."

taken by baranta is regarded as stisfaction, and in the second case as a pledge that in case of a court examination the stolen goods will be recovered or that satisfaction will be given in general.

A person engaged in baranta chooses the property on which he has a claim, with a small addition for difficulties and losses on the raid. But he is held responsible for extra damages inflicted during this raid, and for an immoderate seizure of property.

Baranta has existed only between various uyezds. Complaints concerning it have been presented in the name of the military governor, who has appointed an extraordinary session among the uyezds.

During the time of the Kazakh khans, baranta was little different from war. Even now baranta is called war (yau buldy). The attack did not pass without atrocities. They placed people in irons and bound them to trees regardless of the participation of the person bound, etc. Among the Kirgiz they bound people and cast them into the water.

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Suits concerning events which took place before a general peace treaty (salavat) between disputing clans are not accepted, or remain /172/ without consequence (baska kaldyrduk), with the exception of affairs concerning matchmaking and wergeld. The conquest of the region by the Russians constituted such a salavat, and even the fullest kind of salavat, for it was forbidden to examine even matters of wergeld and matchmaking pertaining to the Moslem period.

In the conclusion of a salavat they say: "utken uryul kalgan

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salavat", i. e., complaints were mutual and therefore were considered satisfied, and if complaints remained unsatisfied, these were forgiven. They cut an aladzhip[1] /cf. Chapter X/ for the consecration of the ending of old accounts, without appeal, and of full pacification, and now they give vouchers.

A partial salavat is forgiveness before a certain time (mundzhal). Disputes which went on before that time are forgiven (beregini suraymyz arigini suraymaymyz).

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The presentation of a suit, several years (3 years, for example) after an event took place, complicates the examination. Therefore such a suit is settled by a testimonial oath. But if there are no witnesses the suit is not accepted for examination at all (kaldyrady) (the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds).

In the Kazalinsk uyezd suits are subjected to examination before the death of the defendants and likewise before the death of the plaintiffs. If heirs remain who know of the claim they can revive the affair. An affair which has been ended by salavat[2] cannot be reopened. But if the side which suffered presents a suit through a court after a salavat, the judge must convince himself of the salavat by witnesses. The confirmation of the salavat means a fine of atton for the person bringing suit, which goes to the judge, and the person who brings such a suit lacks the confidence of his kinsmen.

Limitation is recognized only in small crimes which remain undisclosed for not less than five years. But for murders and marital matters there is no limitaion. A groom, who has been absent without sending word, has the right on his return to demand the bride or the return of the kalym. If the former bride has married, a sister or niece is substituted for her. According to Torgai, suits concerning a bride and kalym are accepted for /173/ examination to the third generation, i. e., to the grandchildren. When there is a denial, they swear an oath, as is normal. Other suits are accepted only up to 5 or 6 years. Suits founded on vouchers are accepted up to 10 years, if the defendant could not be found earlier. After 10 years even wergeld is subject to salavat, i. e., limitation. Now a salavat is put down only after 5 or 6 years, with the condition that nothing was known of a murder in this time. Ten years are allowed, however, if something was known of it, but the murderer hid himself. If a thief was caught, released on bail and promised to give satisfaction, but fled, then a suit may be revived for up to 10 years.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 161--A.]

2 [Peace treaty between disputing clans; see cat. 116, pp. 153-154--A]

4:Grodekov--155 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

694 Everything which takes place gives way to the salavat in another dominion, for example, in the Kokand dominion, except a suit concerning a bride (yesir dau).

According to a report from the Chimkent uyezd, affairs concerning matchmaking do not have limitation, but all other matters have a ten year limitation, excepting only matters of wergeld (1)

1. The biis at the meeting of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September 1887 established that "matters are not accepted for attention after a limitation of 10 years, with the exception of affairs concerning brides and wergeld."

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which are examined even after ten years have elapsed since the day of the murder, when the court is presented with only factual proof, but without an oath.

431 Syuyunchi means a gift for news concerning relatives. Syuyunchi may be 1) voluntary, for example, for receiving the news of the birth of a son, daughter (for a daughter they give less), etc., and 2) more or less necessary at the news of the loss of property, finding it, the capture or detection of the thief, etc. A suit for not receiving syuyunchi is accepted by the bii for examination.

The extent of the syuyunchi depends on the services rendered to the person found, and on the value of the property itself. For bringing back a stolen animal about one-twentieth of its value is given, and for confiscating it from the thief by force, one-fifth. For bringing back the thief himself at the same time, the syuyunchi goes up to half the value of the object stolen.

/174/ The syuyunchi paid for finding a camel is 24 rubles or 6 tillias (according to Torgai and Abdurakhman), or 3 tillias for finding a horse, or 2 tillias for finding a cow.

The syuyunchi is called kulaksyuyunchi, if the person who brings the news has only heard that the lost object is found but did not see it himself. Kulaksyuyunchi is not large, being 2 rubles for a camel, 1 ruble for a horse, 1 ruble for a cow, 20 kopeks for a sheep and 10 kopeks for a goat.

The thief who is sentenced to pay a fine, pays also for syuyunchi among the other requirements.

The thief himself cannot receive syuyunchi, even though he also brought back the lost animal. 431

Kinsmen cannot demand syuyunchi.

If someone receives syuyunchi for promising either to find the animal or to detect the thief (muynyna koyib beremen), and after that if he does not succeed in accomplishing the one thing or the other, he returns the syuyunchi received in one and a half times the amount.

The bit aygak (personal witness) who discovers a murder receives one-fifth of the wergeld as a reward. For the discovery of or informing about thieves 4 tillias are given for a horse, and 8 tillias for a camel. 431 695 The witness is awarded the amount indicated only if he himself, in the presence of the biis, indicates the thieves. In order to confirm the witness's accusation of the person indicated by him as having committed the misdemeanor or crime, the biis sitting in judgment require the accused to choose persons from the side of the witness to take an oath (1) that he has actually indicated the guilty person. But

1. The choosing of persons from the witness's side to take the oath takes place in the same order as the selection of persons from the side of the defendant.

if /175/ the accusation of the person indicated by the witness is not confirmed after the admission for the oath by the persons chosen, the accuser pays back the person from whom he received syuyunchi in an amount double what he received. (Absaliamov, Chimkent uyezd).

/176/ CHAPTER X

The organization of the peoples court by the law of 1867. - The rank and position of the biis. - Arbitration. - The order of selection of cases. - Attorneys. - Witnesses. - Guarantors. - Concrete evidence. - Payment of the bii /biilyk/ . - Losses and expenses. - The organization of the people's court by the law of June 12, 1886. 692

Among the Kazakhs the people's court was organized in the following manner on the basis of the law of 1867.

The people's court is the examination of cases according to folk customs by chosen judges - biis.

The following types of courts were organized: 1) the individual court of the biis, 2) the volost session of biis, and 3) the extraordinary

692 session of biis.

In every volost from 4 to 8 biis were elected both for the judgment of criminal cases, subject to the people's court (1) and

673 1. Murder and baranta were considered criminal cases, subject to the people's court.

[698] The Kazakhs were judged by a military court for treason, inciting their fellow tribesmen to oppose the government, attacking the mail and military transports, the murder of Christians and other persons who had expressed the desire to become Christians, and for the murder of officials.

The Kazakhs were tried according to the common criminal laws of the empire for brigandage, stealing, attacking merchant caravans, flight into foreign domains, setting fire, manifest opposition to authorities, the manufacture and transmission of counterfeit money and the stealing of state property.

for every sort of litigation and suit.

693 The biis were elected by the people for three years.

Anyone could be chosen as a bii who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people, had not been blamed by a court, was not under investigation, and was not less than 25 years old.

The elected biis were confirmed by the military governor. They did not receive a salary, but they had the right to receive /177/ a special fee /biilyk/ for judging cases, which was established by folk customs. The fine for property suits could not be determined as higher than one-tenth of the value of the suit. For the judgment of murder cases of personal injuries, the biilyk was designated according to the customs.

692 The opposing sides in a litigation could, by mutual consent, turn to one or several biis for the examination of their case. The agreement of the litigating sides on the choice of a bii or biis for the judgment of their case had to be entered in the book established for the recording of judgments. In such a case, the judgment of the biis, as having the character of arbitration (1) was final in any amount.

1. In ancient times all courts were courts of arbitration among the Kazakhs, i. e., they were chosen each time by both sides. The plaintiff and the defendant appeared before the bii chosen by them, and if the bii was far away they

appeared before another respected person, and as a sign of submission to his judgment each cast his whip or cap before him. The person who was dissatisfied with the decree of such a judge was submitted to blows of a whip in case of defiance or paid a fine to the arbiter. Two, three or more biis could be chosen instead of one.

When the sides of the litigation disagreed on the choice of biis, the case was judged by a bii from the defendant's uyezd, indicated by the plaintiff. Meanwhile the defendant had the right to object to only two of the biis indicated by the plaintiff.

The biis made the final decision on cases concerning a value no higher than 100 rubles (5 horses, 50 sheep).

Periodic volost sessions of biis were designated for the judgment of cases concerning sums greater than 100 rubles, at which all the biis in the volost were obligated to be present.

For cases submitted to the judgment of volost sessions, the petitions for suits were brought to the volost administrator. The volost meetings were called according to the measure of accumulation of petitions for suits, and their time and place were determined by the uyezd chiefs.

The sessions of the volost biis took place in the presence of the volost administrator, but the law strictly forbade him to interfere in the trial.

/178/ The volost sessions had the right to settle cases for any sum, but their decision was final only for cases up to 1000 rubles (50 horses, 500 sheep).

Declarations were made to the uyezd chief on unfinished judgments of the volost sessions within a seven day period from the day of the notification of the judgment. Petitions for the examination of criminal cases were also taken to the uyezd chief.

Extraordinary sessions were convoked by order of the uyezd chief for the judgment of the cases mentioned, in accordance with the need, if the case affected one uyezd, or upon the agreement of the uyezd chief with the jurisdictional authorities, if the case affected volosts of various uyezds. Extraordinary sessions were brought to the attention of the military governor.

The extraordinary sessions of the biis took place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd where the meeting was held, or in the presence of an official specially commanded to be present.

692 But their interference in the court was strictly forbidden.

The decrees of the extraordinary sessions were final. The examination of cases in the volost and extraordinary sessions was determined by custom.

Marital and family cases were settled by biis in court according to folk customs. In marital cases, the side which was dissatisfied with the decision of the people's court could appeal to the uyezd chief, who was deciding /reshal/ the case, and in more important cases, the decision could be presented to the military governor for review.

The Kazakhs could turn to a Russian court with a petition to judge their case, with the mutual consent of both sides, expressed in a written document.

The court of the biis was rendered clearly and publicly.

It was the obligation of the local Kazakh chiefs to produce the defendants in court and to present witnesses on the demand of the biis.

The decree of the biis was inscribed in brief in a special book. The biis were required to affix their seals to a judgment.

/179/ The decision of the biis was announced to both sides, and a copy of the decree authenticated by the affixing of a seal, was given to the side in whose favor the case was decided.

696 The carrying out of the decisions of the court was laid to the duty of the volost officials, who were subject to suit for delayed fulfillment of the decisions, on the basis of general laws for the inaction of the authorities, and also subject to the repayment of losses, if such losses were incurred by their delay. (1)

1. Articles 181-210 of the projected code for the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts.

* * * *

693 Under the khans, the biis were designated from a number of rivals, petitioning for this office with gifts (one or more horses), and who were known for their intelligence, authority, erudition and experience. They did not consult the wishes of the people. Candidates whose ancestors had not been biis could receive this office only rarely and with difficulty.

The Kokandians did not touch this system.

At present many place intelligence and justice in the biis

before an exact knowledge of customary law, especially since now every bii has his own devices, which often contradict each other (chatak). 693

The biis used to be judged by other biis or clan heads, but now they are tried on the common basis.

Bad language, yelling and scuffling in court is prosecuted by the biis. No prosecution is made for infliction of wounds in court if the wounded person was guilty, but if the guilty person causes the wounds, he is liable to the payment of the same fine which is imposed for the same crime committed outside the court. [687] 683

The punishment is not made heavier for murder and fighting before the court.

If someone dishonors the bii in words, they rebuke him saying: "Your tongue touched upon the bii" (biige tiling tiidi), and he is forced to ask forgiveness, but no fine is imposed, the more so because the bii hesitates to enter a suit concerning this. 693 683

/180/ The wergeld is not changed for the murder of a bii, but a larger fine is imposed for wounding him than for wounding a private individual. There is no prosecution for blows inflicted on a bii, if he owed money, but for unjust blows a fine is imposed which is higher than the usual one. For the exaction of these higher fines it is necessary 1) that the act be proven, and 2) that the person guilty of injuring the bii should be from the district /okrug/ of that bii. The injury of a bii from a strange village is prosecuted in the same way as the injury of an ordinary person.

The word mekhkeme, i. e., tribunal or court chamber, was not used in former times. This is now the name for the place or tent designated by the bii for the admission and examination of complaints in the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds. The biis sit on felt (tekemet), in the place of honor in the tent or room - the "tur", which is opposite the entrance, and before them on the ground are the plaintiff, the defendant and other persons who have been called in. In general, however, the examination of cases takes place anywhere and at any convenient opportunity. The court is where they find the bii, be this in the road, on a visit, or at a bazaar. The most precious convenience to the nomads lies in this simplicity of the conditions of a court. An experienced bii has his book of decisions and his seal with him in all places at all times. 695

The bii first hears and enters into his book the complaint of the plaintiff (dagvager), and then gives the floor to the defendant (dzhuabger tanbys) or to the witnesses. All those called to the court

interrogation explain themselves not only to the bii, but also among themselves until the actual announcement of the decision. During these negotiations the bii learns the desires and opinions concerning the settlement of the case in various ways, by requiring an oath from one side or another or from a certain number of tents, after eliminating a certain number of "disputable ones" from among them. The bii bases his decision upon these negotiations.

If the trial is held by two or more biis, the biis withdrew from those present to confer among themselves.

In former times when the sides were satisfied with the decision, /181/ each held one end of a colorful rope (aladzhip), which was cut by the bii deciding the case as a sign of final division. When the ritual of cutting the "colored rope" (aladzhip kyrkpak) or "the twig" (chibyk kispek) had been carried out after the decision of a case by a bii or outside person, the case was not accepted for reexamination (khukmdi buzmak) by a bii or a khan, if it was simply proven that this ritual had been carried out.

Without this ritual, a case which had been decided by a private person in the capacity of a court of arbitration could be reexamined by a bii of the white bone but only on condition that the reigning khan was of a clan of the same white bone. In general a case decided by a bii could be reexamined by a khan. Complaints addressed directly to the khan, by-passing the biis, were either examined by him personally, or else, by his order, by a bii from his suite. The khan took a payment (khanlyk) of approximately one-tenth of the suit for his judgment of the case.

In cases of wergeld, instead of cutting the twig there was a custom of cutting the tail (kuyruk kisti). The bii cut the tail of a calf which was held by the two ends /sic/ by the plaintiff and the defendant, and received the calf as his biilyk, and he was then obliged to testify to the existence of the pacification in case of need.

Now the place of the aladzhip is taken by a voucher from both sides, consenting to everything adjudged by the bii (nendey khukm kylsa razy men). The reexamination of the case according to circumstances discovered after the first decision is possible only when, by force of the new circumstances, the guilty party is led to confess (muynyna salsa), otherwise the decision remains in force (bishim bolyb kalady). (1)

1. In his Notes on the Kazakh Court, I. Ibragimov says: Those who are dissatisfied with the decision of the judge

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or the clan chief wait patiently for a large gathering or a memorial service, to which they go, usually taking with them an elder from their village or of their clan, and this elder must defend their complaint before the gathering, and a reexamination which is considered final depends on this gathering. Torgai notes concerning this custom: Biis and elders are both at memorial services, and therefore both dissatisfied sides go there. A bii himself sends them there for pacification, but the host of the feast or memorial service forbids the settlement of court cases lest the celebration be spoiled (buzul masyn).

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A bii does not enter into the examination of a civil case unless he is turned to.

/182/ In former times a bii who knew of a crime concerning which no complaint had been presented could make an investigation of it on an equal footing with aksakals and respected persons (yakhsy ksiler), for the satisfaction of the sufferer.

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A bii can refuse to examine a case, especially for bad people. On the other hand, persons dependant on the bii, now excluding those serving him as well, can also refuse to be examined by him (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a trial takes place under a bii from the volost of the defendant, and both sides are dissatisfied by his decision, they can turn to an outside person (khalis ksi) or to a bii from another uyezd, but on doing so they must compose a written document (saldym kagaz) concerning the choice of the bii, as a result of which the trial becomes one of arbitration, and final. Otherwise they can turn to a volost official, who either refuses or consents to designate a new examination, but this time not from a single bii but from three or four.

If the plaintiff and the defendant are of different volosts, in the Kurama uyezd it is the custom to choose any bii of a third volost as arbitrating bii.

A court of arbitration (triteski sot), from which it is impossible to appeal, is considered in the present official Kazakh language to be an examination by biis, which is preceded by a document from the sides concerning the choice of the bii or biis, and consent to the decision which they will decree.

If both sides were from one volost it is difficult to appeal. It is easier if they are from different volosts, because the biis are suspected of partiality toward those in their jurisdiction.

For an extraordinary session /Russ. chrezvychainyi s"ezd/

692 (kurulachak s"ez, chirizvichaynoy s"ez), one bii was sent for from every volost in the uyezd, according to the election of the biis of the given volost. Every bii who wanted to get into the session, as Torgai expresses it, gave the electors, the biis, a bribe of 2 to 4 rubles each. If there were many who wanted to go, they cast lots (shek salady) among themselves. The person to whom /183/ the lot fell (shek tusken) paid his electors the money mentioned. After this they elected him with the affixing of a seal, and he departed for the session.

There was no prosecution for a bii's refusal to take part in the examination at the session.

Not more than two or three biis are challenged from the session by declaration of the plaintiff, because of their kinship, matchmaking, acquaintance with the defendant, or the receiving of bribes. In a court of arbitration there are not supposed to be challenges because each side chooses its biis itself. For false suspicion (usek suz) in relation to a bii (kinship with the opposing side, bribes, etc.) punishment is not customary.

The declaration of the challenge of a bii is not accepted after the judgment of a case by the session.

695 The meeting considers the decision being appealed and all the papers relating to the case: acts, documents,(1) reports. It

1. In an official document of a debt, the year, month and day it is issued are indicated; the period in which it is to be paid; the sum, including the interest, calculated by the period over which it is to be paid; its authentication by the village head, etc.

The sum which is recorded in the document is sentenced to be paid.

If the person who presented the document and the guarantors mentioned in it disclaim it, but the plaintiff and the bii recognize it, it remains in force without the assignment of an oath. In just the same way, if one of three persons presenting such a document recognizes it, it remains in force.

hears out the declarations of the opposing sides, and recalls, if necessary, those witnesses whose testimony was already mentioned in the decision under review, while also taking new evidence into equal consideration. In land disputes they ride out to inspect the

localities. 695

In recent times it has come into custom and is considered "according to customary law" at the meetings to declare a judgment by default (sirt khukm, sirt kesik) after the defendant has failed to appear twice. This was not in the old customary law. There are always complaints concerning judgments by default, with the declaration that "the biis did not act according to customary law."

In their decrees the biis must state clearly what /184/ the petitioner sought and what was adjudged in his favor, or how the case ended, and especially to record the biilyk established for the judgment.

A copy of the judgment, cut out from the book (1) must be

1. There is a model of the form of the bii's book in Supplement No. 6.

given to the person in whose favor the case was ended, in final form, as a result of swearing or not swearing the oath, if an oath was assigned.

A copy is given to the unsatisfied side, if it declares dissatisfaction with the judgment from one bii of over 100 rubles, or after a theft, at the volost session, for a suit for over 100 rubles, or for baranta or for murder.

When he receives the copy the receiver must write a receipt in the book on the reverse side of the report.

In the copies they report briefly and clearly: the content of the suit without explaining the testimony of the opposing sides; the judgment with an exact indication of the sum exacted and the biilyk; the time when the judgment must be carried out; the year, month and day of the judgment; the number and the book from which it is cut out; the affixing of the seal.

According to Amanbai, the weak are subjected to injustices and force at the volost sessions, which assemble in the steppe. 695

In the opinion of sultan Babagaliev, (2) only Kazakhs of their 661

2. Lieutenant of the army infantry, Kazakh of the Perovsk uyezd.

own volost and persons of means receive satisfaction at a volost session. Indeed the biis of the extraordinary session hesitate still less than the biis of the lower instances, knowing that the judgment of the extraordinary session is final. On the eve of the court session they

simply bargain with the litigants on the amount of the bribes. (3)

3. Sultan Babagaliev advises, among other things, the following measure: to call together half of all the biis in the uyezd to the uyezd government and all the volost administrators; from their number the uyezd chiefs would designate one volost official as chairman every day, and one bii apiece from each volost as members of the court, and would seat them in special quarters where outside persons should not be admitted, so that biis not invited to judge (dzhanbas bii) would not interfere with the case, as often happens. The strength of the measure proposed lies in the fact that neither the biis nor the litigants should know /185/ which biis would examine which case. They should discover this immediately before the beginning of the examination. At these sessions it is necessary that the uyezd chief or his assistant should make certain that the biis do not postpone a case to the next day, which is the equivalent of receiving bribes.

/185/ The extortion of bribes (para) by the biis may take place before outside persons or in private. In the latter case the bii hints in the following manner: "This case depends entirely on me. Other biis would take so and so much money, but I take nothing." Then with the mediation of his man the bii can make himself understood more openly to the defendant: "You are right. They will discover the justice of your case and impose an oath on those who exonerate you." (ak sen aklykka shygarady, dzhandy uzing shygatugun dzheringe salady). He says to the plaintiff: "We will require an oath from the side which does not acquit him We will determine a larger fine for you. We will also sentence him to pay the court costs and produce the penalty for you without delay. You are losing nothing, but give us what you can"(dzhandy chykpaytugun dzherge salamyz, aybyngdy kubeytamiz, yana chygyndy onyng muynyna salamyz, yana toktausiz mal underib beremiz, sen kuymeysen, bizge beretuguningdi ber) (Torgai). Later the judgment is decreed on behalf of the side which gave the most. (1)

1. This is included as an example. It is obvious that extortion by the biis is not a kind of common occurrence which invariably accompanies bii justice.

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The volost administrators also influence the judgment. If a a volost official is protecting the defendant, the bii imposes an oath on the group of fifty of the defendant, when it was necessary to impose it on a village. He does this so that there will be a greater probability of the appearance of the juror (shygatugun dzher), for in a close circle there are fewer enemies, and even these are challenged as "disputables." The bii declares: "Say first of all who your enemies are or the disputable ones." The defendant names two or three persons.

If the plaintiff enjoys the favor of a volost official, the defendant is brought forward at once, and the bii imposes an oath the village of the defendant instead of the group of fifty. Later, when the disputable persons are challenged, the defendant is required to prove that the persons challenged actually had been involved in litigation with him at some time.

/186/ If the bii is not decided on doing what is pleasing to the volost official, the latter encourages him with the words: "Do not be afraid of an appeal. The exaction will be taken care of before then, and after that we will see somehow" (sizning khukmingiz buzulgancha dzhuaberdgan mal tulenib kalady).

When a bii learns that the volost official received a bribe from the defendant while he himself only received a bribe from the plaintiff, he sends to the defendant to receive a bribe before deciding the case in his favor. If by now the defendant will no longer give the bii anything, the bii judges the case in favor of the plaintiff, figuring in this way: "I have rendered a service to the plaintiff, my affair is closed. Let the volost official change my decision." But if a copy of the sentence has already been given out, a reversal of the decision of the bii can follow only by means of a volost session, and the volost official is left to paralyze the judgment by not carrying out the exaction or evaluating the object of the exaction at higher than its real value (Torgai).

For an unjust decision of one bii, overruled by many biis, the first is not prosecuted. (1) But if it is proven, with the help of 687

1. In Kazalinsk in 1887 there was a case in which a judge was badly beaten by a defendant for an unjust decision. The complaint by the bii against the offender, as an act during the fulfillment of the duties of office, was transferred to a court of arbitration, which sentenced the offender to three

687 days confinement by the police.

witnesses, (2) that the bii has accepted a bribe, in most cases this

> 2. There are cases where both sides present many (70-90) witnesses, ready to testify under oath that the bii has taken or has not taken a bribe.

circumstance is passed over to a court magistrate for the further prosecution of the case of criminal breach of trust.

In the steppe in such cases they complain to the volost official, who charges the bii to "soothe the heart" of the complainer (keunin tultirib bering), i. e., either to clear himself by oath, or to give some sort of satisfaction to the dissatisfied person.

If there are no witnesses the bii usually clears himself by oath.

694 /187/ The summons of the litigants and the other interrogated persons to appear in court is in general the duty of the volost official.

661 He has riders /dzhigity/ for the summoning of the litigants. The plaintiff gives the rider who is sent for the defendant a certain sum, called "kyzmet" (good turn) which depends on the distance of the village of the defendant. If he wins the suit, he receives this money included with the other court expenses from the defendant.

The defendant asks the rider to tell the volost official that he was not at home. The rider refuses, demanding that the person under summons depart at once. Then the rider receives a bribe and reports to the volost official that the defendant was not at home. The volost official releases the plaintiff who is waiting there, for several days, adding after him: "Do not come empty, a!" (kuru kel'mengiz a!); meanwhile before the others the volost official says nothing, only rubbing his beard as though oiling it - a sign which is understandable enough to the plaintiff. After the departure of the plaintiff, the volost official asks the rider in a low voice whether he had found the defendant at home. The rider says: "He was. He gave me so and so much and promised also not to offend the volost official (kuru koymaymen)." In the evening of the same day the volost official sends another rider who frightens the defendant for not appearing. The defendant gives him something, in order to weary the plaintiff by delays.

Sometimes the volost official gives the plaintiff to understand, via an outside person, that the defendant was not at home 3 or 4 times, but nevertheless he, the volost official, will force the

 694 661

defendant to be found, even if he has concealed himself under the ground (yerge kerib kitse de taptyramyn). But he needs remuneration for this. The plaintiff gives him something. Then the volost sends someone to tell the defendant on the sly that he should come but not to be afraid. After this the case is transferred to the bii.

After the litigants have presented a documnet with the choice of several biis, the volost official designates the place and time for their court appearance, warning the plaintiff that if he does not appear his suit will be refused, and the defendant that he will be considered convicted for non-appearance. But in spite of this, when the defendant does not appear, the case is not decided in his absence, but they send once again to his place of abode, and only if he /188/ flees from there can the volost official command that the judgment be made in his absence. Sometimes the defendant submits a complaint after all this for the biis' judgment by default. Then the biis are required to swear that he was summoned twice (Torgai). 694

In the opinion of Torgai, article 35 in Samokvasov: "If some-one is sent after a person, and the envoy is beaten and receives wounds on the face, then the latter must make the same marks on the former in return" etc., is probably founded on the orders of some individual powerful volost official. Although on the other hand the Kazakhs have a proverb: A stick is rewarded by a stick (tayakka tayak kaytady), i.e., an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. 694 683

If a rider was sent by a volost official but not on the basis of an order from the uyezd chief, then there is no prosecution for signs (tamga) on his face from blows. At any rate, when there are no witnesses, and the "tamga" /brand/ is only on the rider and not on the owner of the tent, then it depends on the state in which the rider emerged. /v tom, budto prikhodil dzhigit/. The affair ends with the words: "Come out and make peace" (dalaga chygyngiz yarasyngiz), for no oath is imposed for this. (1)

1. It may happen that the rider collects people for some sort of general suit and encounters resistance in this and receives blows with signs on his face or on his body. Then the people, who want to get around the rider, give him something, but not by customary law but voluntarily, for example a horse and a coat. They ask him not to lodge a complaint, saying: "Even if your head is cut, it is under your cap, even though your arm is broken it is in a sleeve" (bas yarylsa burk ichinde, kol synsa

694 dzhiing iqhinde). As an excuse they use the saying:
683 "quarreling and scuffling is a path which has existed since ancient times" (uruspak talaspak burunnan kalgan yui).

Since signs on the face are visible, they set value on the face, and they say to the offender: "you put a brand on my moon-like face" (ayday betime tamga saldyng), i. e., you mutilated my clear face. A wound on the arm for example is not important, unless a bone is broken (Torgai).

694 A rider can beat the person being summoned, in order to force him to go faster. A wound inflicted during this is not prosecuted.

When the volost official delays the summoning of the litigants and the witnesses, and the biis delay the examination of a case, the defendant hastens to declare a suit completely like the suit of the plaintiff (karsy dau, karsyma karsy dau). This is also done at the time of the examination of the case, sometimes /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A session of the people's court: the plaintiff, bii Akhmet Turgaev, bii Chekaman Iskenev, bii Chokai Turgaev, the defendant. Drawing by Akhmatov. /*/189/ also by the witnesses. But the biis avert such a suit. Exceptions to this are suits concerning animals recognized at a bazaar.

695 Mutual suits between quarreling kinsmen remain without consequence because of their extreme complication, or are led to pacification "in view of kinship." When it is impossible either to avert or pacify, then an oath is required from each litigant on his suit (Perovsk uyezd).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, in mutual suits without witnesses two propitiatory oaths are given: one to the plaintiff himself, and the other to the defendant himself (bas basyna - on the head of each of them), the first on the suit which was declared earliest, the second on the cross bill. A biilyk is taken for each of these suits, but only when the suit is made good. Otherwise the biis limit themselves to collecting for the affixing of their seals (mukhrane).

If a part of a suit is shown to be just, it still does not follow from this that the entire suit is just. The part of the suit which is subject to suspicion must be approached as though it were a special suit.

The combination of crimes is not taken into consideration. Every crime is judged separately.

If a suit touches upon two objects which are usually not found in one place, the suit is divided (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

*[Not reproduced--A]

Often the first plaintiff is joined by a second, in order to get 695
an easy profit because of the conviction in the first case. Therefore the case of each plaintiff and each defendant must be examined specially.

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Attorneys (vakil) already existed under the khans. They were 693
also called "those who buy suits" (dauny satyb algan).

According to Zagriazhskii, (1) minors and insane persons cannot

1. Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraia /Materials for Staistics of the Turkestan Region/, Pt. IV, pp. 194, 195.

be attorneys. The attorneys must convince the biis that the conducting of the case is specifically entrusted to them. They must /190/ be present during the testimony of the opposing side, and they procure the fine which is exacted for their principals. If the sender of the [676]
trusted person is sentenced to a fine or to corporal punishment the sentence is carried out on the sender. The sender of the trusted person can protest against the judgment of the bii, if his agent abused his trust.

According to another source, the constituent can refuse the settlement of the agent in whom he has trusted, if the former has not given a written warrant.

Warrants are not the custom in the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to the communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, but persons are admitted who know how to speak in court. Such persons never appear in court without their clients.

During the swearing of an oath, only the plaintiff or only the constituent (ak iese) was present according to customary law, and this is still true today. The person entrusted by the constituent is never present during the oath of the opposing side.

Every man who has reached his majority who has seen or knows 695
of a crime is admitted to give the testimony of a witness. A true (nagz) witness (aygak, gua) is considered to be he who has brought in the captured thief with the goods, or has taken the stolen goods away from him together with a horse and a coat, or has received syuyunchi from the owner before the people and the authorities (Perovsk uyezd).

Informers are divided into those who are open(bet aygak) and those who denounce behind the back (syrt aygak). The former are called to prove the truth of their words face to face with the thief.

695 The latter only inform as to who did the crime and under what circumstances, but do not wish to be witnesses in the examination of the case. They say: "We speak behind the back, we cannot speak eye to eye" (sirtinen aytamyz, betinen aytalmaymiz), according to bii Sultan. According to Aleksandrov, custom does not approve of de-
[517] nunciations concerning crimes, and informers are always under suspicion in their communities, according to the proverb: "a thief has one cheek black, but an informer has two."

/191/ The testimony of witnesses is confirmed by oath, not by them but bytheir sides, i. e., the clan or community (Perovsk uyezd).

If there is no information and no trace of stealing and a man appears who declares that he knows the thief and takes syuyunchi from the victims, and the thief, who has not confessed, begins to be tried, the man who has received syuyunchi is obliged to furnish an oath from his relatives for the amount of the stolen property. If he does this and thereby proves the theft and forces the guilty ones to pay, the victim of the theft receives only the property stolen from him and the syuyunchi given the accuser. The fine exacted (ayb) goes to the accuser. (Bii Sagyndykov, Chimkent uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the witness himself does not swear an oath. His close kinsman (yanasha) takes the oath for him, even though he be a bii or a volost administrator.

If the veracity of the witness is unquestionable, i. e., if the thief was caught in the act, if they took a coat and horse from the thief, and if the witnesses are very respected persons or those who have power, then their words are believed without oath. The imposition of an oath from them is generally avoided, out of respect to persons who enjoy position in the community. When there is, nevertheless, a basis for not believing their words, an oath is required from the side of one of the litigants, as the custom is in trials without witnesses.

If the guilty parties do not confess, even when the testimony of the plaintiffs are confirmed by witnesses, an oath is imposed on them.

If a witness compromises himself by his testimony, for example, saying that he permitted the defendant to tether the stolen camels, when at the same time the defendant is denying this, the biis still do not see their partnership in stealing as proven. In such a case they either leave the defendant to swear a purificatory oath,

after which the witness appears as the thief, or give the oath to the witness to defend him from chances, i. e. a false oath of the defendant (Mikebai).

If a father indertakes to prove the innocence of his son, /192/ he is called a witness, and they give him a period of time in which to find the thief, after which, if he has been unsuccessful, he is sentenced to pay the sum of the suit (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

A mother and other female relatives are permitted to give testimony as witnesses, but they do not furnish oaths. For this reason when they see a crime committed, women as well as minors call in grown men if possible as witnesses.

According to Umurbek (Auliye-Ata uyezd), witnesses in the full sense of the word cannot be 1) minors, insofar as they actually are unable to be convincing; 2) persons who have a bad reputation, for their testimony does not carry weight; 3) women, concerning outside affairs, and 4) madmen - under all conditions. E. A. Aleksandrov adds to this list persons of illegitimate birth, whose testimony as witnesses is given no credence at all in the Kazalinsk uyezd.

Servants testifying in favor of their masters are not taken into consideration. Servants who testify against their masters, not maliciously but in good faith, are taken into account but are not permitted to take an oath.

No special significance is attached (muncha iltifat kylmaydy), to persons who bear witness on behalf of their kinsmen, in view of their kinship ties (tuuskandyk klady, yakyndyk kylady). If they bear witness against them, and if, because of their integrity, they are deserving of trust, the case is decided on the basis of their words, without an oath. If they are bad people, they are not believed, but oaths are not required. The closer the kinship, the less they are permitted to swear an oath.

If each of the litigating sides has its witness, they permit the one who gives the most reasonable and well-grounded testimony (br meme sebebi bar iken) to confirm his testimony by oath, and the one who is less bound by kinship to his side.

Formerly the witnesses gave testimony without oath. Now /193/ witnesses are almost never interrogated without requiring an oath from their side, because the plaintiff is not satisfied without this.

If there are several witnesses, after they have all been interrogated an oath is required from one of them or two, depending on the sum of the suit, but only from one side, by the selection of the

695 opposing side, for example, of the defendant (dagvagerining tanglauyncha).

The interrogation of witnesses with an oath is necessary in criminal cases, naturally, only when the defendant pleads not guilty. In civil suits if a witness was not only present, but was also invited as a witness in the conclusion of an agreement, the transmission of money, etc., he gives testimony without an oath, even though the defendant denies his guilt. Once both sides have agreed on one and the same witness, the case is decided on the basis of his words, and one side can no longer bring an exception against it afterwards.

The refusal of a witness, not from support of his own words, but of the solemn confirmation of them by presenting the oath, is now considered as a conviction of his side (Umurbek).

According to Torgai, an oath is required from a witness when the litigant declares him to be partial (spur, i. e., disputable).

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6/2 There are two kinds of guarantors: 1) tankefil' (1) or erefil',

1. According to Aleksandrov, tankefil' means unfaithful, so that it should be pronounced tanykefil'.

2) zarkefil' or malkefil'. The former engage themselves to present for confrontation (taub beredi): suspects who are under investigation and trial, or thieves or criminals, including those under sentence, and also in the case of non-fulfillment of some sort of pact. The latter are held responsible with their property when such persons fail to fulfill pacts and obligations. Guarantors of the second type are usually karavanbashis, while guarantors of the first type are the relatives who take a thief from the hands of the volost official for correction.

Both types of guarantors are characterized, according to Makovetskii and according to bii Sultan, by the saying: "a guarantor dies for a man, /194/ and pays for property" (erge kefil' uledi, malga kefil' tuleydi).

Both sides can have one and the same guarantor. The death of a debtor (karzdar) for whom a zarkefil' has been guarantor, does not relieve the latter from his property resposibilty for the deceased. A guarantor who has paid for the obligations of a negligent or deceased debtor can open a suit for the exaction of the losses from the heir.

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The tankefil' is not held resposible for the death of a man released on bail. If he flees, the tankefil' is sentenced to the same sentence which had been imposed on the person who fled. But according to Aleksandrov, the tankefil' is held responsible according to agreement.

When a middle man becomes a zarkefil', both sides pay him kafiliane for this. This happens in obligations of debt.

If a person who has bought stolen property unknowingly has it confiscated, he turns to the person who sold it to him. If the seller declares that he did not sell it, and there were no witnesses present, then they require him to swear an oath to clear himself. The guarantor pays after the oath is sworn. If the guarantor denies that he guaranteed it, they also require him to swear a purificatory oath.

Sometimes the owner of a thing given out in debt touched the arm (bilek - from the elbow to the wrist of the arm) of the guarantor. If the fact of this contact is beyond doubt, on this basis the bii sentences the guarantor to pay the debt because of the insolvency of the debtor (Perovsk uyezd).

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Among the convincing proofs in a trial are: the confession of the defendant, contradiction of testimonies during interrogation, the generally known corruption of the accused, his disposition for lying, the absence of definite occupations, capture on the spot of the crime, the finding of the lost property with the defendant, fresh tracks leading from the place of the crime to his tent, his flight from the trial, his non-appearance at the trial, the testimony of witnesses, every sort of written document, etc. In the Perovsk uyezd one case of wergeld was broken off on the basis of the testimony of a Russian doctor that death was by natural causes, and not /195/ the consequence of blows. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the chief of the uyezd transferred the case of Suleiman Burdzhanov, who lost an eye in a fight, to an extraordinary session, on the testimony of a Russian doctor. (1)

1. In the Kazalinsk uyezd there was a case in which biis required wergeld in spite of the testimony of a doctor who stated that the loss of the eye was due to illness.

Convincing evidence loses force when the defendant denies the fact of confession, capture, the finding of tracks, the giving out of

written documents, etc. For this reason the capture of a thief on the spot of a crime, the confiscation of the stolen goods from him, the finding of fresh tracks, etc. must be immediately reported to the authorities or to the senior people in the village.

If all the testimony of a litigant is based on a certain circumstance which is later shown to be false, this is enough to decide the case against him.

Material proof, such as a bloody knife, does not have great importance in the court of the biis, for the blood could be the blood of a sheep, etc.

When a judge, after a precise (ayrmachyk) and impartial examination (tiksharyb karaganymyzda) of the evidence presented, convinces himself of the degree of guilt or innocence of the persons examined, for example, the defendant, then without regard to the latter's firm assertion that he is innocent of the charge (dagvasynan saumen, aman ben), the judge decrees the judgment without oath. The same is done among the Kirgiz.

When a judge believes he finds innocence or guilt from the evidence presented, but will not take resposibility on himself for his opinion, he assigns an oath to be sworn by the side of the witness, i.e., his community or clan, and rarely by the witness himself. A bii assigns an oath to be sworn by one of the litigating sides only when there are absolutely no witnesses or because it is either impossible or inconvenient to require an oath from them.

A suit is not dismissed for lack of evidence, because the plaintiff is not obliged to prove the justice of his suit. On the contrary, the defendant is obliged to prove his innocence. From this it is understandable why /196/ the situation of the defendant is called "nashar", helpless, and he is given the possibility of confirming his words by an oath from his side, for the sake of mitigation. In general the assignment of an oath from a certain side can under certain circumstances make things easier for that side.

It is said in Makovetskii, I p. 69: Even though convinced that a denunciation is false, the bii nevertheless continues his examination of a case and assigns an oath from the accused. Sultan Kanaev reports that in this case the biis ask the plaintiff whether he still insists on his suit or not (osyny suraysyn be ya suramaysyn), and if he insists, then an oath is assigned. But fraudulent suits concerning the theft of money should be dropped without consequence without asking the plaintiff. "In general all suits concerning the theft of money are false, for how could money be taken from anyone without killing him or wounding him?" added bii Sultan Kanaev.

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Formerly the payment to the biis (biilyk) was not determined exactly. In addition to offerings and gifts, they received one of the best animals from the fine or at least a coat from the atton. Usually the entire fine received went into the khanlyk and manaplyk (among the Kirgiz), minus the stolen property.

In accordance with the law of 1867, the biilyk was required to be one-tenth the value of the livestock. The sum of the biilyk was recorded in the report, with the indication of the side which had to pay it, and whether the biilyk had been received or not.

Often, when it is impossible to get one-tenth, the biis limit themselves to a smaller part, trying to obtain the biilyk immediately after the announcement of the judgment, before the case is ended by an oath. For this reason it sometimes happens that the biis must return what had been received prematurely, for example, in an appeal. In order to receive the biilyk immediately, the biis either require half of it to be paid by each side, or an equal part from all the litigants, or exact it from the side which has cash, leaving it to the winner of the case to obtain the given biilyk from the loser. Sometimes this /197/ is recorded in the biis' books thus: "now both sides are paying equally, at the end the loser pays" (khasyr yeki taraf ting tuleydi, akybytda dzhygylgan tuleydi). But in general among the Kazakhs the imposition of the biilyk on one side or the other is not subject to any rules.

At the meeting of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds, in September 1877, it was established to take a biilyk on the basis of customary law in the following amounts: for the judgment of a case for the wergeld of a man, 300 rubles, for wergeld for an eye, 150 rubles, for crippling a man, 20 rubles; for the judgment of cases of theft, 8 tillias /24-32 rubles/ for one camel, 4 tillias for one horse; for cases of fights, 2 tillias.

Among the Kirgiz the biilyk is usually collected from the person who receives a sentence to pay. Sometimes it is collected from both sides, by the degree of their guilt (gunesine Karay). The biilyk is collected at the time when the judgment is established (mal kisedi). Whoever cannot pay at once can be given a deferment, but if his offense is great they demand payment immediately.

The biilyk can be received in natura, for example, in suits concerning a harvest.

The biilyk is also collected when cases are ended by peaceful

693 arrangements.

When a suit or part of it is abandoned without consequence because of distance or some other reason, a biilyk is not collected.

A biilyk is not taken when a session is abandoned by force of an earlier decision. Also when an earlier decision is overruled, the biilyk received for it is returned.

When the bii decrees that the period of time of an oath is to be extended because of the illness of the swearer, he receives biilyk for this labor.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, a biilyk is not taken even in such cases where the defendant clears himself by oath. He pays only about 20 or 40 kopeks then, up to one ruble, for receiving the document of acquittal from the bii with the affixing of the seal. This collection is called mukhrana ("for the seal").

681 /198/ Losses and court costs (chygyn) are included in the fine itself. When the fine has already been obtained, the biis can refuse a suit for the recovery of court costs, with the exception of cases concerning wergeld., for in such cases many people are summoned into court, and the cost of the summoning adds up to a considerable sum which cannot be covered by a part of the wergeld. (1)

1. According to Torgai, the expenses for a suit concerning wergeld can be separated from the wergeld. All pay equally for the wergeld /po khunu/, but for the expenses the guilty party pays first of all, and then the clan, and the latter pays only when the former already has no property left.

When a suit ends without a fine, the winner of the case seeks reimbursement for the losses and court expenses which he has also been required to pay in one session of the court or another.

695 The period of time for the payment of the fine is recorded in the document of the judgment, but this measure appears in part to be inoperative. The customary law does not assume a period of time.

696 In the case of the defendant'sinsolvency or his absence, the exaction is extended to his group of ten (unbasilas), and when their 697 means have been exhausted, to the group of fifty, then to the village, which is noted in the document. (2) Only that which was necessary for

2. In ancient times when the payer was insolvent, the group of ten, or fifty, etc., in order, did not pay for him.

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but his entire lineage or entire clan directly. For example, in the case of insolvency of a defendant from another lineage but the same clan, the plaintiff received the exaction from the entire lineage, but when the defendant was from another clan, then he obtained it from the entire clan. 672

life was not taken away.

When the defendant is insolvent, if the sum of the fine is large, for example 1500 rubles, it is decreed to be paid directly by his group of fifty and his village, by-passing the group of ten.

The exaction is not extended further than to that circle upon which the oath was imposed.

An exaction from a cummunity in the order established by the biis, takes place on the basis of an apportionment made by the community itself among the tents (biiding tygyzdauy, khalktyng uigaruy buincha).

A community can refuse to pay the exaction for its member, forcing him to become a laborer. 672

/199/ Requiring the payment from the community is regarded as reasonable in that the clan which fears paying for a thief restrains him by moral influence from repeating his stealing. At the present time the imposition of property responsibility on the community is an outlived principle, since 1) the individual has freedom of action and is not obliged to ask permission of his neighbors before coming and going; (1) 2) as a consequence of the changing conditions of

1. The individual is free to be absent temporarily, but for transferring from one volost to another he remains completely dependant on the clan, which can fail to give its consent for his discharge. The poorest clan keeps a vigilant eye on its solvent member, whom it needs, not even speaking of charitable purposes, directly for the payment of taxes for the impoverished.

life, property among the Kazakhs is associated more and more with the individual and the close circle of the family.

If the defendant is a new arrival, the sentence is extended to his fellow travelers fellow tradesmen, and domestics (kosdas). If none of these exist or they are without property, the defendant can be given out as a laborer.

The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of 665

4:Grodekov--179 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

696 The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of the khan or the riders of the biis who decided the case, but any outside person, who received remuneration from the person who won the case.

At present the volost administrators are obliged to carry out the decisions of the biis in the following order: when they have received a copy of the decision, cut out of the book, upon the approach of the date indicated in it for the payment, they announce it through village elders to the defendant, and then, in case he refuses to pay, they take an animal corresponding to the sum, which is evaluated by honorable persons. After the entire sum has been paid to the plaintiff, the volost administrator makes a note of this on the reverse side of the copy, with a voucher from the recipient, and gives it to the person who has paid.

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692 In its regulation of the people's court, the law of 1867 caused it to deviate considerably from the customary court. This fact /200/ had such an essential and pernicious effect on the development of the weak sides of the courts of the biis, that their position proved to be very unsatisfactory and brought many local officials to the conviction that it was necessary to abolish this court and exchange it for the Russian court.

While according to folk custom the litigants are free to turn to any bii for the examination of a case, the law of 1867 required the Kazakhs to be judged only by the biis confirmed by the military governor. In cases where the litigants disagreed on a court of arbitration, and in practice these were very frequent, the law required the plaintiff to choose a bii expressly from the volost of the defendant. Since under the existence of the clan principle every bii naturally stands for his kinsman, the required judgment of a bii from the volost of the defendant is the equivalent of renouncing justice, for the plaintiff cannot expect impartiality from a kinsman of the defendant. Even within one volost, such an organization of the bii's court did not guarantee a just court, because with the obligation of turning to the biis in the volost and with the limitation of their number the biis were made accessible to profit, corruption, the influence of rich and honored persons, and of the electoral parties.

In order to ensure the justice of the decisions of the more important cases, the law of 1867 limited the competency of the individual biis to the sum of 100 rubles, and created extraordinary

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sessions of biis for the judgment of cases up to 1000 rubles, and cases of murders and baranta, also establishing appeals of decisions according to instances. But the mass of small cases remained under the jurisdiction of individual biis and even volost sessions, consisting of a small number of these same biis, corrupted and finding themselves under the influence of rich kinsmen and volost administrators, could not act better than the trials by one person of the biis.

As a result, the trial of the biis became a corrupt trial, unpopular and subject to native officials. The unsatisfactory character of the people's court according to the law of 1867 for the examinations of the complaints of the people brought about the interference /201/ of the Russian uyezd administration in the cases of the bii's courts. The law subjected cases under 100 rubles to the jurisdiction of a bii chosen by the plaintiff from the volost of the defendant. But by using the right of challenging the biis, the defendants were constantly evading trial, and the plaintiff, in order to obtain satisfaction, was obliged to turn to the collaboration of the volost administrator, who could summon both the defendant and the biis. For the latter often failed to pay attention to the petition of the plaintiff for examination, and found justification in their own challenge by the defendant and in his disobedience. In many places there was, in practice, such an order of taking cases into the court of the biis, that not a single case was examined by the biis unless a complaint was taken directly to the uyezd chief or to his assistant, and unless a special order was taken to the volost administrator each time for the examination of the case by the biis. Thus the biis fell into direct dependance upon the volost administrators and the people's court became a field for the arbitrariness of the local authorities.

The Kazakhs, in the words of Sultan Babagaliev, adapted to the court of the biis the proverb: "If an owl is hit with a stone, the owl is killed; if a stone is hit with an owl, the owl is also killed" (tash bilyan yapalakni ursa, yapalak uledi; yapalak bilyan tashni ursa, yapalak uledi).

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The law of the 12 June, 1886, on the administration of the Turkestan region, preserved their people's court for the Kazakhs.

Submitted to the jurisdiction of the people's court is: 1) all cases concerning crimes and misdemeanors committed by natives, with the exception of the following crimes: those against the Christian faith, against the state, against the order of the administration, the state or public service, against the decree of state and land duties,

692 against the property and income of the treasury, against the public
673 welfare and well-being, the violation of quarantine regulations, the violation of decrees against epidemic and contagious diseases, the violation of rules established in case of livestock losses, against the common peace and order (the forming of /202/ gangs with malicious intent, and the receiving of persons under suspicion, false denunciations and false evidence in cases, judged according to the laws of the empire, the concealing of fugitives, and the spoiling of telegraphs and roads), against the laws of estates; against life, health, freedom and honor (murder, infliction of wounds, and fights, resulting in death, rape, unlawful detainment and confinement) against property (the violent seizure of foreign immovable property and the destruction of border landmarks and signs, setting fires and in general intentional destruction of foreign property, robbery and plundering, the stealing of treasury property and the falsification of Russian documents). 2) Cases of crimes and misdemeanors, which although not included in those mentioned above, were committed by natives against Russians, and likewise within the borders of Russian settlements. Such cases are under the jurisdiction of court establishments on a general basis.

692 Civil disputes and suits between natives and persons who do not belong to the native population, likewise cases between natives of various nationalities who have separate people's courts, and also suits based on acts carried out with the participation of Russian authorities, are carried out by justices of the peace and regional courts on a general basis.

Jurisdictional disputes concerning cases which take place between people's courts and examining magistrates, justices of the peace and also their assistants are settled finally by the regional court.

Persons not belonging to the native population who are engaged in lawsuits with natives, and likewise natives who have different people's courts in cases among themselves, can if they wish, turn to a people's court. In such a case the plaintiff forfeits the right to open suit on the same case with a justice of the peace or in a regional court.

The jurisdiction of civil cases is determined by the place of abode of the defendant, and the jurisdiction of criminal cases by the place the crime was committed. A suit which relates to several defendants is declared in the place of abode of one of them, at the choice of the plaintiff.

/203/ Cases subject to the jurisdiction of the people's court

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can be subject to the examination of a justice of the peace of a regional court only at the desire of both sides, which is announced to the court in writing or orally, and entered in the document.

Cases begun in the people's court cannot be taken out of its jurisdiction even though the suit was reconveyed to a person who was not under the jurisdiction of the given court.

A case which is subject to the jurisdiction of a people's court, of which the essence is the determination even of one instance of this court, cannot be transferred to a justice of the peace or to a regional court, except in cases when the people's court makes a sentence to a punishment which is outside the limit of its authorities.

Sentences and judgments of the people's court which are decreed in excess of power, or in cases which are not under their jurisdiction, are not carried into execution, and the uyezd chief represents the procurator for them. The latter enters a protest in the regional court, which, in case the sentence is overruled, returns the case with the necessary indications to the people's court for the establishment of a new judgment, or if the case is not under the jurisdiction of the people's court, it gives it legal direction.

If the sides are not pacified, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, the people's court, independent of the determination of payments for losses and damage, imposes on the guilty parties the following punishments: a) fines in money no higher than 300 rubles, and b) confinement under guard for no more than one year and six months. 692 684

If as a consequence of the incorrigibly bad and pernicious behavior of the person under sentence, the people's court considers the punishment which it has a right to impose inadequate, then having determined it within the limits of its authority, it can intercede through the regional government to send the person under sentence from his place of habitation, after his punishment is finished.

A monetary fine designated by a people's court as a personal punishment is, in the case of insolvency of the person under sentence, substituted for by arrest of no more than three months, or by his being given over, by /204/ command of the uyezd chief to public labor for this same period of time. 681

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People's courts are desginated, by election of the population, for three years.

The number of people's courts and the limits of their sectors are determined by the regional authorities before the elections, so that the number of courts among the nomads in the volost may be no less than four and no more than the number of village communities

692 in the volost.

Any person of the inhabitants of the volost can be elected to
692 the people's courts who enjoys the respect and trust of the people,
693 and who has[1] been subject by sentence of the court, to punishments in excess of arrest for seven days or monetary fine of 30 rubles, who is not under judicial examination or under trial, and who is no less than 25 years of age.

The elections for the people's courts take place by a volost meeting of the electors, who are chosen by village meetings with one for every 50 heads of houses.

Two candidates are elected for every office of the court. The confirmation of one of them for the office of the judge and the other as a candidate for it depends on the governor, who designates new elections in case neither of these persons is confirmed. In the case of absence, illness or death of the judge, the candidate for the position carries out his duties, with the permission of the governor.

The people's judges receive payment on the basis of the customs existing on this matter.

The people's judges are equipped with special insignia to be worn when they are carrying out their official duties, as well as their official seals and books for the recording of judgments and deeds.

The close supervision of the keeping of the books is a duty of the uyezd chief, but meanwhile the responsibility for lack of observation of the established order falls upon the judges and chairmen of the sessions, according to who is concerned.

The people's judges are transferred /205/ to trial by the regional authorities for criminal breach of trust, on the basis of the decrees of the code of criminal law procedure which determine the order of arraignment of persons of the administrative department.

The people's court constitutes: a) courts presided over by one person, b) sessions of judges, and c) extraordinary sessions of judges.

692 All cases, both criminal and civil, begin before a single judge.
695 But the litigants have the choice, by mutual consent, to turn directly to a session for the examination of their cases, avoiding the single judges, and likewise to outside persons, whom the litigants entrust with the settlement of their disputes. The judgments of the chosen mediators are final, no matter how large the value of the suit is.

The mutual agreement of the litigants on the choice of mediators must be entered into a special book established for this purpose in the volost, and signed by the litigants. The judgments

1 [Should be "has not been" - A.]

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of the mediators are also recorded in the same book, which are signed and confirmed by both the seals of the mediators and of the litigants.

The people's courts of the nomadic population proceed to examine cases upon the complaints of private persons or upon a cummunication from the volost administrator or the uyezd chief. When the litigants disagree on the choice of a judge, the case is decided by a judge indicated by the plaintiff, but meanwhile the defendant is allowed to challenge two judges. [694]

The decisions of judges, involving sentences of no more than 30 rubles, and no more than seven days of arrest, are recognized as final and are not liable to appeal.

The decisions of the judge are announced to both sides, with the issuance of copies of the decision in case of demand, authenticated by the affixing of the official seals of the judges.

The people's courts may hear testimony concerning every sort of deed and agreement among the natives subject to their court, with the exception of settlements concerning immovable property, when the right of property in them is confirmed by deeds made out under the force of the general laws of the empire.

/206/ Deeds issued by the people's courts must be signed by the sides in their own hands, or for illiterates, by no less than two trusted persons and witnesses. They confirm the signature and the official seal of the people's court authenticating it, and they are recorded to the letter in the corded /shnurovia/ book, under the appropriate number in the sequence.

Sessions of judges are called together in every volost, and are made up of all the judges, although a session is considered legally constituted when no less than three judges are participating. The sessions are called together when needed, at times determined in advance by the uyezd chief. The sessions take place in the presence of the volost administrator, whose duty it is to pay special attention to decorum in the place of meeting of the session. 692

The people's judges appearing at the session elect a chairman from among them, who directs the order of examination of the cases.

Cases of complaints concerning inconclusive decisions of single judges are subject to the jurisdiction of the sessions of the people's judges. The judgments of the sessions count as final, with the exception of judgments decreed in excess of their authority or in cases not subject to their authority.

It is considered the duty of the sessions of the people's judges

692 to encourage cases concerning the dismissal from official duties and bringing to trial those of their members who permitted clear abuses in their judgments. The uyezd chief presents the decrees on this subject to the oblast government.

The delivery to the sessions of the defendants and witnesses is the duty of the village authorities.

Complaints concerning unfinal decisions of single judges are transmitted in a period of two weeks from the day of the announcement of the decision to the volost administrator, for presentation to the session. After the opening of the session these complaints can be transmitted to the session itself.

[695] The people's court is carried on aloud and publicly.

/207/ Extraordinary sessions of the people's courts are designated, by order of the governor, for the judgment of cases in which residents of various uyezds or volosts are involved , as well as for the review of intercessions of the people's courts and their sessions on the banishment of the persons under sentence. The extraordinary sessions are composed of the judges of those volosts from which the litigants come or the persons under sentence, with no less than one judge from a volost.

The designation of the judges for an extraordinary session, except for those elected by the litigants, is done by the uyezd chief. Judges who have participated in previous sessions within a year take part only at their own wish.

Extraordinary sessions of the courts take place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd in which the session meets, or an official specially commandeered for this purpose. The duty of these official persons is exclusively to see to the decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The extraordinary sessions of the people's courts act on the basis of the rules established for ordinary sessions.

[693] People's judges, who are absent from a session, ordinary or extraordinary, without legally acceptable reasons, are subject to a monetary fine of 10 rubles, by order of the uyezd chief, which can be appealed to the governor within a period of a month. These fines go for the building of places of confinement.

696 The carrying into execution of the decisions of the people's court is laid upon the volost administrators and village elders, under the supervision of the uyezd chief. Copies of the decisions carried out, with a note of their fulfillment, are preserved with the volost administrators. Persons carrying out the decisions, as well as the uyezd chiefs supervising them, are subject to legal responsibility and the reparation for damages for slowness and improper action in this connection.

/208/ CHAPTER XI. The Oath.

In the most recent times the oath (dzhan, guman, ant, kasam) has acquired extreme popularity. In ancient times it was given only for purification from the charge of spilling blood (Aviz, of the Perovsk uyezd). 695

Only persons who have reached their majority can swear, because children do not understand the significance of the oath (dzhan kadryn bil'meydi). However children are permitted to swear by ignorant biis (Torgai).

The oath is rarely sworn in the Chimkent uyezd by the Dulaty and Chul'sirgeli clans (the steppe Sirgeli, of the El'bay, Yangabay, Akkungurdek, Aytbozym and Dzhaydak lineages), and the Bistangaly clan ("the five brands": Sirgeli, Isty, Oshakty, Dzhalair and Shaprashty).

The side which is required to swear eliminates several (the number is indicated in the bii's decree) persons or tents from the community designated for the oath, under the name of "disputables", whom it is impossible to choose to be among those to take the oath. Of the remaining number, the opposing side, i. e., the plaintiff and the defendant, "seize for the oath" (dzhan, dzhanga ustaydy), i. e., indicate the person who must "give" (bermek, utkuzmek) the oath.

According to Baymet Sagyndykov, in former times the side which was sentenced to the oath had the right to indicate persons, so-called kolshy, who themselves already chose who were to swear. But with the transfer of the Turkestan region to Russian dominion, this custom lost its force, as a consequence of which the number of fraudulent suits increased. (1) Sagyndykov suggests /209/ that if this

1. As will be evident from the account below, the institution of the kolshy still exists in several places.

customary law were introduced there would be far fewer false suits.

A time limit is established for the designation of those who are to swear. A period of time is also given for swearing the oath. The time limt for the choice of the juror is usually three days, if his community is a short distance away, or up to fifty days if it is far away, even extending to the return from the summer camps. The time for the taking of the oath is given for a longer period than for the selection of the juror, for in the former case, the period of time has the purpose of giving the juror a full opportunity to become acquainted with all the circumstances of the case and to know all the

opinions for and against it, while in the latter case, the time period is only in view of the distance of the community to which a person must go personally for the choice of the juror. Letting one of the dates lapse means the loss of the case.

The chosen person is told of the place where he must appear for the taking of the oath at a certain time, indicated in the decree of the bii.

The extension of the period for the taking of the oath is permitted as is stated in one document, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat", for valid reasons, for example, because of the illness of the juror, attested by trustworthy persons. For the decree of the postpnement of this oath, which has not yet "gone rotten" (sasymaydy), i. e., has not become impossible, the bii establishes a special document (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, if the juror allows the time for the oath to expire because of great distance or an unfortunate accident, the court decrees the judgment of the case to be lost to his side. But if the juror appears immediately after the decree of the judgment and explains the reason for the delay, he is not deprived of the right to swear.

The refusal or the flight of the juror from the oath indicates that his side is in the wrong and loses the case, "falls", (zhygylady).

If on the day of the oath the juror announces that he is completely unacquainted with the litigants, has come there himself only recently, /210/ and could not investigate anything, and therefore will not accept the oath on his responsibility, his side nevertheless loses, for the juror should have announced this exceptional situation at the time when he was chosen or before the elapse of the period, and the litigants should have eliminated him as one of the disputables.

If a man has been chosen among the jurors when it is not known whether he is at home or not, the defendant must tell the bii of his uncertainty there and then. When, on the injunction of the bii, he has procured proof (isentirib) that the juror has departed, the defendant receives a longer period in which to bring him in, depending on the distance involved. If the plaintiff does not wish to wait a long time, they allow him to choose another juror.

When the person chosen refuses, on the basis that although he lives in the community from which the oath is required, he belongs in the registers of another community, (1) and has no wish to condemn

1. Such a man is called kurcheles.

or exonerate the accused by his refusal, a new choice of a juror is permitted in a new period.

If the heirs of a murdered man desire, for the wergeld, to put an oath upon four men, then from the side of the defendant the biis must designate four persons as kolshi, who are obliged to furnish four accepters of the oath at a place indicated by the judges, to carry out the swearing of the oath imposed on them. In this case, if even one of the kolshi fails to appear or does not leave his village within the designated time, the guilty side must pay the wergeld. In case one of the swearers of the oath does not appear on time, however, at the designated place, the petition of the seekers of the wergeld is abandoned without consequence. If one or two of the persons who have accepted the taking of the oath are ill or have gone away somewhere they must present certification of this with the seals of outside trustworthy persons. Then the biis must designate a second period of time with an indication of the place where the takers of the oath must appear. But if they also fail to appear the second time and do not take the oath, then the suit for the wergeld is considered to be fraudulent. In /211/ case one or two of the kolshi from the side of the defendants fail to appear in the time designated, the latter side must pay the wergeld, regardless of whether the takers of the oath appeared. If one or two of the kolshi falls ill or is absent in a distant place, they are obliged to present certification of this from outside trustworthy persons. Then the biis must designate a second period of time. But if the kolshi fail to appear in the second period, the side of the defendant must pay the wergeld.

If the juror confirms by his oath a false fact without knowing it, having believed his side, the punishment for swearing falsely falls in the future life not on the cheater but on the cheated. For this reason even before the period of the oath, the unjust side reveals the truth, gives up the object of the suit or proposes a peaceful settlement (bitim, tatulaspak, karyndas bulmak), to which the plaintiff usually agrees because he is in an uncertain state about the outcome of the case and is afraid that if he loses the suit he will be required to pay the court costs and the biilyk. Another motive for making peace is the fact that from the religious point of view an oath is equally dangerous for both sides: punishment will be visited not only on the person who swore falsely, but also on him who demanded the oath, from the side of the innocent party. This is why one often finds written in the biis' books: "the plaintiff was unable to allow the defendant to swear the oath, and his suit was left without consequence, "or: "and he was

reconciled for such and such a sum", or "and they became kinsmen" (again, karyndash bulub kaldy), i. e., friends. (1)

1. Sometimes they choose an only son as the swearer, in the hope that his father will not allow him to swear.

Conscientious biis themselves advise the litigants not to bring the case to an oath, but to yield to compromise, doing this with hints such as: you will not get the whole horse, but his hoof won't be lost (tulpardyng uzi bitpes, tyuyagy dzhitpes). Often, especially when the defendant does not deny the justice of the suit but he is poor, the biis say: "Forgive this suit. Embrace each other and become /212/ friends" (bu dauyngnan kesh, ikeauyng kushaktasyb dos bul); if one of the litigants has a son, and the other a daughter, they add: "or still better, become matchmakers: matchmaking consummates the friendship" (bal'ki kuda bulyngdar: dostyng tubin kuda ayrady).

The swearers themselves impose pressure toward pacification, halting on the road and threatening one side by saying they will appear, and the other side by saying they will refuse.

Often the pacification is produced on the basis of the return of the stolen article. There are also cases where the plaintiff, who has been made "the friend" (dos) of the poor defendant by the bii, receives nothing from him but is already ashamed, being his "friend", to appear before the biis with a claim (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If an oath is shown to be false, the opposing side wins the case. In addition, in order to make amends for this sin, fines can be imposed in favor of the poor, from an atton to one or three toguz, depending on the sum of the suit. This is called "putting the soul in place" (dzhandy urnyna salmak). The reason why no strict punishment exists for false oath is that the swearer usually accepts the oath on the urging of his kinsmen, and not because of inner conviction.

Among the Kirgiz, after the ritual of the swearing of the oath is completed, in order for a new witness to prove its falseness, his oath is required and the oath of one of his relatives. The previous oath is then considered "putrified" (sasyb kaldy), i. e., invalid. One oath is defeated by two. The side which has given a false oath is sentenced to a higher fine, and the person who swore is scolded and despised.

The ancient oath (according to Karamulla and others, of the Perovsk uyezd) consisted of 1) their leading the swearer around the mazar /place of pilgrimage or tomb/, or 2) the juror (dzhanga shykkan) coming out on a hill and summoning the receiver of the oath

from the opposing side. A man came out from there with the words "I receive your soul", i.e., oath (aldym dzhanyngdy) and began to beat him with a whip. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Kazakh girl of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov. /7/213/ A battle began which often was transformed into a general brawl of all those present; or 3) their coming out alone from each side, armed with a spear, a sword, etc. It was presupposed that the one who was killed or forced to flee was in the wrong. (1)

1. Before the Russian court they now swear on the Koran. In the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd one encounters the expression: "they were led into the mosque."

"False witness under oath is taking place oftener and oftener, bringing profit to the mullahs, who for mercenary reasons have assured the population that by slightly changing the words of the oath they could make it very terrible in its consequences, or completely unfrightening." M. Gotovitskii, "Znachenie i obriad prisiagi u kirgizov" /The meaning and ritual of the oath among the Kazakhs/, Iuridicheskii Vestnik, 1885, May, p.192

According to Kunakbai, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the very appearance (2) of the swearer in court and his declaration that he is

2. According to Ibragimov, practically speaking, the essential circumstance among the Kazakhs is considered to be not the oath itself, but the journey of the chosen persons at the time determined to the place designated for the trial. If on the given day, the chosen persons were there before sunset, this was quite enough. The person on whose behalf they came won the case. The villages of influential Kazakhs and sultans especially are designated as places for the oath. In recent times they have often begun to designate a village for the oath in which there is a mosque, and they give them the Koran to kiss, forcing them to say the names of Moslem saints who are completely unknown to the Kazakhs.

ready to take the oath for the member of his village or his kinsman, is considered as the taking of the oath. Neither the Koran nor prayers are involved. They also know that sometimes they are sent to a cemetery to say a prayer.

1* [Not reproduced -- AJ]

695 According to Umburek, the bii asks the person who is to swear the oath: "Did you come to swear?" (dzhan bergeli kel'ding me). Then he admonishes him to speak the truth, reminding him that it is sinful (ubal) to lie. The swearer answers: "I came to swear to his innocence" (agyna dzhan bergeli kel'dym). The bii ends it by saying: "May you have a long life! Be gone!" (yasyng uzak bulsun, bar kitever).

According to Abdrakhman, the bii asks the swearer: "Why did you come?" "I came for the oath." "Do you know (bilesin be) the guilt or rightness of so and so and do you believe that he took such and such?" (algandygyna inandyng ba). "He did not take it, and I have come to take an oath on it." Now reminding the opposing side that the sin of a false oath under compulsion /214/ rests equally on both sides (ike dzhakka birdey), the bii advises for the last time that the two sides be pacified without carrying it to the oath. When he receives a refusal he lifts his arms according to the Moslem custom and says the blessing, i. e., the words "alla akbar" and places the palms of his hands on his face and his beard. Then he says to the swearer: "May the days of your life be long. If the thief (i. e., the person for whom you took the oath) deceived you, may he die himself" (umr yasyngiz uzak bulsun, agar seni aldagan bulsa uruny uzi ul'sin).

Among the Kirgiz, they formerly led them into the mazar /place of pilgrimage or tomb/ to cut a branch. Now the oath consists of appearance and declaration before the bii. The bii says: "Have you given away your soul (oath) because he is clear and did not steal?" This question is repeated three times. When he has received the answer "I have given it" three times, the bii says: "Go get out of my sight!"

According to Torgai, the following forms of the oath are found.

1) In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are either satisfied with the form of the oath set down from the words of Umurbek and Abdrakhman, or they lead the swearer within the wall of a saint /'s tomb/ which is well-known, for example, Tekturmas, Auliye-Ata. There the plaintiff takes the end of a branch from one of the trees in his hands, and the swearer cuts off this branch with the words: "O Saint! Find which of us is unjust and kill him!" (e auliya, kay karamyzdy tap, at).

2) Formerly the kinsmen of the man who was to take the oath dressed him in white, black, red (the symbol of grandeur - saulat), blue, and in general in clothing of one such color, so that the swearer would stand out in the midst of all of them. They tied an owl (ukke) to his head, and led him to a high hill, where the plaintiff and his relatives had gathered from the other side. The swearer

demanded from his relatives: "Take your soul" (al dzhanyngdy). At that time small children too were swearers. The affair ended with a brawl without killing. No suit was made for wounds.

3) Formerly there was also a wager race between the swearer and the receiver of the oath of 40 paces. Both held each /215/ other by the hand. (1)After forty paces one turned to one side, and the

1. Nevertheless this race was called by the reporter a wager race (yarysyb).

other to the opposite side, and with this the oath taking also was ended.

4) The swearer (dzhan berguchi, dzhanga shykkan) and the receiver of the oath (dzhan alguchi, kolshi), go into a mosque, because this is the house of God (kudaidyng uyi) and say: "Find which of us is unjust" (koy karamyzdy tap) and then go out.

5) They take the Koran in their hands. In several places it is customary for the swearer to take the Koran and put it into the hands of the receiver of the oath, and in some places it is vice versa.

6) In the Perovsk uyezd, they sometimes dig a grave, on the demand of the receiver of the oath, as though for a dead person. In order to bring more fright to the swearer, they wash him and dress him in a shroud (keben), and then they lead him to the grave, out of which he emerges again through an opening.

7) In addition, in the Perovsk uyezd the oath takes place "by the Shariat and by the law."

The choice of the manner of the oath depends on the plaintiff. But the plaintiff always holds to the local custom (Torgai).

According to Absalyamov, of the Chimkent uyezd, the manner of taking the oath depends, by custom, on the plaintiff, who leads the swearer to the grave of some Moslem saint and forces him to stand with one foot on the grave itself, or to cut a twig from a tree growing over the grave, etc.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis propose to the person who is to swear the oath that he choose one of the following three forms of the oath: 1) to say "in the name of the all-powerful God" (billyagil' azim); 2) to take the Koran in his hands with words: "May the Koran hit (punish) me if I etc." (kurgan ursun, agar...), and 3) to cut off the branch (chibyk) of a tree on the grave of a saint, while a kolshi is holding the end of it. Now, however, the kolshi does not enter the wall of a Saint's shrine "from fear", and too the swearer does not /216/ cut off a branch, but simply

695 enters and then walks out. In the words of the bii, only the first two types are a real oath. The last type is a Kazakh habit (kazakchylyk, and actually this is not an oath (asyiy ant imes). It is only taken as an oath because the Kazakhs are content with it (kazaktyng rizalygy). Bii Sultan Kanaev does not know the type of oath called "oblation" (kurmandyk) described in Makovetskii, I, p. 74.

The biis and aksakals do not go to the mazars and such places of oath. The presence of the plaintiff and the defendant during the swearing of the oath by the chosen person is not obligatory and is not customary.

The receiver of the oath, i. e., usually the plaintiff, is not obliged to go to the selected person or to lead him. He only indicates his presence. But it is the obligation of the defendant, if the oath is from his side to present the swearer. They always present the swearer with his relatives (again tugan). Otherwise he would not go alone, being ashamed of what they would say of him, such as: So and so went out to take the oath (falyanchi dzhanga chykty). But the people urge him and follow after him, not permitting him to evade the oath. If the relatives did not appear, the oath would not lose any of its significance.

The defendant, when he appears at the swearer's, slaughters a white mare (boz biya) for him, which is called dzhan sadakasy, i. e., the sacrifice for the sake of the oath, or a sheep - for a small suit. He is accompanied by one elder from each lineage (tup) of the community of the swearer. In order to avoid frightening the relatives of the swearer, they clothe the demand in the following form: "We have appeared before you in the interest of the entire people. A certain accusation has been brought against him (the defendant), whether it be slander, or by enmity. For this reason we have been permitted to point to you. Will you allow him to be lost? We are all convinced of his integrity, and for this we have all appeared. You step forward and we will follow after you." (Yurtchilik turesinen sagan kel'dik: ya tukhmet menen, ya khusumet menen sogan munaday dzhengdzhal yabasty, sogan seni atattuk munauny kuyderesin be? aktygyna baremizning kuzimiz dzhetedi, beremiz sol ushun kelib otyrmyz. Sen aldymyzdan yur, biz songyngnan erelik).

/217/ If the person chosen to take the oath refuses "to go out" (chykpaymyn), the elders threaten to exclude him from the clan (again chiliktan ayrylada), i. e., if someone should sue him, none of them would present the oath on his behalf.

They always appear a day in advance for the oath.

First of all the oath is imposed on that side which has a true

witness, who has publicly received syuyunchi for the discovery of the thief, in cases of theft. If there is no witness, the oath is imposed on the side of the defendant, as the weakest side. In addition, it can be required, for special motives: from the plaintiff's side, from the defendant himself, from the plaintiff himself, from the side which the plaintiff prefers (or rarely, the side the defendant prefers).

The oath is given to the side of the plaintiff in the following cases:

1) If it has a witness, as was stated above.

2) If the defendant does not enjoy favor in his village, for extraneous reasons.

3) When the defendant has already been caught in the act of a crime, which affects one part of the suit, or was under trial earlier and as a result he is no longer trusted.

4) When the plaintiff witnessed the commission of the crime personally, thus taking the place of a lawful witness. "I myself am a full witness of his theft" (kamil uzim gua men alganlygyna), he says in one of the documents of the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd.

5) If the defendant is a woman.

The oath is imposed on the defendant himself ("on his black head", kara basyna) in the following cases:

1) When he is not yet registered in any group of ten of a taxable community, because he divided off from his family after the establishment of the official register of tents.

2) When the sum of the suit is so small that no other kinsman wants to submit himself to responsibility before God for such a trifle. /218/ 3) If the case is such that no one can know the truth but the defendant. This would be, for example, when there were no witnesses of the entrusting of something for safe-keeping, or when the defendant refuses to satisfy the plaintiff on the grounds that his deceased father and not he borrowed from the plaintiff or owed him, or if the time the affair took place is so far in the past that no one can establish an opinion as to the justice or injustice of the suit.

4) When indecent circumstances have been disclosed in a trial. Here the oath by one person is to avoid staining the reputation of others.

The oath is imposed on the family of the defendant in litigations concerning matchmaking and other family accounts, on the basis of the fact that such relationships are known precisely in the family.

The oath is imposed on the plaintiff himself and on his family with the same motives as were just mentioned, only, of course, in

case it is unsuitable to give the defendant himself the single oath.

The indication of the side from which the oath must be presented is given to the plaintiff (iki dzhaktama) to choose, on the condition of the defendant's consent to this: 1) when the village of the defendant is so far away from the court that the judges do not know whether it is convenient for the plaintiff to go there to choose a swearer, and whether he would not prefer to permit the defendant to choose a swearer from the plaintiff's village, which is less distant; 2) when the plaintiff stubbornly continues to stand by his demand, regardless of the obvious groundlessness of the suit. By giving the choice to the plaintiff, the court wishes to give him a full opportunity to prove the justice of his suit, so that after the case is judged against him he will not complain that the circumstances of the oath were disadvantageous for him (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, if the plaintiff has a witness (ayak), he is sworn himself and also one of his kinsmen (yanasha), i. e., they obtain two oaths. If the plaintiff has no witness, then one oath is imposed on the side of the defendant (tanbysh). If there were /219/ no witnesses of the transmission of money from one person to another, the dispute is settled by the oath of whichever one of them wishes to swear. If both sides are ready to swear the oath, it is given to the defendant.

According to Umurbek, during the examination of a case the bii first of all recognizes the opinion of the defendant concerning the manner of imposition of the oath which is desirable to him. The bii says: Do you agree to receive the oath from "this one" (i. e., the plaintiff), and pay, or do you want to present the oath and clear yourself? (sen osunan dzhanyn alyb mal tuleuge razy me sen ya dzhan berib kutuluga razy me sen).

In the Perovsk uyezd, for considereable lawsuits for a sum larger than 500 rubles, they designate two swearers, and for a sum higher than 2000 rubles, or for suits concerning wergeld they designate four.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, in cases of wergeld for a man they choose 4 jurors from 1000, 2000 or 5000 tent owners, but not beyond the circle of the forbidden degree of kinship. In cases of wergeld for a woman they choose 2 persons. In suits concerning the theft of 1-5 heads of livestock, one person from the close relatives swears an oath. For a theft of more than 20 animals, 4 persons swear (Chinybekov).

In September 1877, the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds decreed: "We should try to settle cases without an oath. In designating an oath we should be goverened by the following: In cases

concerning up to 19 rubles, the oath is designated to one man from the group of ten. In cases up to 76 rubles, to one man from the group of fifty. In cases up to 152 rubles, to two persons from the village of the defendant. In cases up to 500 rubles, to four persons from two villages which are near that of the person for whom the oath is to be sworn. In cases up to 1000 rubles, the oath should be sworn by four witnesses of four villages, with which matchmaking is not permitted. In cases of over 1000 rubles, and in cases concerning wergeld, four persons from the volost should swear. A volost administrator, village elders, and biis must never be chosen as jurors. Also tiuris and hodjas must never be chosen as jurors."

A man who is generally known and respected by all can take the place of two ordinary jurors (Perovsk uyezd and others).

/220/ If two persons from one clan are accused together, one oath from their clan is sufficient.

If two persons from different clans are accused together, one oath is imposed from the clan of each of them, for a juror consents to acquit only his kinsman. But if, in spite of their being from different clans, they serve one master, or live in the tent of one and the same person, or have a common traveling companion, then one oath is imposed on this master or traveling companion(Torgai).

The more serious the accusation, the higher the sum of the lawsuit, the more frequently the defendant has been under trial, the better known he is, then the larger the circle of the clan or the community which can be designated for the choice of the juror, so that under difficult circumstances he can be cleared only if he is really innocent, for his enemies, they say, and there are more of them in a large circle, do not decide to consider him guilty. For example:

For a suit of	They impose	On the degree of kinship
1-2 horses	1 oath	Third degree (ush ata).
3-4 horses	1 oath	Fifth degree (bis ata).
Wergeld	4 oaths for a man, 2 for the murder of a woman.	Seventh degree (yete ata).

 The oath is not imposed beyond the circle of the forbidden degree of kinship.

When imposing an oath on a kin group, they always select a group of a degree of kinship of an odd number: 3, 5, 7.

The inconvenience in imposing an oath on a kin group lies in the fact that the defendant has to bring jurors from very distant places, for example, from Bukhara, within the period of time, although it is given with consideration of the distance.

Since in many uyezds the groups of ten, groups of fifty, villages /221/ and entire volosts consist of only one group of kinsmen (atalas), for example, a group of ten will be from relatives up to 3-4 degrees of kinship, a group of fifty from relatives up to 5-6 degrees of kinship (5-6 ataga keledi), the imposition of an oath on a kin group is almost the equivalent of its imposition on a tax community.

When both communities, the kin one and the tax one, do not fully coincide, the biis on whose judgment the imposition of the oath on the clan or the taxable unit depends, exploit this circumstance in order to obtain bribes. It is obligatory to impose the oath on the clan only in suits concerning wergeld and yesir, eliminating those lineages which are related to the plaintiff.

For drivers who do not live in their villages, the oath is imposed not on their community but on their comrades in the caravan (kosdas, from the word kos - the traveling tent of the drivers).

An oath is imposed:

	Report from the Perovsk uyezd.	According to Torgai	According to the two Kirgiz: Kurpetai Dauletkulov and Daniyar.
On 10 tents	20 rubles	1 horse	1 horse
On 20 tents	-	-	2 horses
On 30 tents	50 rubles		3 horses.
On 40 tents	-		4 horses.
On 50 tents	100 rubles	2-3 horses	5 horses.
On 60 tents			6 horses.
On 100 tents	200 rubles		And so forth,
On a village	400 rubles and also about a fight.	4-5 horses	not more than one village(in cases of theft).

In the Chimkent uyezd, according to the communication of Absalyamov, in a suit /222/ concerning one horse one oath is given from a group of ten. In a suit for from 2 to 4 horses, one oath is taken from a group of fifty, with the elimination of two disputable persons. In a suit for from 5 to 8 horses, two oaths are imposed from the village. In a suit for 9-26 horses, two oaths are required, one from the village and the other from the volost, with the right to eliminate up to 4 persons from the village, and up to 8 persons from the volost. The plaintiff selects 4 oath takers from the volost of the defendant, for a murdered man, with the defendant being given the right to challenge up to 8 persons. For a murdered woman the plaintiff chooses two oath takers, one from the village of the defendant, and the other from his volost, and the defendant is not given the right to challenge anyone.

Where the kin communities coincide in general with the tax communities, as, for example, in Semirechie, the oath is primarily determined in the tax community. But where persons of different clans live together in one tax community, without having a basis for standing for each other under oath, as in Orenburg, Troitsk and in the Kurama uyezd (according to Torgai), the oath is designated from the clan, or, as they say, "tracing back to the ancestors" (ata kuub, suek kuub).

The larger the circle of the community out of which the juror is chosen, the larger is the number of disputables also. In a village there are usually 2 disputable persons in addition to official persons. The number and sometimes the names of the disputable persons or tents are recorded in the document with the note: "in addition to official persons."

The elimination of disputable persons is done by that side which presents the oath. The person who chooses the oath takes must be informed of the names of the disputable persons.

The disputable persons (actually kas, i. e., enemy or spur) are often: 1) enemies of the person who presents the oath; 2) mullahs, biis, official personages, and all superior persons to whom the suggestion that they take the oath for the sake of an inferior, would appear impertinent and 3) recluses, persons who are too young, guests and persons in in general whose opinions on a given question are incompetent for various reasons.

/223/ Tiuri, khodjas, volost administrators, biis and village elders are not chosen to take the oath for a simple Kazakh (Absalyamov).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, a khodja can be chosen among the jurors in a suit among persons of the black bone. Khodjas are only eliminated among the disputable persons if they are at that moment

695 in dispute or in enmity with the cummunity from which the oath taker has to be chosen.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to a report from E. A. Aleksandrov, khodjas are not freed from the oath, and in general no one is, except ishans. (1)

1. Formerly also members of the sultan's clan.

Among the Kirgiz, biis, manaps, volost officials and other persons of high standing are not excused from the oath. (2)

2. In Siberia, the agreement of the "disputable persons" who are eliminated is required before this can be done, and a voucher must be made to the effect that they or their clan are at odds with the clan of the litigant(Torgai)

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When it is necessary for someone to clear himself of suspicion outside of court, or to confirm his assertion or promise by an oath, they suggest to him that he say olda (instead of vallakhi, By God), or to drink up a quantity of water (su urttashi), or to step across a line scratched in the ground, or to make his statement facing the saint(auliyaga karab aytchi), or to lick the sharp edge of a knife (pshaktyng yuzin yala) or to lick the end of a finger, facing the moon. They attach so much importance to this oath out of court that they end a dispute informally (Torgai).

696 In making contracts the oath is sometimes used: "May God punish whichever one of us breaks this agreement" (osu suzimizdi buzganymzdy kuday buzsyn) . Or they lay a stone on the head (Makovetskii, I p. 49). This last custom no longer exists, according to Torgai, but they do say: "May your salt hit me, or the food which you have offered me, if I "etc., or: "I swear by the salt"(tuzingiz ursyn, nyanyngyz ursyn, tuzning khakynda). Swearing by the salt is a general Moslem custom.

In the conclusion of a pact for action against a common enemy /224/, the elders, yuzbashi, tubesh (standard bearer), and other honored persons in a party gather in one tent for a conference. They pledge themselves not to betray each other into the hands of the enemy, not to betray the total affair and not to hide booty, but to

present it all to be divided. After this they slaughter a white horse 675
(bozat), or a grey one with a star on the forehead (kok kaska), or a white ram with a yellow head (ak sarybas), saying: "May the one who betrays this pact be killed like this animal" (ar kim sol sherttep taysa, sol malday soyylsyn). Here shert means agreement, promise, oath (according to Torgai and Makovetskii, I, p. 49).

Among the Kirgiz, in assertions by oath (kargych) they propose the licking of a knife and saying: May God, bread or the book (Koran) strike me, or else saying: May I be mayneke. The last expression, the meaning of which was unknown to the informant, bii Daniyar, is used only by women and children.

/225/ CHAPTER XII.

Fines: atton, muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and toguz. - Wergeld. - Corporal punishment. - Shaming. - Banishment.

Fines (ayb) are exacted in suits for theft, offense, fighting, 681
disturbing the peace and the general morality. (1)

1. The Perovsk uyezd chief, Mikebai and others, say concerning the fines that they are increasing the number of fraudulent suits, opened for reasons of avarice, and inciting the biis to judge falsely, acting in secret with the plaintiff. They are also bankrupting individual owners, and whole communities, from whom the fine is exacted when the defendant has not had enough property.

No fine is imposed in civil suits over debts and other obligations. The fine goes to the use of the plaintiff, and therefore he can consent to a reduction. Sometimes the plaintiff asks only for the return of the stolen goods, waiving the obtainment of the fine and the expenses (the biis' books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If after paying the fine, the defendant later clears himself of the accusation brought against him and presents the actual perpetrator in court, the fine is returned to him.

The best known fines of the customary law are the atton, the muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and the nine /toguz/ . (2)

2. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the fines are usually of the following type: a) a chapan (long coat), which is customary for a slight

misdemeanor and goes to the use of the plaintiff; b) the atton (a horse and a long coat), which goes to the use of the plaintiff; a biilyk is not required; c) br-toguz (three horses, three camels, three cows), which is divided in such a way that one-third is forgiven or else goes to the kinsmen of the guilty party /sic/, one-third goes to the plaintiff, and one-third is taken as the biilyk; d) uch-toguz (8 horses and 1 camel; 8 cows and 1 horse; 8 sheep and 1 cow) which is divided in the same way as the br-toguz.

The biis can impose all three types of punishment for the stealing of livestock, at their own discretion, depending on the circumstances of the theft and how many times it has been committed. Now /226/ it has come into custom so much to impose muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for livestock stealing, that when this "customary law" is broken, complaints are filed. The atton is kept /ostavlen/ for small offenses, while the nine is for crimes against morality and for certain cases of fighting and mutilation.

On the basis of the proposed code for the administration of the Turkestan region, the biis can now, independently of the determination of payments for damages and losses, impose monetary fines on the guilty parties for no more than 300 rubles and confinement under guard for not more than 1 1/2 years.

When a stolen animal was been taken away from the thief by its owner or by his acquaintance, the thief was released after he had given a horse (at) and a long coat (tun) or a fur coat (ton), or other things equalling them in value, for example, a horse and a gun, and with this the case was ended. This fine went directly to the person who took away the animal and was the same sort of payment for him as the syuyunchi is now. As a result the atton is counted as a fine, but it is considered the lightest of the fines, if one does not count the astarisiz chapan, a long coat without lining, which practically signifies a peaceful settlement. The atton which is sentenced in court is sometimes received in the end in the form of one cow or even only one sheep.

The atton is exacted primarily for fighting without mutilation and for the theft of an unvalued object. If one object is stolen by several persons they divide the payment of the atton equally between them. If several objects are stolen by several persons, the bii can determine an atton for each object (Perovsk uyezd).

An attay, i. e., a horse and a colt is the equivalent in value of an atton (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

An attuya (a horse and a camel) is sentenced, according to Torgai, for the rape of a bride (kalyndyk) after the kalym has been paid, before the wedding ceremony. This punishment can also consist of only one camel or only one horse.

/227/ The Kirgiz have the atton but not the attay or the attyuya, which are in general little known punishments.

The fine called muynyna kosak kutine terkeu is imposed only for the theft of livestock. For this, when the stolen livestock are being returned an animal must be tied to the "neck" of each one being returned, for an "addition", and another one must be tied to the "back" for "support." (1)

1. According to Aleksandrov, the terkeu is court expenses, sentenced by the judges. In the Kazalinsk uyezd these no longer exist. But in the steppe of the Orenburg dominion the biis receive a terkeu of 2 to 4 rubles above 10 % of the biilyk. In addition to this, the scribe there receives a kalamkhaky of 2 rubles.

The fine in the Perovsk uyezd for stolen livestock remains the same, even if the animal is valuable or pregnant, namely, the value which is given for such an animal of average (orta) value. Thus for example, the fine for a returned horse consists of 2 animals of 20 rubles apiece= 40 rubles. For a returned cow the fine is the same. For a returned camel, the fine is 2 animals at 40 rubles apiece=80 rubles. For a sheep, the fine consists of 2 animals at 2 rubles apiece=4 rubles.

In the Kurama and Auliye-Ata uyezds, according to Torgai, the value of the stolen animal is determined (kisedi) each time. But if it is impossible to find it exactly, they judge by the bazaar price (bazar narkhi) of the average worth of the livestock, and add not two animals but only one of the same quality. This fine is explained by the fact that animals of the fine can be younger, for example, according to Torgai:

muynyna kosak=1 bisti (5 years old)

kutine terkeu = 1 kunan (3 years old).

According to Abdrakhman, a five year old camel was formerly the equivalent of 40 rubles, and each fined camel also 40 rubles, so that the total fine for the theft of a camel equalled 120 rubles. But now such a camel costs 30 to 40 rubles, depending on the bazaar, and

681 in the fine is:

muynyna kosak= kunan atan (3 year old male).

kutine terkeu= taylak (a 2 year old).

/228/ The fines entered in Zagriazhskii, in articles 113-117, which are four times greater than the value of the stolen livestock, are explained by the fact that at various times the uyezd chiefs have proposed to the biis at meetings to impose high fines, in order to eradicate the passion of the Kazakhs for stealing. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for example, for 1 horse there was a fine of 8 horses, of which 7 went to the plaintiff and 1 for the biilyk. In the Chimkent uyezd, for one camel the fine was 40 tillias (including all expenses). In the Kurama uyezd, the fine for one sheep was 5 tillias (including the returned sheep, the fine, the expenses, the syuyunchi and bribes). (Abdrakhman).

According to Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, nine heads of livestock must be paid for one stolen animal. According to Baymet Sagyndykov, the usual fine of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu is imposed in the Chimkent uyezd. According to Absalyamov of the same uyezd, for a stolen camel they return 2 mares and a two year old foal (tay), for a horse - 7 sheep, for a cow and a bull - 5 sheep for each, for a three year old horse - 4 sheep, for a good pacer - 25 sheep, for a racing horse - 75 sheep.

Absalyamov says further that for any kind of theft, the guilty party pays the victim the same thing that was stolen but seven times more, so that the stolen article should constitute the eighth part.

In the northern uyezds, where livestock stealing is still very widespread, the fines are particularly high.

According to Tilen Kyul'baev, in the Kurama uyezd the fines for theft are:

Stolen	To the plaintiff	Biilyk and fine	Total
1 cow	7 tillias	3 tillias	40 rubles
1 horse	40 rubles	20 rubles	60 rubles
1 camel	15 tillias	5 tillias	80 rubles
1 sheep	8 rubles	4 rubles	12 rubles
1 goat	2 1/2 rubles	1 1/2 rubles	4 rubles

/ Inserted page. Picture. Caption: The white bone Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd. /7/ 681

/229/ The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that for the theft of a five year old male camel they take:

muynyna kosak=kunan atan (3 years old).

kutine terkeu=tay tyuya (2 years old).

When the animal itself (malnyng basy, kuzi) has already been returned without a trial, in the Perovsk uyezd they demand an additonal fine by the court (biis' books). According to Abdrakhman, such a return usually means that there is already agreement that the additional fine can be only very insignificant.

The name of toguz as a punishment is known to all nomadic Kazakhs (kushpe kazak) from Orenburg to Bukhara and from Khiva to Troitsk (Torgai).

Each toguz, as the word itself indicates, consists of nine animals (kara). The best among these gives its name to the toguz. For example the tyuya bastagan (or bastatkan) toguz, i. e., "nine heads, with a camel at their head", consists of a camel, a stallion, a mare, a colt, a cow, a calf, etc. to a sheep. According to the honorable Kirgiz Mullah Asan, the same toguz consists of 1 camel, 4 horses and 4 cows, while for a small offense, it consists of 9 items, including animals and things, from a camel to a long coat. He says in general that when a toguz is exacted the court defines its content exactly. According to Khalmakammed of the Chimkent uyezd, the tyuya bastagan toguz can consist of 1 camel, 1 horse and 7 long coats.

The at bastagan toguz consists of a horse, a mare, colts two, three and four years old, a cow, a calf, a ewe and a lamb.

The siir bastagan toguz consists of a cow, steers two, three and four years old, a sheep, then lambs of various ages and finally a kid.

In place of siir bastagan toguz there can be domalak toguz, ie., rounded toguz, also called tokal toguz, i. e., toguz without horns, consisting of a rug and 8 long coats of various values, of which the cheapest must be worth a ruble. There can also be things, muyum (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

/230/ In the Auliye-Ata uyezd monetary sums take the place of toguz. The value of three toguz together is determined as 175-200 rubles. In general, under the Russian dominion, the toguz is sentenced

/7/ [Not reproduced -- A]

681 very rarely, and when it is, it is the less expensive type. Finally, the simple toguz are more frequent than the double or triple varieties. They are being replaced now by other fines, even by the atton.

Among the Kirgiz the toguz was formerly sentenced as a fine for mutilation, etc., but now they fine only in money.

It is asserted (Sultan Daulet Bushaev) that it was possible earlier to impose a sentence for theft of up to three toguz, namely: for the theft of one sheep, koy bastagan toguz, buydak bastagan toguz and ulak bastigan toguz; for the theft of one cow, siir bastagan toguz, kunan ukuz bastagan toguz and tay ukuz bastagan toguz; for the theft of one horse, at bastagan toguz, bie bastagan toguz, and siir bastagan toguz; for the theft of one camel, tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz and siir bastagan toguz.

According to Torgai, the chief cases in which one can impose a [684] fine of three toguz at once are the following: 1) the abduction of a girl, with or without violation. She is returned with three toguz, if her father is influential, otherwise with a smaller number of toguz. If she has a bridegroom he demands the same exaction from her father for her unchastity. However it is now very difficult to obtain even one toguz for the unchastity of a bride because the father invariably declares that the pregnancy of his daughter was caused by the groom himself. In the Kurama uyezd they have completely ceased to file such suits and they take the bride even with a child. 2) If they do not wish to impose wergeld for the loss of an eye, an arm, etc., since all wergelds, including partial ones for mutilation are apportioned among the khundas, just as they are divided among the khundas themselves, even if the guilty person is solvent, in this case they sentence to a fine of three toguz, for the toguz are apportioned in the community only after the guilty person is insolvent and are not apportioned from the community of the plaintiff.

The above mentioned fines in livestock can be translated /231/ into money. In the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd, in order to be exact they often record with the fines decreed in livestock, their value in money, especially with the large fines. In the south they usually fine directly in money. This custom exists as well in the Kazalinsk uyezd, as is evident from the order for the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd of 1886 (1), in which it is said that in the extra-

(1) Of May 28, 1886, No. 88.

ordinary sessions of this uyezd, the calculation of the wergelds are to be made in rubles, and not in livestock.

4:Grodekov--206 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

In the Chimkent uyezd, according to Absalyamov, all the property (dzhasau) and money in litigations are translated into livestock (malga chaglab). 681

This opinion contradicts the following indications of biis from the same uyezd:

For theft it is customary to pay, including the value of the stolen article, a fine and all the expenses: 681 685

Theft	According to bii Sultan Kanaev	According to bii Kucherbai	
		Formerly asked	Now accepted
1 camel	40 tillias	Value of camel	-10 tillias 20 tillias
		Muynyna kosak	10 tillias
		Kutine terkeu	10 tillias
		Pay of rider	1 tillia
		Biilyk	4 tillias
		Syuyunchi	4 tillias
		To scribe (mirzakhaky)	1/2 tillia
		Traveling expenses, food etc.	1/2 tillia
			40 tillias
/232/ 1 horse	20 tillias	20 tillias	10 tillias
1 cow	15 tillias	20 tillias	10 tillias
1 sheep, 3 years old	5 tillias	5 tillias	5 tillias
1 donkey	9 tillias (the bii himself had occasion to impose this fine for a donkey.		5 rubles
1 ruble	10 rubles. (This was aimed at stopping robbery. However he could not remember a case of theft of money).		

681 Bii Sultan Kanaev explains the lowering of the fines in the
second column of the information from Kucherbai as follows: This
685 happens only when the biis ask the plaintiff to forgive part of the suit because of poverty. They say "Where can a thief get such a sum? Would he have stolen if he had had means?" Bii Khalmakammed added that biis have recourse to this device who receive something from the thief.

It is not obligatory to impose a fine in money in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for the theft of money (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, one view has it that for a theft of money a fine is imposed in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu. Another opinion is that a smaller fine is determined, namely: 1) if the stolen money is all found (tugul tabylsa), then in justice (insaf kylsa) there is no other fine beyond the biilyk and syuyunchi; 2) if the money is not all found and the defendant wants to give it all but cannot immediately, /233/ then the fine, syuyunchi and all the expenses are added together into one sum, equal to half of the money which was not found. For example, if of 20 tillias, 10 tillias are given up at once and 10 tillias remain, there is a sentence to pay these 10 tillias plus 5 tillias, totalling 15 tillias.

According to Kyul'baev, for the theft of 50 tillias, if the defendant does not deny it, they ask a fine of 50 tillias plus 10 tillias (under the name of sandyk khakysy, "for the coffer", i. e., for the plaintiff), plus 5 tillias (to the bii).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for the stealing of things but not live-stock a monetary fine is imposed which is much less than the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu.

According to Torgai, for the theft of a long coat and other things to the sum of 10 tengas /silver coin/, the fine is established at 15 tengas if the total stolen amounts to 15 tengas, the fine is 20; if the total stolen amounts to 100 tengas the fine is 120 tengas, etc. The larger the amount of the suit, the smaller the percent added to the fine.

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681 For murder, a redemption of "khun" /wergeld/ is
customary, and in case it is not paid, the death of the murderer him-
682 self is asked, or that of another man from his clan. (1)

1. An interesting ritual of symbolic execution of a ram at the time the wergeld is received can be found

in Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 71. This ritual does not exist in the Turkestan region, as is evident from the words of Sultan Kanaev: this is anarchy (nizamsiz), the act of people who are not subject to any chief (ishbir khakimga karamagan adamnyng esi). 681 682

Wergeld is paid and received not by a person but by a clan. If the murdered person and the murderer are from one clan, then it is paid and received by the lineage, if they are both from the same lineage, by the sublineage, etc. For example, if one is of the Bisata lineage, the other of the Yamanbay lineage (both these lineages constitute the Kutenchi clan, of the main clan of Kungrat), in the Chimkent uyezd all five volosts of the Bisata pay, and all five volosts of the Yamanbays receive the wergeld. The wergeld received, taking out 100 to 300 rubles for funeral and memorial services, is distributed among the volosts, then among the villages, etc. The close and distant relatives of the murdered person and the murderer, rich and poor, must pay and receive equal shares. Even though the clan of the murderer be /234/ far away or scattered over a large area, nevertheless demands are sent for the payment of their shares of the wergeld, authenticated by the affixing of many seals. Now the distribution of the wergeld received is not above abuse from influential persons. 681 682 682

Wergeld is not exacted when there are no kinsmen to act as plaintiffs.

According to Torgai, the rule "blood for blood" (khunga khun, kanga kan) was observed earlier in several places. Even now in the Kazalinsk uyezd the clan of the murdered person tries to commit murder in order to take blood for blood, but they are not permitted to do this, for people say: "It happened by the will of God." In general the custom of taking blood for blood no longer exists.

Now, if the community on which the wergeld is imposed is insolvent because of its small number of people, none of them is killed and the community is simply considered to be in debt. (1)

1. It is said that in Bukhara there is a custom of collecting alms for the payment of wergeld.

Those who draw together to pay the wergeld and also to receive it are called comrades in the wergeld (khundas). It is practically impossible to refuse to take part in the apportioning (shesken) of the payment of a wergeld. If one did, they would not give him a share of wergelds received and would not participate in the payment of wergeld for his own commission of murder.

681 If a small community, living in the midst of a community of
682 many members, but not related to it, takes part by some chance in
the payment of wergeld for a murder committed by the large group,
672 then both communities are considered khundas, and this numerous clan must
must pay for a murder committed by the small community. If it
refuses, the small group reminds it that they once were khundas. If
the large group is still not inclined to take part in the payment, the
community which is under fine is left to take a copy of the judgment
and to send it along with a demand for participation /235/ in paying
the wergeld to the place where the rest of their clan lives, to their
motherland, so to speak. At first these are unwilling to pay, and scold
them: "Why did you go away from us", but finally they do pay never-
theless.

In Kurama wergeld is not exacted from the clan but from the
family: from the father, the brother and the uncle (akesi ukesi, ame-
kesi kuyadi). Formerly there was killing for insolvency.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the wergeld is imposed in this way: after
deliberation between the kinsmen of the payer of the wergeld, a part
is assigned to the defendant himself, while the rest is paid by his kins-
men within the degree of kinship to which it is forbidden to marry. They
divide this part among them.

681 The amount of wergeld for a man is the same, whether he be a
682 sultan, a hodja, a guest, a thief, a child, an adult, (1) etc., in accord-

1. In the article by Gotrovitskii, "Okonchanie del polumirom po kirgizskomu obychnomu pravu" /The ending of cases by polumir /cf. below/ according to Kazakh customary law/, (Iuridicheskii Vestnik, May, 1885, p. 194), it is stated that if the widow of a murdered man remains without means with a female child, and if the murdered man had no brother whom she could marry, then she must receive 50 horses, without any concessions. But if she is young and has a male child and consequently can count on marrying one of her husband's kinsmen, then when the case is decided by polumir (karyndas kyb)i. e., with the full confession of the murderer that he has committed the crime, the payment to the widow must be limited to 25 horses.

ance with the proverb: "The wicked and the good are equal once after death (i. e., their wergeld is the same), and another time during life" (i. e., abuse can affect everyone equally) (yaman ksi yakhsy ksige ulgende br teng keledi, tirisinde br teng keledi).

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If one is to believe the claims of the sultans, for the murder of a sultan or a hereditary bii the wergeld paid is one and a half the usual amount, namely 6 yakhsy are added to the 6 yakhsy. (Communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

For the murder of a woman, including one's own wife, half a wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed by a woman, full wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed in a drunken state, the wergeld is unchanged.

For unpremeditated murder wergeld is not customary, but only /236/ a gift of clothing and covering the expenses for burial and memorial services (asatau).

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If the murder occurred in self-defense, this must be proven before the plaintiffs in order to be freed from the payment of wergeld. However it is still a disputable question whether wergeld should be paid in such cases, i. e., when the murdered man was a thief, not allowing himself to be captured, or some other criminal defending himself by arms against the rider who has been sent to arrest him, or a bandit who is the first to start fighting. The plaintiffs demand the payment of the full wergeld, offering on their part to pay the fine for the attack, fighting, stealing and in general the offense which is acknowledged for the murdered man. They support themselves by saying the defendant is entering a false accusation against the murdered man, in order to avoid paying the wergeld. According to Mikebai, wergeld must be paid for the murder of a thief, even if he started the fight, if he was not the first to use a weapon. Wergeld, however, does not need to be paid for the murder of a thief, if he was the first to begin armed resistance.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that self defense in case of the attack of plunderers and outlaws is permitted only in a measure which is not criminal. But if the defender strikes the attacker, even though unintentionally, and it results in death or injury to a part of the body, the person guilty of this pays wergeld, while at the same time the plunderers bear responsibility for the damage by them.

If the murdered person is an orphan living with his step-father, his clan demands nevertheless that wergeld be paid for his murder. In the absence of the clan, the step-father can demand wergeld in the name of the younger brother of the victim, but must put the wergeld received to one side, to be given to the clan of the victim on their first demand (Kurama uyezd). According to Khalmakammed

681 of the Chimkent uyezd, the mother may receive part of the wergeld at
682 the will of the kinsmen. She can pay part of the wergeld, if she wishes, for a murder committed by this orphan.

672 If a servant of a rich man dies and his heirs /237/ seek wergeld from the master, the biis examining the case must find out as their first duty whether the man froze to death for lack of clothing, or died of hunger, or was killed stealing or while engaged in other pernicious pursuits. If it can be proven by the testimony of witnesses that the death was caused by one of the above-mentioned circumstances, then the owner must pay the wergeld. But if the death occurred for one of these reasons and a dispute arises because the side does not confess, then four persons from the side of the defendants must swear an oath, or if a woman has been killed, two persons.

According to the biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmakammed, if a servant who is traveling in pursuit of thieves or enemies is killed, it is impossible to demand wergeld from his owner, even when the murderer belongs to a tribe like the Kalmuks, from whom it is unthinkable to demand wergeld.

681 For a murdered man, according to the communication of Baymet
682 Sagyndykov of the Chimkent uyezd, 1000 Shariat tillias are exacted of 10 tengas each, and if one counts each tillia at 4 rubles, as is customary, then it is 500 tillias or 10,000 tengas. If it is paid in livestock, then 100 camels must be paid. Absalyamov reports for the same uyezd that 100 horses and 100 rams are paid for a murdered man, or 600 tillias in money. Mullah Shanchr Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd reports that for a murdered man from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld consists of 200 mares, and for a murdered woman from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld is 100 mares.

There are cases in which influential relatives succeed in exacting 3-5 wergelds for one murdered clan chief. For example, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd a total sum of 1,300 tillias and one girl was exacted as wergeld and expenses, from 500 tents, for the murder of an honorable personage of the white bone by the name of Yalangtash.

According to Sultan Daulet, the former wergeld for murder was of two types:

/238/ First Type

1) 1000 sheep = 1000 tillias = 2 girls.

2) 6 yakhsy, i.e., 2 slaves, 2 dromedary camels (nar) and 2 good horses. Wild animals such as a fox, wolf, antelope, etc. could be substituted for horses.

3) Kalyngelim = a rug of 50 tillias or 100 rubles.

4) Kara nar - i. e., a dromedary camel in black.

5) Kara chulak, at, a wounded horse, i. e., the horse of the murdered man, in black.

6) Sary yipek yaulyk, a yellow silk kerchief, i. e., the kerchief of a widow, with which she covers herself as she weeps for her husband.

Second Type

1) 500 sheep or only 500 goats, or 500 kids a year old.

2) 6 yakhsy, i. e., 2 dromedary camels, 2 horses, 1 gun and 1 wild animal (karankus).

3) A cheap rug.

4) A small dromedary camel, for example, a taylak.

5) A horse 3-4 years old.

6) Yipek yaulyk, a kerchief.

Now the wergeld is the equivalent of 1,000 rams or 2,000 rubles.

At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, the amount of the wergeld was determined as 2,000 rubles for a man and 1,000 rubles for a woman.

In the Kokandian time the wergeld was larger, namely 1,000 tillias for a man.

Other kinds of livestock of the same value can be paid in place of the animals mentioned.

Often the plaintiffs agree to a smaller sum. Baymet Sagyndykov writes that "if the litigants desire to make a peaceful settlement before the examination by the biis, at the admonition of the best /239/ people and biis, the case dispenses with an oath, and the plaintiff receives half the wergeld, in accordance with the customary law concerning peaceful settlements."

A daughter or female relative of the murderer can be given instead of the wergeld.

If the murdered person is not buried but left to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, the tyuya bastagan toguz is added to the wergeld, called "wergeld for the bones" (syuyagening khuny), for the plaintiffs are not satisfied by the wergeld and demand to be given the corpse as well. If the murderer agrees to the payment of the wergeld, but wishes to hide the corpse (syuyagen kursetpese), and this is found out, then he is obligated to send the body on a "dromedary camel in black"

681 (kara nar), covered by a rug, and to pay a fine of from one to three
682 toguz, counting here also the camel with the rug. A bactrian camel can be given in place of the dromedary, and even only a horse. (Torgai).

Usually influential persons, aksakals, volost officials, etc. appear as trusted figures from the clan of the murdered person before the sessions of the biis, and they count out a considerable share of the wergeld obtained for themselves, under the name of travel and other expenses (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz the wergeld is equal to 660 tillias. The receiver of the wergeld and his relatives to the third degree inclusive receive 300 tillias. He divides the remaining 300 tillias among the biis and other eminent persons, who are not related to him, because he fears their ill will "and they are used to receiving." The remaining 60 tillias go for the biilyk and various expenses. (Reported by bii Daniyar).

Everyone who has wounded or injured another is obliged, in addition to the exaction imposed by the court, to heal the injured person at his expense and to slaughter a ram to feed him. The doctor (taub) dresses the wound with the skin of this ram, and hits him on the wound with light blows, which constitutes a good sign (irim). For wounds and injuries which were unpremeditated or received in a dispute, only the healing and nursing must be paid. If the wounded person dies, /240/ a fine is exacted for the expenses of burial and memorial services, called "related wergeld" (karindas khun).

681 Wergeld is exacted in the following amounts for bodily
683 injuries:

Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a light wound by a knife - from atton to at bastagan toguz.	10-15 rubles.
For a heavy wound, but not mortal - tyuya bastagan toguz. According to Umurbek, the biis are not supposed to examine the case until the safety of the patient's position is cleared up.	Compensation for the cost of the sacrificial offering (sadaka), made by the relatives for recovery.
For a wound resulting in death - full wergeld.	Full wergeld.

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
If an agreement (bitim) was made for a certain sum because of a wound which seemed light, and it was entered into a document, and then the injured person died, the agreement is invalid and a suit is opened for full wergeld.	
For fighting with injury to a leg or arm, such that they cannot move about freely, no more than 100 rubles.	30-40 rubles. The Kirgiz call such an injury dzhansirek.
For a wound of the head (bas aryisa) - atton	/no entry/
For a wound of an arm or leg, with the loss of its use - 400 rubles.	Up to 300 rubles.
For the loss of both arms or both legs - full wergeld.	200 rubles.
/241/ For premeditated blinding of an eye - half the wergeld(1) and if it is the victim's only eye - full wergeld. According to Absalyamov, for blinding one or both eyes - 50 horses and 50 rams or 330 tillias.	six members (alty san): 2 eyes plus 2 arms plus 2 legs equals 600 tillias equals one wergeld. Each of these members 100 rubles.
1. At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, wergeld for a man's eye was established at 1000 rubles, and for a woman's eye at 500 rubles.	
For the injury of an eye, from 200 to 300 rubles (Perovsk uyezd).	/No entry/
For biting of the arm, 25 rubles (books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). According to Absalyamov, for mutilation of an arm or leg, as well as for the loss of these members, 165 tillias.	

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a finger cut off - one-tenth of the wergeld (Perovsk uyezd). According to Sagyndykov, also one-tenth of the wergeld, or 200 rubles, while for one joint-one-third of this sum, i. e., 66 rubles, 66 1/2 kopeks. Only for the joint of the thumb it is one-tenth of the wergeld = 200 rubles. This is because the thumb has only two joints, and the other fingers have three.	
For making crooked and for injury: 1) to the thumb - tyuya bastagan toguz (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds);	1) 30 rubles.
2) to the index finger - 2 attons, and according to Kunakbai - at bastagan toguz; 3) to the other fingers - for each, an atton or attay (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). According to Umurbek, it is the same for all fingers - tyuya bastagan toguz.	2) 5-10 rubles.
For knocking out a tooth, according to Sagyndykov, one-twentieth of the wergeld is paid, i. e., 100 rubles. /242/ If all the teeth are knocked out - the full wergeld. For each of the four upper and four lower front teeth (kurektis) at bastagan toguz is paid (Sultan Daulet Bushaev); Umurbek reports that an atton, or a horse, or only 8-9 rubles are paid; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid; According to Khudaykul, 25 rubles apiece; in the Kurama uyezd, for the front tooth of an old man, 17 tillias are paid. In the bii's books of the Chimkent uyezd, 20 tillias are paid for one front tooth.	If the tooth /242/ is broken in half by the blow -20-25 rubles. If an old man's tooth is broken by a blow - 4-5 rubles are paid.

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz 683 reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For eye teeth (akyl tis), according to Kunakbai, the same is paid as for front teeth.	The plaintiff must show a swelling of the gum (erin) to prove that the tooth was knocked out and did not fall out for another reason.
For each of the eye teeth and back teeth according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev an atton is paid or 50 rubles, according to Khudaykul - 10 tillias.	
For back teeth; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid or nothing.	
For pulling out a piece of the beard - atton and an apology.	Nothing.
For cutting off the whole beard with a knife - at bastagan toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev;	Nothing.
According to Umurbek, it is impossible to define it exactly, but less than for the loss of the nose, because a beard grows back.	
For injury of the ear or the nose - from tyuya bastagan toguz to three toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev according to Umurbek, 100-400 rubles, but less for an ear at any rate.	The loss of an ear (chunak - earless) is 20-30 rubles.
/243/ For a man's loss of one ear or both, or of the nose, 50 tillias, according to Absalyamov.	/No entry/
For loss of the genital organ - full wergeld.	Not recorded.

681 According to the report of Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov, the wergeld for the putting out of one eye in a man is determined as
683 50 mares, and for the putting out of both eyes at 100 mares. If an oath is imposed, it is required of one person in the case of one eye, and of two persons, in the case of both eyes. Otherwise the customary wergeld is: for one ear - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for 2 ears - 2 camels and 18 heads of livestock; for a nose - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for a tooth - 1 horse and 9 heads of livestock; for breaking or mutilating one arm or leg - 25 mares; the same of both arms and legs - 50 mares; for the mutilation of the genital organ - 100 mares, and if an oath is given, it falls upon two persons from the clan of the defendant. For the same mutilation of a woman, half this amount is paid.

According to Sagyndykov, if someone cuts off someone's tongue, or hits him with such cruel blows with a stick that the victim loses the ability to speak, or loses his reason, or else if he cuts off the nose or removes skin from a place where hair grows, namely, on the chin, the guilty person pays full wergeld.

681 Abortion, as well as miscarriage resulting from the blows of the husband, remains unpunished.

682 For miscarriage resulting from the will of an outside man, a fine is paid depending on the form, sex and size of the fetus, ranging from several camels to half the wergeld. If the fetus remained alive for some time, even wergeld is paid.

Half as much is paid for a fetus of female sex as for one of male sex.

If a betrothed girl who is pregnant from her legal bridegroom performs an abortion because of shame in front of her father and the people, the bridegroom, if he discovers it, can bring both the bride and the men and women who also took part in the abortion to strict accounting before the people's court, which takes the side of the groom (Kazalinsk uyezd).

/244/ If someone strikes a pregnant woman and stillbirth results from it, the guilty person pays 100 rubles as wergeld, and if the woman herself dies from the blows, which must be proved, the guilty person pays the full wergeld for a woman. But if a woman gives premature birth to a living child, as a result of blows of a stick, and the child dies only later, the full wergeld must be paid for the dead infant, if it is fully proven that the premature birth and the death of the newborn child were the result of the blows. Here the wergeld is paid depending on the sex of the infant. (Reported by Sagyndykov).

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

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It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which led to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. 685

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

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1. Among the Alagirtsy and Farsalag of the Vladikavkaz okrug, if a wife is caught with a lover, her husband cuts off her nose. Among the Kurtat and Tagaur peoples, the husband kills the adulterer who is caught (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, Pt. II, pp. 41-44).

and his own wife did not pay wergeld, while the murderer only of the former did pay wergeld. Taking the law into one's own hands exists even now. According to Lt. Colonel Pankratov, there was such a case during his service in the Chimkent uyezd. They placed a thief who was bound, on burning coals, and he was roasted there until the cords were burned through. A. E. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that an outlaw is bound with a lasso to the tail of a horse or a camel.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, before the coming of the Russians, they exacted a punishment 80 to 90 blows of the lash (durra) for adultery of a bachelor with the wife of another, and if he died under them, wergeld was not demanded. But if he was married, both he and the other's wife were killed, or else they threw the latter into a sack with /246/ a cover, or thrashed her in the sack with their feet. If she did not die after that, she was freed.

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Mutilation by court order and execution were practised only by the Kokandians. They were subjected to being torn apart by horses, being hung from a gallows, (1) being stoned to death (sarsan, in place of the Persian sengsar)

1. The informant had not heard of hanging two men from both sides of a camel, as it is stated in Makovetskii, I, p. 69.

of the Persian sengsar) - this last for incest and renouncing their religion(2)-

2. According to Staff Captain Grombchevskii, among the Kashgar Kirgiz the following types of tortures and lynchings exist: 1) they tie a cord around the head around the forehead, which they begin to tighten; 2) they bind the arms behind the back, and by twisting the rope draw the elbows and the shoulder bones together; 3) they throw the bound thief in front of the entrance to a sheep pen and let the sheep walk over him. The victim of this faints from pain.

and to being impaled on a stake (khada). (3)

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3. According to an eye-witness, the Kazakh Babaev, in the Kokand dominion, in Yany-Kurgan, the border point between Russia and the Kokand khanate, two Russian Kazakhs were impaled on a stake for some fault, in the following manner: they threw the criminal on the ground on his back. Then several men held him by the legs, while two thrust the sharpened end of a stake into him, 14 to 21 feet long and as thick as a man's arm. Then they lifted him into the air and fixed the stake in the ground. Some time later a Sart rode up and hit the two condemned men on the head with his Circassian saber. Both died during the night.

Among others, the following punishments existed earlier, according to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov: a) the guilty person was laid on the ground in the middle of the village with arms outstretched and face up, and his arms and legs were tied to stakes driven into the ground for that purpose, after which a herd of sheep was driven over him. The size of the herd depended on the degree of his fault. If the person subjected to such a punishment was crushed to death, his kinsmen received no wergeld. (4) b) Execution by cutting

4. According to the report of bii Sultan Kanaev, the driving of sheep over a criminal (ustinen koy aydaydy) happens only for theft from close relatives or adultery with close relatives, for example, persons of the same village. [685] [684]

off the head with a Circassian saber. Such a punishment took place with the consent of the sultan, and after the judgment of the offense by elders at a general council "maslyagat" (abbreviated: mastat).

* * *

He who is guilty of lack of respect for the fundamentals of the structure of the life, the clan, the family, etc., is subjected to the punishment of shaming, /247/ called "visiting of the people" (el aylantyrmak). They tie the guilty person's hands behind his back, smear his face with soot, put a cord around his neck or a piece of old felt (kurum) and lead him on foot around the village. One man drags him from in front, and from behind a rider drives him and beats him (Perovsk, Kazalinsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds and among the Kirgiz).

681 In the Kazalinsk uyezd, the shaming in addition to this consists of the person who has suffered telling publicly of the crime of the guilty party.

Among the Kirgiz, the guilty person is led three times around the village, with an old felt on his neck, and he is beaten and forced to say: "I committed such and such an act (men falan ish kyldym), and this is the punishment for it (dzhazal)". After this they place him in a pit to rot (churib ulib kitedi). This punishment was practised under the Kokand serkers for: 1) robbery, discovered at the moment of commission, even though done for the first time; 2) adultery with another man's wife, under the same circumstances; 3) lack of decorum before superiors. For incest it was customary to stone people (tashbaran).

681 The punishment for an unrestrained passion for stealing was formerly to confiscate all the property (kanau, uruganau). The house of such a thief (in the Auliye-Ata uyezd) was subjected to attack and looting (uyin chaub alyb malyń aldy), or he was given up to the Kokandians, who hung him. Now under such circumstances they establish a sentence to exile him in Siberia or to banish him (1) from

1. The ousted person, excluded from his family and clan and therefore deprived of the support and defense of his clan, is called abrek among the Cherkes. A murderer, for whom his clan did not pay the "blood price" was made abrek primarily. Among the Mongols, exiles who departed from their kinsmen's clan and confederation were called ölöt or sabsars (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev, pp. 359-61).

his milieu, saying: "We have banished him from our midst, we will be ruined because of his stealing. Let no one defend him in court (ichimizden chykarduk, kyuymeymiz urlygina, dauyn ich kim suramasun). After this the thief becomes homeless, and is not reckoned in any volost. (2)

2. Two decrees of banishment from the community are given in Supplement No. 7. 1

681 /248/ The withdrawal of the parental blessing from children exists. This takes place in this manner: The palms of the hands are pressed together and then pulled apart from each other three times.

1 [Not translated -- A]

4:Grodekov--222 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The withdrawal of trust (isenimsizdik) is not imposed by the 681
court but is a natural consequence of a crime. Every blameworthy misdemeanor is accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by a forfeiture of trust.

The Kazakhs, like the Kirgiz, did not betray criminals in their midst, for specific fines exist for crimes. But the Kirgiz sold criminals to the Kazakhs and vice versa, and also the Sarts sold them to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz for a ransom, i. e., a fine, the sum of which was not determined by custom but was designated arbitrarily. If the kinsmen could not pay the sum demanded, because of poverty, or did not wish to because of repeated stealing, this gave the right to kill the criminal.

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/249/ Entering a tent.

To ride past the doors of a tent (aldynan yuru) and not behind 596
it, is considered impolite. If a newcomer stops only at the very doors, having already passed two panels / reshetki / of the tent (yeki kanat kerege), they say to him scornfully: What do you think you are, a chief?

It is necessary to stop and tie the horse behind the tent, and then to call the masters with the words: Syuyles! Adam barma? (I wish to begin a conversation; is the master here?). But this custom is now observed less strictly.

If a horse tied up in front of a tent kicks a child, a fine is paid [672
of 1/4 the value of the horse, i. e., 5 rubles (because the leg is one of four extremities), while if the child is killed, a full wergeld is paid. But if the horse kicked it behind the tent, the fault is laid to the child which went back there. Even if the horse kicked it to death, only the value of the horse would be exacted, or if there were aggravating circumstances which were the fault of the horse's owner - 1/2 a wergeld.

Entering a tent in the absence of the owners (otagasy) by one who is not a relative, is not regarded as nice. He is reminded of the fact that in case of loss the suspicion will fall on the person who has entered.

Unfastening the doors (of reeds - esik, of wooden folds - ergenek) in the absence of the owners is regarded as an act which

576 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

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The support of the poor.

735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold,
732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

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Clergy and schools.

346 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

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tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure. 796

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people. 871

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year. 875

The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided. 793 875

They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (chubti buzbaydy). 627

/252/ Wagers

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The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

525 stake (tiku) must be paid to the winner, for the conditions of a wager are inviolable (chirt kaytpaydy). If they staked a sister and she is ashamed to marry because of a lost wager, then her kalym can be paid in her place, or tyuya bastagan toguz, often equalling the value of a kalym (Turgai). In the Kurama uyezd they dispute about an object seen at a distance, for 2-3 rubles. Bii Sultan Kanaev compares wagers to games of chance, for example, cards, which incidentally are known only to urban Kazakhs.

Kukbure.

526 They put on kukbure (they skin the kid) on joyous occasions (1)

1. According to the Kazakhs, in Bukhara kukbure takes place also on mournful occasions.

such as escorting the daughter with her bridegroom, the arrival of the bride at her father's house, the birth and the circumcision of a son, Moslem holidays and the arrival of a welcome guest.

The person arranging the entertainment throws the kukbure, i.e., a kid or another young animal on the ground, with its head cut off. Those participating in the game bend over without sliding off the horse, and one of them lifts the kid up and races away, while the others chase him, take it away from each other, and beat each other /perebivaiut/. Outsiders who see the game from a distance, mount their horses and take part in it. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A Kazakh steppe beggar of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii./1/ /253/ The victor is he who succeeds in carrying the kid to some village where he throws it before the tent of the person whom he wishes to honor. This man, in his turn, either gives a kerchief or skull cap, etc., for the kid, or gives a new kid for the continuation of the game.

1 [Not reproduced -- A.]

Bayga.

The bayga is arranged primarily in the autumn, when the livestock are fatter, the people are free of work and provisions are cheap. Among the Kazakhs, occasions for the bayga are escorting a bride, the birth of a son, funerals and memorial services; among the Kirgiz it is only the latter occasion.

The bayga differs from the kukbure in that they race in only one direction all the way to a certain goal or sign, and the first to reach the goal receives prizes. The bayga cannot be without a prize (oldzha).

The goal consists of a stone or clay curbstone (chartak, sure, belgi) or else of a tomb itself (mola).

Both invited persons and univited take part in a bayga. (1)

1. Uninvited persons have free access to all celebrations of the Kazakhs. They invite people the day before saying: "Come tomorrow with the people (el menen)"

The distance can be 2, 4, or 6 tash, (2) in keeping with the

2. A tash = 8 versts /5 1/4 miles/.

value of the prizes established, and the quality of the race horses.

First of all they go to the point of departure quietly (yelib baradу) with 2-4 conductors (aydauchi) who are armed with sticks in order to prevent the racers from starting at the wrong time. When they have reached the place, which was determined in advance, everyone is given a short rest, and then after a signal (bata) by the conductors of alla akbar, "God is great", they are all allowed to race at once back along the same path by which they have come. /254/ An hour after the departure of the race horses, the three year old foals (kunan) depart in the same order, but for a shorter distance (for example, 2 tash instead of 6 tash). The kunans arrive much sooner than the race horses, and therefore the prizes for the kunans especially are less valuable.

When the audience sees the race horses at a distance, the owners of the race horses ride out to meet them and encourage them (kuterme) and accompany them to the goal.

Those who reach the goal throw their skull caps, fur hats and in general what they have on their heads before the person who stands on the curbstone or tomb and gives out prizes. After all the race horses have arrived, these objects serve as proof that the goal has been reached.

If 20 race horses participate, only 7 prizes are designated. If there are 100 or 200 race horses, then there are 20 or 30 prizes. The first to reach the goal receives the highest prize, the second the next, etc. The prize can consist of livestock, long coats, pieces of matting and money. If the first prize is a horse, the last is often a goat or a kid. If the first prize is 100 heads of livestock, the last is 10 heads. They say that in the Auliye-Ata uyezd, Yamankul at the funeral of his father gave a prize of 1000 rubles, and a year later at the mem-

orial service he again arranged a bayga. In Chirchik, Taylibai gave several prizes, of which the first was 4 camels and 100 rubles in money. They reached the goal only on the second day.

According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev, the first prize is often tyuya bastagan toguz, consisting of a camel, a sealskin, a long brocade coat, a horse, a long coat, a sheep, a lamb, a goat, a kid. The second prize is not nine objects but a smaller number. The last prize is often a long coat. Where guests belonging to various clans take part in the races, the competition is seen not as a competition of individuals but of clans. The prize is received not by the victor, but his clan, which divides the prize among its members, or else gives it out to the remaining clans. For this reason the war cries of their clans are shouted in a bayga.

/255/ The following rules exist for races.

For the loss or death of a race horse, occurring during a race, it is customary to pay the losses without a fine. They evaluate the horse, and if they know that so and so much was given for it, and the owner demanded so and so much, they take the average between these. An owner who does not agree with this evaluation can present an oath from his clan on the justice of his own evaluation. The owner of the horse, taking into account that the same thing would have happened to it if he had been riding it himself, can agree to receive the prize won by this horse, instead of its value. The prize is adjudged by the biis, instead of the value of the horse, in a case where the horse dies immediately after reaching the goal, and not on the next day. However they can also sentence the payment of the value of the horse and beyond that a certain part, either one-third or one-fourth of the prize won (Torgai).

If two horses reach the goal at the same time, the prize can be divided in half. In case this is not agreed to, both horses are allowed to make a second run, and the first to reach the goal receives the entire prize, and the second receives the next prize following the other.

They do not have hired jockeys, and young men from among the kinsmen and acquaintances are allowed to race the horses. If one of the riders in the race dies, the owner of the horse gives his relatives the race horse with the prize it won instead of wergeld, and bears the expenses of the funeral. But if the owner of the horse does not wish to satisfy the relatives of the deceased in this way, they can demand wergeld on the assumption that he can never prove by witnesses or by oath that the death took place without people being at fault. If a boy offers to race himself and is killed during

the race, wergeld is not paid.

At Kirgiz funerals they arrange single combat, called seis. Two young men (batyr) on good horses, armed with spears, try to push each other out of the saddle and down on the ground. Sometimes two women fight each other in this way. The victor receives a prize: 9 animals /256/ (tyuya bastagan toguz) among the rich, and 5 or 3 animals among the poor. The winner of the prize does not divide it with anyone.

Wergeld is not paid for death or mutilation in this competition.

Burials and memorial services.

A man who dies (1) during the night or in the morning is buried

1. The custom entered in the Budagov dictionary, under the word zhyrtu, that the Kazakhs tear the clothing of the dying person in order to relieve the agony, is not known among the local Kazakhs.

on the next day. One who dies in the evening is buried in the morning. In general the burial takes place as soon as all the close relatives gather for the ritual of the burial.

The deceased is usually carried on a litter of tent panels, /kerege/ if the grave is nearby and on a camel if it is far away.

Before the corpse is placed in the earth a prayer (iskat, pid"ya, daur, daur aylantyrady) is read. They give an animal to the mullahs to be divided among them and they also give to one of the poor people present, who is called mustakhikk (Perovsk uyezd).

According to the communication of Torgai, immediately after the corpse has been washed, they lead a camel up to it from the right side, and throw the bridle over the corpse to the mullah, who is sitting on the other side, saying to him: "We have designated you for the cleansing of sins by prayer (namazning kafaratiga seni koydyk). Do you take upon yourself the sins of the deceased for not performing (kaza) the prayer five times daily?" The mullah answers three times that he takes it, and receives a camel or a horse. This ritual can be carried out at first with a camel, then with a horse, a bull, finally with a ram. When they have no mullah, this ritual, called daur, is carried out by a kinsman.

After this the ritual of burial (dzhanaza) is carried out, for which /257/ the imam receives a sheep or another reimbursement. For reading the Koran after the funeral the mullah again receives a

764 gift. Praying with beads the mullah turns back one bead for every year of life, excluding the first 13 years of life, for a person does not commit sins until he is thirteen (gunaga batpaydy). Nothing is cooked in the house of the deceased person for five days, according to Mikebai, or 3 days, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd. The neighbors provide this house with food.

765 The kinsmen slaughter an animal and give a feast on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day and on the anniversary of the death. On the seventh day the clothing of the deceased is given to the person who washed the body. Now on the advice of the mullahs, as Mikebai thinks, they have begun to give them on the day of the death.

764 Among the Kirgiz the married daughter comes to the funeral with her husband and father -in-law. If they live far away, they appear a month later. Their horses are tied up by outside persons of the village of the deceased. They say a prayer, like "God is great, may He have mercy" (Alla akbar rakhmet kylsyn). At the funeral they arrange a bayga but not kukbure. If the deceased was an old man, they also give out yirtich. The rich even give a long coat to each related lineage (uru). No food is cooked in the tent of the deceased for three days. The food is brought by the neighbors. If they wish to cook before the three days have elapsed, they must move the tent, even though it be for a short distance. Otherwise the angel of death [776] Azrail suffocates the deceased, and from this the tent becomes stained with blood and polluted (makrukh). The memorial service on the 765 seventh day is called khatmi kuran (the full reading through of the Koran). They slaughter an animal. The memorial service on the fortieth day is called kyrkach, and for this they slaughter a sheep or a mare. The memorial service on the anniversary of the death is called chungach (great feast). They slaughter many animals, arrange a bayga, throw a black kerchief into the fire and the black clothing of the widow, allowing her to marry. (1)

1. According to a communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, a black kerchief is set out on the tent of the deceased person for the course of a year.

764 /258/ Not all widows know how to lament, (1) and for this

1. When something is denied, they use the saying, taken from the denial of the wives of knowing how to lament: "I do not know laments; let the woman who knows laments have

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her husband die" (yilaudy bil'meymen, yilau bil'gen khatynnyng bayi ul'sin).

reason wailing women (yilauker khatyn) are invited to the funeral. This woman never sits on the ground but on a bed or on something else. She supports herself with both hands at her sides and leans her body forward. Among the Kirgiz she must sit on the ground turning her back to the door. She leans her left arm on her left leg which is bent under, while the sole of her right foot is on the ground. The elbow of her right arm is on the knee of her right leg, supporting her cheek. Her lament concerns the activity, trade and wealth of the deceased. The woman who weeps for her husband wears a black kerchief on her head (kara yaulyk). A woman who weeps for another man, for example, for her son, wears a white kerchief. (2)

2. There are laments (zhylau) in Supplement No. 9.

1 [Not translated - A]

The kinsmen of a wealthy man spend up to 1000 tillias for the regalement of the people at the funeral and memorial services (assu, asatau). The poor spend less, depending on their means, but it is impossible to dispense with this ritual for shame before the people.

According to I. I. Ibragimov, (3) there are never sumptuous 765

3. "Ocherki byta kirgizoz" /Studies of the life of the Kazakhs/, Drevniaia i Novaia Rossiia, 1877, No. 9, p. 51.

memorial services for a woman. However, Torgai arranged a memorial service lasting three days with bayga for his grandmother (ul'kun sheshem). Although memorials come at all times of the year, they are often more gala (ul'kun as) in the autumn.

Poor people, arranging modest memorials (kichkine as), send a messenger (shakyrushi) on the very day of the memorial and invite people only for one day. Bayga can be arranged for this day, and a combat before the arrival of the race horses. A singer (dzhirchi) who is invited or comes of his own accord does not sing during the day, but only in the evening and at night.

The rich announce the event earlier and let people know the name of the place /259/ where the village is to be found, the day of the uchakkazu, on which it is customary to "dig hearths"; the day of malsoyu, on which they will slaughter; the day of as beru or batasynoku, on which there will be a feast and prayer, and finally the day of atchabu, the day of the races. In the summer each guest

765 tries to bring the best kumys /mare's milk/. The kinsmen bring gifts, aza. Tents are set up for the guests, 50 to 100 steps from the village, one for every lineage, since only the best people from each lineage come and spend the night. Those who do not find a place in the tent come in by turns for the regalement. At the memorials all the things of the deceased are hung up in the tent on ropes: clothing, saddle, whip, gun, as the appurtenance of mourning (tuldab kaydy), while the widow sits on a bed with her hair loose, surrounded by lamenting women. (According to I. I. Ibragimov and Torgai). They play on the zurna /type of oboe/ at memorials among the Kirgiz.

[764] A traveler who dies on the road is buried by passers by with a short prayer. If the kinsmen find the body of their relative, already decomposed, they scrape away the flesh with a knife, collect the bones in a sack, and carry them home, wash them, close them in a shroud, and bury them according to the ritual (Perovsk uyezd).

765 Guests who are returning from a funeral are called syuyakchi, in distinction from ordinary travelers (yulauchi). There is a larger 682 fine imposed for harm of syuyakchi. If the attacker denies his attack, but there were other witnesses of this fact, for example, witnesses from among the other syuyakchi, the attack is then accepted as proof of guilt in the murder of the deceased, and no oath is required. But if the defendant does not deny the attack but does deny the murder, then an oath is customarily imposed on this matter.

However if there is no suspicion of murder and if the attacker does not succeed in taking anything and does not inflict any wounds, there is no suit on a general basis (Torgai).

According to bii Sultan, in case of only one attack without any other evidence, this cannot serve as proof of guilt of murder.

765 /260/ In the Perovsk uyezd the syuyakchi each bring a vessel (sava) of kumys with them to the funeral feast. Before their departure horse fat (kacy, kyuyumshak) is placed in their empty vessels, with the words: "so that your vessels will not be returned empty" (savangyz kuru kaytpasyn).

The host of the funeral celebration takes the role of a guest himself, giving the presiding place at the feast (zhyinding biiligi) to an aksakal or bii kinsman. The cooking and serving of the food is taken on by one young kinsman who is called tavakshi.

The graves of different clans are placed in the cemeteries (mazar, kurum).

The cemeteries are located on hills and high places with firm ground, where water from snow cannot destroy the graves. Over the

graves of the rich they build cells with a cupola and small minarets, with an enclosure. The clan brands are often carved on the tombstones.

The graves are usually visited on Thursday. When they reach home, they order the reading of the Koran.

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1. In part directly collected by A. A. Divaev; in part borrowed from the chrestomathy of Liutsh and from Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia/Materials for the Statistics of the Turkestan Region/ (Pt. II, the article of I. I. Ibragimov).

1) He who has the khan as his protector does not think of riding around the country in a boat.

2) You cannot cover the mouths of the people with a sieve.

3) When the population is sparse, pigs get to the top.

4) An insult inflicted by an outsider is easier to bear than one received from one's own.

5) If a bad man is given power, the stick will never go away from your head.

6) If you have a good mallet you will even hammer a felt stake into the ground.

7) Every scholar has his mistake.

8) Oh! Even if I had millet and salt I would boil kasha, but it is unfortunate that there is no butter.

9) If you have not seen water, do not take off your boots.

10) Shame the miser for his generosity.

11) The wind smashes mountains and stones, while man is damaged by calumny.

12) He who has not experienced misfortune cannot appreciate tranquility.

13) A good youth never gives away a secret.

14) To entrust an affair to a fool means to lose the end of the thread.

15) Do not expect good from mankind.

16) A person with black ancestors is not whitened by washing; a born fool cannot be corrected by teaching.

/262/17) He who speaks at the wrong time dies without being ill. (1)

1. I.e., it is necessary to be cautious in conversation, for one word spoken in excess can lead a man to ruin.

18) While the ax is getting ready to chop down, the tree rests.

19) If you make a friendship with a good man, your name resounds far and wide, but if you do it with a bad one, you receive kicks in the sides.

20) What is heard by two will become known to seven (2) parts

2. By ancient story, there exist 7 parts of the world.

of the world.

21) The master of golden deeds knows the value of gold.

22) The lord is the sun, alike for all.

23) Words which have passed through thirty teeth, go out to thirty clans.

24) If you meet a good youth with bread and salt, he will glorify your head with good.

25) The horse gets fat from good grass, the deceased from the lines read from the Koran, the highly placed from flattery.

26) A dog brings help, but a woman misery.

27) The person who has eaten his fill says that karty(3) has a bad smell.

3. Karty is fat horse intestines, considered by the Kazakhs to be the most delicious dish. [262]

28) The tops of the shrubs do not move until the wind blows.

29) The hungry child does not play with the full one.

30) You do not drain a lake by dipping from it with a spoon; you do not destroy a population by stealing.

31) A hint to the good man, a stick to the bad.

32) A population living in agreement does not become corrupt; clothing well sewn does not wear out.

33) A country which has no elder is like a body without a head.

/263/ 34) A bull with cow's horns does not have strength; a cow with bull's horns does not have milk.

35) Do no pursue something you will not overtake; do not grumble over something which was not fated for you to receive.

36) Words are born from words. If there is no talk, then where can they be born?

37) A good man does not meditate about giving away to the lowest. A brave man does not calculate the large numbers of the enemy.

38) A man who has a woman's voice is not capable of marital life.

39) The ignoramus does not see his own fault, but notices the faults of others.

40) He who trusts in God flies like a bird, and he who relies on his horse will fall off it unexpectedly.

41) A just ruler resembles the early spring, and an unjust one resembles the winter.

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42) An unlearned person is like a canal without water, and a a learned one is like a river.

43) A woman without a conscience is like food without salt. A young man without decorum is similar to a horse without a bridle.

44) A false word destroys the truth.

45) A bad man is usually evil-intentioned, a good one is usually well-grounded.

46) If you are honorable, do not make friends with a rogue.

47) Without death, the heart does not come out.

48) A wise enemy is better than a stupid comrade.

49) When a little bird is driven mad, it flies in chase after the golden eagle.

50) A fish lives by water.

51) When the dog grows fat he eats the owner.

52) Uzbek, be careful; do not call your neighbor a thief.

53) Water is muddied from the top.

54) It is better to walk than to ride on a bad horse; /264/ it is better to be a bachelor than to marry a bad woman.

55) A home with children is a bazaar, but without children a mazar. (1)

1. A grave.

56) The raven plays with the hawk and incurs death.

57) You will not overtake something by speed, but that which is fated will not go away.

58) Do not consider a good man an outsider, do not call a bad man one of your own.

59) A Sart becomes rich and builds a house. A Kazakh becomes rich and takes wives.

60) Around rivers they do not dig wells.

61) Where there is food, you will also find a kettle. Where there is a soul in the body you will also find peace.

62) What is seen with the eyes is true, what is heard with the ears is a lie.

63) Without time it does not grow light, the spirit does not leave before death.

64) The people are not spoiled under a just ruler.

65) Count the days after the month, and the months after the year.

66) All the stars taken together do not equal the brightness of the moon; all the poor people do not equal one rich man.

67) The rich man boasts - and he finds; the poor man boasts - and he is ruined.

68) Do not say that the enemy is not here - he is under the cliff. Do not say that there is no wolf - he is under the cap.

69) Drive the kachagan (2) to the cliff /yar/, hunt the naked

2. A skittish horse which is difficult to catch is called kachagan.

in the snow.

70) Daughter, I speak to you; My daughter-in-law, you listen. (3)

3. I.e., the daughter-in-law should make note of the remarks made by the father to his daughter.

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71) Do not avoid a good man, do not bring a bad man near you.

72) The good man has no enemy; the bad man has no peace.

/265/73) Do not boast that you have a brother, if he is unreasonable.

74) If a black race horse is weary, it is hard for him to make a crow's step.

75) If the luster of black eyes is extinguished, noon will seem like night.

76) Even if he does speak nonsense, he is the son of a rich man.

77) Of what use is wealth, if there is no good in it. Of what use is it to be a bek, if you are not just.

78) Do not undertake the impossible, do not fight with an athlete.

79) No matter how much you beg, a bad man will not forgive; No matter how straight it is, a bad knife will not cut.

80) Stupid people do not hear moral teachings.

81) Do not say that a wedge is small /Ne govori, shto babka baran'ia (malen'kaia)/ but make it if possible a hammer /matkoi/ (i. e., the thing with which you strike). (1)

1. I. e., do not say he is young if he is intelligent, but recognize him as an elder.

82) Two fools do not consititute a village; a dog, no matter how many pups it has, will not be milked.

83) A truly generous person does not boast of giving; the hero does not go back on his given word.

84) A stupid friend who thinks he is bringing help does not notice himself that he is only doing harm.

85) The first word of an Uzbek penetrates stone, while the last departs on the wind.

86) Do not always confide in your secret friend, for your friend also has a friend, to whom he also relates things.

87) When the eagle becomes old, it becomes a mouse-catcher.

88) Two stupid envoys who wish to bring four persons to one opinion proceed to cause six disagreements at the same time.

89) If you plead with a good man, he will forgive you; if you plead with a bad one, he will be proud, thinking you are a coward.

/266/ 90) If God wishes to chastise a rich man, he will send him on a baranta. If God whishes to chastise a mare, she will miscarry her foal.

91) Even if you push your own child he will not go away, but even if you chain a strange child, you cannot hold him.

92) It is better to marry a girl of good descent, unseen, than to marry a beauty you have seen.

93) The clever man makes a match with a clever one, but not a year passes and the matchmaking is upset.

94) The tricks of the rider /dzhigit/ reflect on the bek; the tricks of the wife on the husband.

95) The daughter is at home but her behavior is on the outside.

96) If two good men are united, they flow together like tin. If two fools begin to talk they will fly into a passion, like a flame.

97) When you talk with a good person - you become cheerful; when you talk to a bad person - you disagree.

98) If two wise persons talk, an unfinished affair is finished. If two fools talk, then a finished affair is completely ruined.

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99) A young man of good descent stands out in a crowd.

100) Bow to the ground before one who bows, but before one who is haughty, lift your head up to the sky.

101) No matter where the raven flies, it will be worse than the falcon.

102) From a good man you do not hear bad words, and from a bad man you do not hear good words.

103) A magpie is better than a bad hawk.

104) A good man avoids no one, while a bad man approaches no one.

105) To a just bii there are no kinsmen, but to a shifty one there is no religion.

106) A bad hawk serves as food to the magpie.

/267/107) Even if its mane and tail are thick, do not allow a young stallion into a drove of fillies which has one stallion; even if the father of the bride is rich, do not marry the daughter of a man who is not of good descent.

108) Abuse is not smoke, the eyes do not smart.

109) He who knows how to suck from two mothers, sucks.

110) If you esteem your host, throw a bone to the dog also.

111) If the wife of a rich man dies, the bedding will be renewed, but if the wife of a poor man dies, his head becomes giddy.

112) Fear him who does not fear God; but do not fear him who fears God.

113) A sharp knife is useful for the hands, but harmful to the scabbard.

114) Who does not have relatives and friends? But there is less sharing from them than from a stranger.

115) The dog barks but the caravan moves.

116) If you raise a scrawny animal and caress it, your nose and mouth will be in butter; but if you raise a bad man, your nose and mouth will be in blood.

117) A good man knows the value of a good thing; a bad one cannot know the value of a good thing.

118) Can a gray goose swimming in the water appreciate the charm of dry land? Can a great bustard living in the steppe know the worth of a lake?

119) Even an angel will move out of the way when he sees gold.

120) He who gives birth to a good son kindles a fire, and he who gives birth to a bad son will be bitten by dogs even on a camel.

121) The beauty is not the woman who is beautiful but the woman you love.

122) He who is raised by his father will plane arrows, and he who is raised by his mother will make a long coat.

123) Salute for forty days him whom you have fed for one day.

/268/ 124) Two sheep's heads will not fit into one kettle.

125) What is received is fortune, but what is given away is misfortune.

126) There are targets in a frightened eye.

127) If your mouth is burned, you will drink and blow on it.

128) Where the horse has wallowed, hairs remain.

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129) Even the worst man praises his child.

130) The raven does not scratch out the eyes of another raven.

131) Take care and you will not be humbled.

132) The man who has seen much is experienced, not the man who has many years.

133) Respect yourself as a stranger does, so that strangers will respect you as well.

134) When gold is in the hand, it has no value.

135) A live mouse is better than a dead lion.

136) An athlete comes from a mother, a horse from a mare.

137) If you are to fall, fall from a dromedary. (1)

1. That is, from a great height.

138) The people is holy.

139) Two newly-weds have only one wish.

140) If there is grief, go to the khan, but if you are hungry, go to the rich man.

141) Sickness comes from food, and a lawsuit from relatives.

142) Your own opinion is enough for yourself.

143) The hand does not leave the place that itches; you cannot break away from the words of the person you love.

144) A beautiful woman cannot fail to be a loose woman.

145) He who has tasted can differentiate between fresh and bitter; he who has traveled at a trot can differentiate far from near.

146) Who respects me is close to me.

147) The revenge of a good man continues until /269/ a silk kerchief dries out, but the revenge of a bad man continues until the head (of the adversary) bows to the ground.

148) Do not ask for something when people are crying, but ask when they are laughing.

149) A saber does not go with a pedestrian; wealth does not go with a poor man.

150) If a golden saddle is tiring to the horse, take it off and burn it.

151) Who sees much becomes wiser, but who talks much becomes more voluble.

152) There is no land without a mountain; there is no people without a sultan.

153) A slave is not he who is born of a slave woman but he who behaves badly.

154) If you pursue a coward even he will become brave.

155) Pain from saddle straps is known by the horse, not the owner; the worth of a rider /dzhigit/ is known not to himself but to strange people.

156) If two fools make an agreement, God grant that they remain alive.

157) Dark night has no eyes.

158) He who is satiated does not understand the hungry man, and the healthy person does not understand the sick one.

159) God has no livestock which he pastures; he takes from one and gives to another.

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160) A slave, to whom God wishes to give, will take something on the road itself; but a thief will steal the last horse from the slave to whom God does not wish to give.

161) A thorn is unpleasant to bare feet.

162) A lost animal cannot be blamed if it returns to its former place.

163) In a man, the eyes are in front, and the faults in the back.

/270/164) There is no enemy stronger than a wife; she is imperceptible - and lies in embrace.

165) The knife that is lost has a golden hilt; the lost cow gave much milk.

166) Horses recognize each other by neighing; people know each other by talking together.

167) One hair is silver, the next a horsehair in the tail of a race horse.

168) A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea; it is easier for the former to perish from his own stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief.

169) If you do not have a dependable shepherd, go to the sheep yourself.

170) In 15 years, the tents become the master.

171) The great are not great, but he whom the heart loves is great; The good are not good, but he whom the heart loves is good.

172) If a guest stops once, it is good, but if he stops twice, it means hunger.

173) No one is without sin except God Himself.

174) The Kipchaks do not always appear when they are called to help. God does not always help when there is wailing.

175) All Uzbeks have the same origin.

176) Even a giant flees from a gypsy (i. e., a wanderer).

177) The bad and the good man are equal once after death (i. e., their wergeld is the same), and a second time during life (i. e., abuse can touch them both equally).

178) The goose hisses, the scabby man /parshivyi/ breaks wind.

179) The bottom of the kettle burst, the scabby man broke wind.

180) They put a kettle on the scabby man's head. The kettle burst, and he broke wind.

181) A hare fled at the foot of that mountain. I grew hungry as I chased him. After I returned I ate only mutton and quenched my thirst by looking at girls. (1)

1. This proverb is used when a young man falls into the company of girls.

/271/ 182) Thirty ducks and one crane scratch the ground when they settle. (1)

1. This proverb is used jokingly about a scabby man who combs his hair.

183) My scabby one! My scabby one! Do not curl your hair. And if they hit you once on the shoulder, do not turn around backwards.

184) In the grass is kekere /a type of grass/, in the grass is kekere, and from the kekere grass a rabbit jumps out who has eaten his fill. (2)

2. This is said of a miserly man who, like the rabbit, eats himself and does not give to others.

185) A bad relative is worse than a stranger.

186) If your padishah is just, you have plenty of land, grass and water.

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187) Who does not drink kumys, who does not court a girl?

188) It is not shameful to speak with superiors. If your jokes are pleasing, then joke with your father. (3)

3. This is said in justification when reprimanded for joking with superiors.

189) Agreements are not valid between enemies (everything is allowed).

190) From a good man his name remains, from a bad man the wailing remains (of his cruelty).

191) Contributions set the guests on their horses, helpers turn the enemies away in flight. (4)

4. That is, the more people there are in a village, the more they regale guests, and the better they repulse their enemies.

192) Bad lives with good everywhere. When good lives with good, what sort of life is that?

193) In an unseen people, there are unheard of things. (5)

5. They say this about the reports of travelers.

/272/194) Of a thousand words, one word holds conviction; after thirty days of fasting there is one holiday; after forty years of baranta, there is one day of reconciliation.

195) The key to what is begged for is in heaven. (1)

1. Said when it is difficult to beg something from a miser.

196) Do not set your (hunting) bird on a tree. Do not let your affair depend on a bad man.

197) An orphan's property dries seven rivers (i. e., it is dangerous to misuse it).

198) A woman without brains is like a frog without a tail.

199) Do not feel sorry for an orphan. An orphan is "siger kutingdi" (i. e., never expect gratitude from an orphan).

200) If you are sharpening something, steel cuts, if you are begging, a good man forgives /debts/.

201) Do not fear the man whose exterior is attractive.

202) He who misuses something entrusted to him will be punished in the future.

203) There is no haughtiness in a good man, and no gravity in a bad one.

204) A hungry dog eats his strap. Birds love height. A good man leaves a good memory, a bad man leaves a bad one.

205) The mullah reads what he sees. The raven pecks what he sees.

206) Whoever does not value the worth of a husband does not know the union of God.

207) The pure-hearted sweats a great deal. (2)

2. That is, he takes care of his friends.

208) It is better to hit the man they are giving a gift to, than to ask him if he wants the gift.

209) With a shameless man a holiday lasts six days; with a man without relations it lasts seven.

210) Praise sustains, a bad testimonial kills.

/273/ 211) If they come to you, forgive, even sacrificing the wergeld of your father.

212) When they come to your house, even if you have a claim as big as a house, do not speak of it.

539 213) A blow with a stick returns with a stick (i. e., an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth).

214) Fighting and quarreling is an ancient custom.

215) In fifty years a people renews itself. A hundred years transform /them/ into dust.

216) A stone full of holes will not remain on the ground.(1)

1. This is said in relation to the fact that a girl will always marry.

217) From many, one is taken as a sacrifice. (2)

2. This is said if someone is sent as a spy or an envoy, risking his life.

218) It is not really summer until the Besh-Toguz month begins.

219) If you are good, the place of a man will always be found for you.

220) For one man, two men are God. (3)

3. That is, two men are stronger than one man.

221) The body (4) is respected among acquaintances, the clothing

4. That is, the man himself.

among strangers.

222) There is nothing shameful about health. (5)

5. This is used in the sense that it is not reprehensible to guard the health.

223) It is not shameful to get lost, as long as you can find your house again.

224) From death there is no ransom.

225) He who is not fated to die will not even die of hunger.

226) Calling to prayer is the buisiness of the mullah.

/274/ 227) A horse which is fed will not grow thin.

228) As long as the wise man thinks the thought, the foolish one will already carry out the deed.

229) For the insane no rules exist.

230) He who trusts in God will not be despised. Slaves who trust in God will not be subjected to any grief.

231) If your go out, trusting in God, you will return with fortune.

232) If God wishes to give to his slave, he will accumulate from everywhere; if God does not wish to give to his slave, then thieves will steal his last horse.

233) Better a man with a copper head than a woman with a golden head.

234) A spying friend is worse than an enemy living far away.

235) Nearness and distance are known by the traveler, bitter and sweet are known by the person who has tasted them.

236) The mother's heart (yearns) for the child, the child's heart (yearns) for the steppe.

237) When you choose a girl, look at the mother; when you choose sacking, look at the length; when you choose a hawk look at its whiteness.

238) What failed to come in with the mother's milk will not enter with calf's milk (that is, never).

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239) Who does not understand what he says will also die without pain.

240) An unscrupulous mullah can plunder a stupid people.

241) The back wheel of the cart will pass where the front wheel went.

242) When the mane of a lean horse improves, he will not allow fur to be fastened to his flank; when a poor man's flock increases, he will not allow others to nomadize with him, and if he does, he gives them no peace.

/275/243) To a lean horse, there is a whip in a burden.

244) It is not the person who ate who knows but the one who minced it (cooked it).

245) He who hastens will not bring his deed to its end. A prudent man does not lose his horse.

246) He who does not hasten will overtake the hare even in a wagon.

247) He who does not listen to his father will not live fortunately for long.

248) Do not drive your horse with the whip, drive it with food.

249) If you drive your horse only with the whip, you will walk on foot.

250) When a horse becomes emaciated, it is fit for a tulak; (1)

1. A tulak is a horse hide, used in place of felt.

when a man becomes thin, he goes for a visit.

251) The foal goes according to the tracks of the horse.

252) He who has not seen a horse will ride it to death.

253) If your horse is bad you can free yourself by selling it. If your wife is bad, how can you free yourself?

254) He who never stops prattling to no purpose, will not be able to find a word at a wedding (where it is necessary to improvise verses).

255) He who is afraid of the bear does not go into the woods.

256) If you are rich, be self-righteous; if you are poor, be obliging.

257) It is impossible to dispute with the rich; it is impossible to fight with a tree.

258) The affair of the rich man commands, the affair of the poor man toils.

259) Children! Everything done by children is done by half.

260) It is not fitting for a son to teach his father.

261) It is possible to say "honey, honey", but there will be no taste on the lips.

/276/ 262) He who has eaten honey, licks his fingers.

263) He who is afraid of baranta will not be a herder.

264) Be satisfied with what there is; bear up patiently if something is lacking.

265) Where there is an originator, an imitator will appear also.

266) He is God who gave his head (life) and will also give food.

267) Only let the head be unharmed, and another cap will be found.

268) To the one who gives, five seems much, while to the one who receives, six seems little.

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269) Do not look at the face of him, to whom you give.

270) Do not grumble about what has not been given, do not throw away what has been given.

271) Do not make the giver ashamed of a gift.

272) If you give you will receive; if you sow, you will reap.

273) For one horse two bridles are not needed.

274) After every starvation satiety follows.

275) Two mice do not live in harmony in the ground (under the tent) of one master.

276) Two feet do not fit in one boot.

277) It is not worth cooking two grains of wheat in one kettle.

278) A whole skin of oil is spoiled by only one small bit of excrement. One good man leads a thousand after him.

279) To him who has given food one day, forty days (should be given) salaam (greeting).

280) You are born in a day; you will die in one day.

281) In one tenga /coin/ there is no mare, in two tengas there is no camel. He who yearns for a stranger's welfare will not keep his own.

282) If you bite one of five fingers, all five will hurt equally.

/277/283) Ignorance frees one from a thousand misfortunes.

284) When angered by lice, do not throw your clothing into the fire.

285) One speaks for the head, the other for the ear.

286) A bachelor's sense is in both his eyes.

287) When it is cloudy it will rain; when it is clear it will be hot. Only a stupid man can forget the place where he was born and grew up.

288) The words of the ancients are never useless.

289) It is better for a foal to outstrip its own village than for a horse to outstrip a strange village.

290) It is better to be a shepherd in one's own clan than emperor of a strange people.

291) Food which is borrowed breaks the teeth, but it goes in.

292) He who has an infirmity has no force.

293) Of friends there are two, and of enemies eight.

294) A friend says stop crying; an enemy will say stop laughing.

295) Do not keep account with a friend but eat your food together.

296) My friend is well-disposed toward me, and my affair goes well.

297) If you allow your enemy to make peace with you, he will sit on your head.

298) When two women come together there will be a bazaar (noisy).

299) If you chase two hares you will not catch even one.

300) When two men speak (simultaneously) you do not catch either one.

301) Two mullahs disagree like women; one mullah is like two men (strong).

302) When two gerfalcons fight the solitary raven gets the food.

539 /278/303). If you exert yourself you will suck.

304) The surface of the sheep's skin is bitter, the words of a bad man are bitter.

305) In the summer a feast, in the winter - a laughing-stock. (1)

1. That is, he who feasts in summer can be in need in winter.

306) One whip to a good horse, a thousand to a poor horse.

307) A good horse is submissive, a bad horse is unruly.

308) To a good man evil (remains) close, to an evil man the good (becomes) disgusting. (2)

2. In the original suuk - cold.

309) A good name is better than wealth.

310) A good man knows the value of a good thing.

311) If you travel with a good man, you will reach the goal you desire. If you travel with a bad man, you will be discredited.

312) A good man is steady, a bad man is irritable.

313) To a lazy man every day is a holiday.

314) A lazy man lies down and his maintenance slips away from him.

315) If you make a bad man a yesaul (3) he will bring enemies

3. A rider /dzhigit/.

to you.

316) If a bad man is caught in a crime he will say: this one was also my accomplice. (4)

4. That is, he tries to compromise others.

317) A bad stallion is unruly /norovit/ in the drove, the bad son-in-law misses his own relatives.

318) He who does not suffer misfortune will not find happiness.

319) There would be no more poverty if there were only a kind of food which could be obtained lying down.

/279/ 320) It is better to be the slave of a rich man, than the son of a poor one.

321) He who has lived through does not know, he who has been around knows. (1)

1. That is, he who has seen much knows, not he who has lived through much.

322) After the enemy has seized (you) by the collar, the dog seizes you by the coat.

323) After the enemies have departed, thrust your sword into the ground.

324) Butter is good even if it is not suitable to eat it; a rich man is good, even if he has not given anything.

325) The poor man has a scarcity but he is satiated.

326) The man riding a pacer does not look around for his traveling companion.

327) From a meek man it comes out thickly. (2)

2. That is, an unexpectedly sharp action.

328) He who is mounted on a race horse will forget even God.

329) A child who wants to cry will play with its father's things.

330) He achieves who is fated to (achieve), not he who runs.

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331) He who walks (has the wisdom of) the sea. He who sits (has the wisdowm of) the matting.

332) The people has fifty ears.

333) The people is not without thieves, the mountains are not without wolves.

334) He who has a younger brother has peace (from work).

335) Shame kills a man, reeds kill a hare. (3)

3. By preventing him from running away.

336) A man sees the real (state of affairs), a woman sees an erroneous one.

337) Though there are many men, there is no fuel; though there are many women, there is no water.

338) A man is the head, the wife the neck.

/280/339) The best of the young men does not know himself (that he is best) but the others know.

340) A man has a nose, a horse has lips. (1)

1. The sign of a horse that runs well is thick lips. The sign of a man's virility is a large nose.

341) When you gain the inheritance, bathe the legs of a donkey. (2)

2. That is, do not disdain any work.

342) When a donkey's burden is heavy, he wants to lie down.

343) Even if you put a dog on a golden dish she would jump off.

344) The baying of the dog is not heard by the wolf, the baying of the wolf is not heard by God.

345) Dog's food is black (mealy) kissel /gelatinous food of a kind of flour, usually cooked with berry juice or milk/.

346) The fox does not like the running of the dog, a sick man does not like laughter.

347) When they know how to lay /a fire/, even snow will catch fire; when they do not know how, even oil(3) will not catch fire.

3. That is, the best fuel.

348) One dog commands another, and that one commands its tail (puts its tail between its legs, obeys).

349) When a dog has no collar she pays no attention to a call.

350) A dog's stomach is not fit (to eat) cow's butter.

351) When a dog gets fat it will bite its master.

352) A dog will find the place where it had enough to eat, the man the place where he was born.

353) The way the mare is usually depends on the master, the way the poker is usually depends on the leather skin (for kumys).

354) The worst Kazakhs become Sarts, the worst Sarts become Kazakhs.

355) The careless person gets fat only from water.

/281/ 356) Do not expect wisdom for three days from the man who rode into the city.

357) The khan has the wisdom of forty men.

358) The khan (sometime) will also need his subjects.

359) A khan cannot be without subjects.

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360) As long as the khan has subjects he can even launch a boat on dry land.

361) The shamefulness of the black dog is also transferred to the white dog.

362) By the time the black (brunette) person flies into a temper, the yellow (blond) person has already used up his spirit.

363) A black man cannot be white, a white man cannot be black. When a knife will not cut the hand, there will also be no wounds.

364) The raven says to its child: my white one. The hedgehog says to its child: my smooth one.

365) The hair of women is long, but their wisdom is short.

366) If your wife is spiteful, of what use is the peace of the nation? If your boot is tight, of what use is the breadth of the world?

367) When your wife is a fool, let your whip be thick.

368) In whatever land you live, you will sing its song.

369) What is not settled by evening will never be settled.

370) A small stone can pierce even a head.

371) When there are many shepherds, the ram dies without being watched.

372) The dogs who are gray do not win, but those who are more.

373) He who has seen much is like a lake.

/282/374) If there is one child among many old men, he will act wise; if there is one old man among many children he will act as a child.

375) Of many words few are good. A few words are good alone.

376) Who talks much is a chatter box.

377) If there is much spitting there will be a lake.

378) For a timid man (everything) appears double.

379) The timid man does not recognize his father, the fool does not understand his mistake.

380) If you play with a hare, you will get tired. If you play with fire, you will get burned.

381) A strange horse is sweaty, strange clothing gets dirty.

382) What is done by man does not constitute the support of a man.

383) Do not sing the song of other people, sing your own song.

384) The eyes are cowards, the hands are heroes.

385) When the sun rises (1) over the kulan (wild horse), he will

1. That is, when danger appears.

not wait for his foal.

386) If the kulan falls into a well, the frog will dance on his ears.

387) If you speak your mind, the dirt (distress) comes out of the heart; if you wash, the dirt comes out of the shirt.

388) He who has seen is defeated also by him who has not seen.

389) In a maiden there is something like a beautiful flame; when she becomes a wife, she forfeits her value.

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390) Do not laugh at another, it (the misfortune) will come to you too.

391) When you ride out on a day's journey, take enough supplies for a week.

/283/392) There is no use in boasting.

393) Hold your tongue in the presence of the mullah, in the presence of the master /expert/ hold your hand.

394) He who has not been a wanderer is not a Moslem. (1)

1. Only he who has been a wanderer himself can have the necessary compassion for wanderers. This proverb came to the Kazakhs from the Sarts. The position of wanderers is difficult in the East. Compare the Arabic proverb: assafaru kyt"atun min assakar (a journey is part of hell) or: assakaru kyt"yatun minassaf (hell is only a part of a journey).

395) What you sow you will reap.

396) When knuckle bones land upright it spoils the game; a fool ruins a meeting.

397) A woman who has come after fire has thirty subjects for conversation.

398) A ruler has a spacious armpit (defense), a long stick.

399) The patient person will wait it out, the impatient one will boil over.

400) He who is patient will reach his goal.

401) The root (fruit) of patience is yellow gold.

402) God helps him who helps himself.

403) He who looks after himself achieves happiness.

404) If you greet a deaf man, he will speak of the head of your father.

405) If you make haste you will not find your master (God).

406) To speak of mine and thine shows a narrowness of the heart. To say "lie farther away, lie closer" indicates a narrowness of the blanket.

407) All the blind man asks is his two eyes.

408) The last camel has the heaviest load. (2)

2. It is difficult for the last camels to keep step with the forward ones.

409) Water is a mute enemy.

410) The sultan will not punish his bone (relatives).

411) It is not the beautiful which is beautiful but what one loves.

/284/412) Cows do not walk without pushing each other.

413) The teeth do not turn black in a horse which is well cared for.

414) At a break there is a mend.

415) A word passes through bones, a stick passes through flesh.

416) He who expresses himself awkwardly will say bad things even about himself.

417) If you wish to speak there are many subjects for conversation.

418) Character which entered with the milk (of the mother) will out only with the bones (death).

419) A man with a scabby head is usually talkative.

535 420) A good colt follows the horse, the bad horse follows the colt.

421) Turning somersaults will not get a foal out of the drove.

422) The throat (thirst) plunges into hell.

423) He who has struck you with a stone, strike him with food.

424) Instead of giving a mountain of desires give a finger of happiness.

425) To the tongue every day is a holiday.

426) The tongue is sharper than the sword.

427) Even though the beggar's pouch is filled, his eyes are not satiated.

428) Strike the iron while it is hot.

429) The wolf will not devour the livestock of him who is supported by God.

430) God's days are more numerous /bol' she/ than millet.

431) The fool forgets the place where he was born.

432) If you go to a wedding, it means to go having eaten and having left your business behind.

433) When he hears about a wedding even a potsherd (an old man) wants to rush there.

/285/434) A wedding is for people who have a long coat, memorial services for those who have a horse (for racing).

435) Do not keep salt a long time, for it will turn into water. Do not keep a maiden for a long time or she will turn into a slave.

436) There are friendly relations between four-legged camels, and between two-legged people of the same age.

437) He who drew near knows, not he who was born at the same time.

438) There is misfortune in turbulent mouths.

439) Outside it glitters, inside it is chattering (with cold).

440) To the mouse death is necessary, to the cat a game is necessary.

441) When your camel dies, your luck is gone. When your cart breaks down, it will be repaired.

442) Stretch out your legs depending on the blanket.

443) Before he enters, the guest is under restraint, after he enters the host is under restraint.

444) A road, even if it is long, is good. A maiden, even if she has bad morals, is good.

445) He who has fallen alone will not cry.

446) To everyone his own is as warm (dear) as a fire.

447) Ask advice of him who wore out one shirt earlier than you (elders).

448) He who was not satiated with the colostrum, will not have had enough with the ninth (dish).

449) He who has a home also has a song.

450) Shame is more powerful than death.

451) A great one begins, a small one throws away.

452) He who has not been exposed to a dispute does not count.

453) If your traveling companion is a Russian, let there be an iron ax in your hand.

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454) He who listens to instructions will not perish.

455) The skilled man is often without a knife.

/286/456) A sword will not cut a neck which is stretched out.

457) Do not regret past deeds. No matter how much you regret, it will not be as it was in the past.

458) What was inflicted (of insults) was mutual, and the rest (which was not mutual) is forgiven.

459) A blunt knife also cuts a hand.

460) When the devil is leading, the eyesight will not work.

461) Slander kills; praise supports.

462) If you do not accept the invitation, you cannot expect another invitation.

463) When someone holds his nose in the air, do so also in front of him for he is not the son of the Prophet. When someone bows, bow also before him, for he is not a slave bequeathed to you by your father.

464) He who is afraid of locusts will not plant.

465) At the trough there is also a pail.

466) A horse fettered on three legs is my own horse. A horse who is fettered by two legs is my free horse.

467) The flies circle around something rotten.

468) An escort who does not accompany the person to the end is not considered an escort.

469) He who is afraid of sparrows will not sow millet.

470) He who has no work also has no food.

471) Old clothes do not keep you warm.

472) There is nothing new without something old, and there is nothing old without something new.

473) He who has not found work has lice peeking out of his trousers.

474) I fell into an abyss without noticing it. Where do I get out?

475) A friend is bitter (not dear), livestock is sweet (dear).

476) If you do good to a person, some /287/ good for nothing will not accept your goodness. Many people have lived on earth who have lost trust because they answered good with evil.

477) He who begs from people grows thin. He who asks from God has something. A reasonable man discerns every matter with his mind.

478) The corruption of people is within, the corruption of livestock is on the outside.

479) It is impossible to enter a house without decorum. It is impossible to live in a country without a chief.

480) There are people who cannot control passion, the great enemy. Having made friends with passion, they cannot take their eyes away from the world.

481) My own tent is light, similar to a spacious sarai.

482) A friend who plans to take his leave begins to demand the back pommel of the saddle. (1)

1. That is, the impossible, for the Kazakh saddle has no pommels.

483) Words directed to a friend are in vain.

484) For an openhearted man, his horse will not grow lean, his long coat will not wear out, and he will not grow poor with all his generosity.

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485) The chick of a white gerfalcon cannot look for food for itself. On the lips of a scoundrel, a prayer has no force.

486) There are usually five or six chicks of the white gerfalcon, but of these only one learns to hunt swans. Those who are unable to hunt for swans become a laughing stock to the small bird.

487) If you tell a wise man he will understand. If you tell a stupid man he will laugh.

488) Make friends with the wise man, stand aside from the stupid one.

489) A hint to the wise, a big club to the stupid.

490) There is sense in food, there is bravery in youth, there is value in a stone.

491) When the leadership leaves the path of justice, the spine of the people cracks.

492) The words "we take" are the truth the words "we will give back" are falsehood.

/288/ 493) The weak man puts it off until the future life.

494) When you have food, you consort with people. When you have a horse you see the country.

495) The hasty duck dives (not head first but) with its tail.

496) A Kazakh whose father and grandfather were not biis, does not act according to custom. He hears petitioners with hints (for a bribe) and he does not stand before superiors, out of pride.

497) A daughter is gotten rid of thanks to the glory of the father; the cloth is disposed of thanks to the glory of the mata. (1)

1. Mata is a cotton material of local manufacture used for shirts and underwear.

498) Do not hunt hares with a man from another place. He will prevent you from shooting just by being by your side.

499) There sometimes are four year old foals which do not turn into horses. There are such widows who cannot be changed into girls.

500) He who sits on a horse does not appropriate to himself the property of a man on foot, and if he does, the people does not approve.

501) The horse, depending on its running, turns into money; a bad man is transformed into a slave by fleeing.

502) If you do not value your horse, you will find yourself walking. If you do not value food, you will go hungry.

503) A good horse is the horse Burak on the road; a good son is a light in the heart. If your horse is bad, your satisfaction departs; if your son is bad, your strength departs; if your wife is bad, the guests depart from your house, while if guests do come, you will depart from them downcast.

504) When a dog of the village is worthless, it will enter into an agreement with a wolf.

505) It seems to a hungry stomach that it will never /289/ be filled. To a full stomach it seems that it will never be hungry.

/ 506)is not in the text. /

507) Wickedness is a Kafir /infidel/, wisdom is a friend; add wisdom to your wisdom.

508) Step into the bazaar. There you will test your luck.

509) The rich man perishes from one ram, the hero perishes from one bullet.

510) When the rich man boasts, there is oil. When the poor man boasts, what is there?

511) Send a child on an errand, but run with it yourself.

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512) He who cannot catch a fish muddies the water.

513) Abundance permits you to say what you please. Want forces you to eat what is polluted.

514) When there is something to eat, wipe it up with a piece of bread. When there is not, wipe it up with your spirit.

515) When there is something to eat, wet it and eat it. When there is not, sell and eat.

516) What happens to the head is seen by the eyes too. (1)

1. Variant: is suffered by the soul too.

517) If advice is asked of a hero, he will show his sword, gun and flag;if advice is asked of a livestock herder, he will show a one year old camel and a two year old camel; if advice is asked of a butcher, he will show his knife and grindstone.

518) If you are a hero and a rich man, why are you not the ruler? If you are poor but a bek, why are you not a laughing stock?

519) Do not compare your bad relative with yourself, do not call a bad person estranged from the good "your eye" (2)

2. Guardian, well wisher.

520) Being born together goes together, living together does not go together.

/290/521) There is a long road; although it is long it is near. (1) There

1. Suitable for passage.

is a road near at hand; although it is near it is long. (2)

2. Impassable.

522) If a guest stays one day, honor him; if he stays two days, swallow. (3)

3. Dzhut has two meanings - hunger and swallow /imperative case/. This proverb can consequently be translated in this way also: if a guest stays one day, honor him; if he stays two days, you will starve.

523) Once you have asked five for one tenga, you will not force silence for a thousand tengas.

524) Whoever says "I know" (about a crime) gets caught, but whoever says "I do not know" slips away.

525) Sometimes even one who knows allows an act (4), and also

4. A mistake.

one who does not know allows an act. (4)

526) Where is your knowledge if you do not forgive ignorance?

527) Rushes which have grown badly will even burn under water.

528) A people whose leader is a youth will not be left unharmed; a herd of wild goats led by a young goat will not be left unharmed.

529) Impurities are bad, but worst of all is poverty.

530) When you eat a goose at someone's table, dress your duck (for him).

531) Some skip from satiety, and some from hunger.

532) When you are in power, live powerfully, pass your time like a white pacer /horse/. When you realize that you have ceased to be powerful, yoke up a pair of oxen for a (strange) man.

533) When snow falls in a snowstorm or a hurricane, the and is vered with snow. It is the sign of a molodets (young man or coura- ous fellow?) to clean the path by which he has come.

534) To one who has not seen happiness, it seems that happiness 91/ will never be; he begins to envy the man who stands above him.

539

535) A friend looks at the head, an enemy at the feet. (1)

1. Used when someone is making fun of a barefooted person. The head is called holy(aziz).

536) When a friend is drunk, he becomes an adversary.

537) If you pursue the world, it moves away; if you move away from the world, it pursues you.

538) Two plaintiffs do not make up a village; once you have called someone a dog or a pup, never stroke (flatter).

539) When two dromedaries squeeze against each other the fly between them dies.

540) If you are good, you will find; if you are bad, you will get thin.

541) Do not stretch your hand (2) away from good; it will be

2. Do not remove.

useful for many days. This world will not be a traveling companion, this power comes and goes, without permanence for anyone.

542) Among good men lies a saddle and a horse; among good females (3) lies a cradle and a son.

3. Women.

543) A good man will never be bad, a good horse, even though he grows lean will not be a jade.

544) Living with good people is paradise, living with bad

eans quarreling.

545) If you call a good person bad, he will stretch out his
ck like a white swan. If you call a bad person bad, he will
cape without a trace.

simpl

wife;
better

546) A good person knows the character of the good. How can bad persons know the cheapness and expensiveness of things?

547) Advantage from the good, harm from the bad.

548) The spirit fattens from a good word.

549) A good son is the mainspring of the heart, a bad son is the dirt of the nose.

/292/ 550) One beam cannot be a house, only one man (1) cannot

1. Without the support of his relatives.

be a bii.

551) One sheepskin is little for a fur coat. A gathering of bad people alone cannot be a feast.

552) Do not do good to an evil person; he will attack your head.

553) Reason appears in a bad man only after noon.

554) Do not pay attention to bad, do not forget good.

555) Do not be in debt to a bad person, and if you are, do not spend what you have taken.

556) A bad man does not remain constant to one thing; the act of a changeable man is not changed by God into a better one.

557) The bad man does not recognize timeliness, the blind man does not recognize a pit.

558) Every act, good and bad, is initiated by God; some etons ascribe them to people.

559) It is better to be without a wife than to marry a bad it is better to have no children than to have bad ones; it is to walk than to ride a bad horse.

539 560) A bad man's shot will not hit the mark, and his words will not be realized.

561) He who causes pain to the soul is not a friend.

562) If you are poor, do not mind; if you are in debt, do not act haughty.

563) There are people who are adult in years, but young in mind; there are those to whom their own reason does harm.

564) The dust from a foot traveler is not visible, the voice of a single person is not audible.

565) Trees are the adornment of the earth, livestock are the adornment of the people.

566) A young man's beard grows out at twenty years; your son's ardor rises in the spring.

567) The snake twists as it flees, but goes straight into its hole.

/293/ 568) If you speak warm words, even the snake will come out of its hole. If you speak striking (with a stick), reason departs from the senses.

569) The rider who behaves badly is seized by the enemy in the midst of his own people.

570) Over the arrogant is God, over hard iron is the hammer.

571) If you give your food away to people, they will caress your head; if you give food away to dogs, they will tear your head apart.

572) When a man speaks, the road opens; when a woman speaks, the sitting opens.

573) Do not throw away the morning food, do not expect evening

574) A hairy lasso will not squeeze the neck of a man.

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575) Do not marry the girl you saw through the door; take the one you have seen since the cradle.

576) The dog is faithful, the wild animal bays.

577) I only want one thing, and that is a black stallion; when I obtain a black stallion, then you do what you wish.

578) Good wishes have developed among people, good deeds have developed between good people.

579) In an abandoned lake a frog is a stallion, for an abandoned wife, a worker is a stallion.

580) Continence fills the stomach, incontinence slaughters the last horse.

581) The unjust khan loses his position; the unjust bii loses his trust; the rich man who is not bountiful loses his livestock; he who grudges his livestock loses his friend.

582) Be not an adversary of the khan, be not a sinner before God.

583) Kinsmen dispute but do not reject each other.

/294/ 584) A relative goes to a relative, and misfortune descends on the stranger.

585) Do not confide your secret to a woman, do not believe until you are convinced.

586) A people which is led by a woman will not be left with anything.

7) Another fool makes friends with his enemy and disputes friend.

8) A long coat which is made after deliberation will not rt.

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589) I placed a dish before you, and put a knife in your hand.

590) The judgment belongs to /is in favor of/ him who owns the felt.

591) From a pack of dogs even a fox will not escape.

592) He who frightens /others/ much, thrusts (his hands) in deep.

593) Prolixity - obscenity.

594) He whose future stands before him has need of people; he whose future does not stand before him, what need has he of people?

595) When informing of the pasturage of wild horses, take your rest separately.

596) There is no urine in fighting, inside it boils like a kettle.

597) An eminent (bride) whom (you) have betrothed yourself to without seeing her is better than a beauty whom (you) have betrothed yourself to, having seen her.

598) A bird flies with its wings, and settles with its tail.

599) A lamb which will become a male usually has a prominent forehead; a youth who will be a good man has a spacious skirt and sleeve.

600) A short string is not enough for a slip noose.

601) When the poker is long, the hands do not get burned; when you have many relatives, people will not touch you.

602) Give your animal to be pastured by him who found it; let him who gathered the kindling burn it.

3) There is no young man who would not acquire livestock;
no woman who would not acquire a son.

4) When the master is absent, the slave enters inside the wall;
e dog is absent, the wild boar will grunt inside the wall.

605) The manner of vile people goes in twos and kicks itself.

606) A cow is not usually (1) yellow, a camel is not usually a bay.

1. Is not called.

607) Before I have ferried across the river, I promise to give my daughter after I reach the other side; after I have crossed the river, I do not even recognize you by sight.

608) He who gives without being asked may boldly be called generous; the horse which runs without being urged can boldly be called a racer.

609) It is possible to speak to him who listens; but for him who has firmly stopped up his ears with wax, is it not all the same, what is said and what is not said?

610) He who hunts by a word will gain misfortune; he who hunts by a path will gain treasure.

611) Not to speak is better than to speak; a stick falls on the head of the speaker.

612) Those who have come together will not become close; kinsmen will not become distant.

613) If you eat to keep from being hungry, the foal will remain; if you eat to be filled, the ram will remain.

614) A stone is heavy to him on which it lies.

615) When the deer's horns ache in the mountains, then even the cow's horns ache in the valley.

616) A stream flowing from the mountains pours into the sea; do not rejoice when a good person is born of a bad one; he will follow in his tracks.

/296/ 617) A fool has eight legs; if one does not hit another one will.

539

618) As long as you live, observe and acquire knowledge, and follow all good people.

619) A goat without horns who wants to beg horns for himself will forfeit his ears.

620) The sparrow protects its baby from the rain, but protects its own head from hail.

621) Do not do evil to the person at whose house you ate bread and salt.

622) The Turkmen became rich in his sleep.

623) When four men are in alliance they can reach something which is over their heads; when six men disagree, they lose what they have in their mouths.

624) He who has a heart and a soul also has death on him; we are afraid before death.

625) He does not know himself, and does not listen to him who knows.

626) He who asks about the distant ancestors of the man who has made a rider (a good man) of himself, is a dog.

627) Do not confess your own sins; when they want to discover the traces, they will not be concealed.

628) When it is needed for myself I have a pair of oxen; when people need it, I have various kinds of work.

629) When I reflect myself, I receive a mare with foal; when I advise another to reflect, my feet barely touch the ground. (1)

1. That is, he who defends his own case in a litigation easily wins, and on the contrary, he who entrusts the running of the case to another has to flee from the court.

630) He who praises himself will soon be overtaken by death.

4:Grodekov--276 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

539

631) An uninvited guest sits on the bare ground.

632) If he is beaten he will get as fat as a badger.

/297/ 633) He who does not know his own country will not be bit among his own people.

634) Do not say that the tent is yours; there are also other people behind the tent.

635) Singing is like a feast, obesity is like a ram.

636) A dexterous man swims against the current.

637) A thief does not get rich, a dish-licker does not get fat.

638) The heart of the thief knows, and the heart of the plaintiff knows.

639) Truth on the lips of a liar is lost in vain.

640) A false word is an enemy to the soul, a sharp knife is an enemy to the scabbard.

641) If you sleep you will acquire a dream; if you do not sleep you will acquire a herd.

642) Horses from different herds are united by a halter; people from different clans are united by God.

643) A shameless son is bad, a self-willed daughter is bad; a bad daughter is like hoar-frost: she will disappear somewhere; a bad daughter-in-law is like permanent hoar-frost: your soul will be tormented every day.

644) The worst fodder is the seleu grass; the worst people are the Teleu clan.

645) The dexterous man eats twice; what does the stooped man find?

646) The kulaks (run out) from the fallen person.

539

647) It is easier to fight an enemy to whom on has grown accustomed.

648) For strong iron there is a hammer; for a presumptuous person there is God.

649) God takes care of the wronged.

650) The sword does not recognize agreements.

651) Give up your life to enemies, but do not give away a secret.

652) They cannot skin two hides from one ram.

653) The evil man gathers clubs, the fool takes wives.

/298/ 654) If your brother dies, your inheritance is your sister-in-law; if your horse dies, the hide is your inheritance.

655) A wife does not respect her husband, because she often sees his naked body; the father-in-law will not respect the bride if he sees her face often.

656) By selling his son he had a horse; by selling his daughter he had food.

657) The orphan with a father is a dishonest orphan, the orphan with a mother is a valuable orphan.

658) On the head of an orphan with a mother, a hand and a comb play; lice play on the head of an orphan without a mother.

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Н. И. ГРОДЕКОВЪ.

КИРГИЗЫ И КАРАКИРГИЗЫ

СЫРЪ-ДАРЬИНСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ.

Томъ первый.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКІЙ БЫТЪ.

ТАШКЕНТЪ.
Типо-Литографія С. И. Лахтина, Романовская ул. соб. домъ.
1889.

[Title page]

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

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Печатано по распоряженію военнаго губернатора Сыръ-Дарьинской области.

[Title page ii]

I

Изученіе современнаго юридическаго быта киргизовъ и киргизъ-кайсаковъ чрезвычайно важно, какъ для правильнаго устройства управленія и суда въ средѣ кочевого населенія нашихъ среднеазіатскихъ областей, такъ равно и для науки.

Необходимость изученія обычнаго права инородцевъ, населяющихъ окраины имперіи, чувствовалась давно. Такъ, въ двадцатыхъ годахъ текущаго столѣтія, по распоряженію правительства, подъ надзоромъ генералъ-губернатора Сибири и спеціальной комиссіи, былъ составленъ сборникъ обычнаго права сибирскихъ инородцевъ, въ томъ числѣ и киргизовъ. Сборникъ составлялся самими инородцами, на ихъ языкахъ, и по переводѣ на русскій языкъ, хранился во II отдѣленіи Собственной Его Императорскаго Величества Канцеляріи. При графѣ Сперанскомъ существовала мысль о составленіи свода всѣхъ мѣстныхъ законовъ и обычаевъ имперіи, между прочимъ и для сибирскихъ инородцевъ, для чего мои послужилъ матеріаломъ означенный сборникъ. Мысль эта не была приведена въ исполненіе и собранный въ Сибири матеріалъ былъ изданъ, по сохранившимся преданіямъ, только въ 1876 году, профессоромъ варшавскаго университета Д. Я. Самоквасовымъ, подъ заглавіемъ: „Сборникъ обычнаго права сибирскихъ инородцевъ". Въ концѣ сборника, въ отдѣлѣ „Обычаи киргизовъ", въ сухой доминической формѣ, изложено обычное право киргизовъ, очевидно, сибирскаго вѣдомства, т. е. преимущественно большой и средней орды. О каракиргизахъ въ сборникѣ не упоминается.

Какъ видно изъ предисловія къ отдѣлу „Обычаи киргизовъ", матеріалъ этотъ составлялся въ особомъ комитетѣ, съ участіемъ киргизскихъ старшинъ. Даже при бѣгломъ чтеніи этого отдѣла видно, что собранное коммисіею въ значительной степени сочинено приглашенными въ комитетъ киргизами. Такова глава „О бесѣдочитаніи" (*). Далѣе обращаютъ на себя особенное вниманіе статьи о

(*) Напр., ст. 7-я гласитъ: „что христіанинъ склонитъ къ принятію христіанства, тотъ причисляется къ приверженцамъ христовой вѣры". А статья 8-я: „Кто изъ рода киргизскаго примѣтъ христіанскую вѣру, то тотъ не только лишается права наслѣдства по собственное его имѣніе, но будетъ тотъ изъ рода прежде принятія христіанской вѣры пойманъ будетъ, то тотчасъ наказывается прутьями, бьется, по закону, лишается жизни за нарушеніе своего закона".

II

правах и преимуществах белой расы и неустойчивости наказаний (смертная казнь, плети, отсечение членов и проч.), описаны не совершенно верными, у коих почти всѣ преступленія сливались и заключались истолкованіями (*).

В 1831 году А. Леонтьевъ издалъ трудъ, подъ заглавіемъ „Описаніе киргизъ-кайсацкихъ ордъ и степей", составленный значительною частью и служившій до сего времени основою дальнѣйшаго изученія почвенныхъ киргизскихъ степей. Въ немъ изложены основныя начала киргизскаго обычнаго права, но, къ сожалѣнію, весьма кратко.

Въ началѣ пятидесятыхъ годовъ чиновникъ азіатскаго департамента и образованный орієнталистъ Бонъ-Османовскій, служившій въ Оренбургѣ и Перовскѣ, трудился надъ собираніемъ и разработкою свѣдѣній о юридическихъ обычаяхъ киргизовъ. Трудъ его, однако, не былъ изданъ и такимъ образомъ погибъ для дѣла.

В 1865 году изданъ книга „Киргизская степь Оренбургскаго вѣдомства", составленная подполковникомъ генеральнаго штаба Мейеромъ (**). Въ ней, между прочимъ, имѣются свѣдѣнія о юридическихъ обычаяхъ киргизовъ; но все это изложено весьма кратко и при томъ въ общемъ описаніи нравовъ и обычаевъ (***).

Вотъ почти весь печатный матеріалъ, имѣющійся въ нашей литературѣ по времени составленія (въ 1865 г.). „Проекта положе-

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(*) Ст. 67-я: „Если кто подъ убійствомъ до смерти, чтобы и всѣ сколько платили родственникамъ убитаго штрафъ такой, или платится за убійство простого сего человѣка; буде же не заплатили, то ближайшіе или всѣ сколько убійцы родственники сего человѣка помощи, за тѣмъ числа и убійцу".

Ст. 80-я: „Надо сомнѣнія у киргизовъ за работы платились деньги или имѣнія посредственного рода, которыя помѣщались изъ по сему и далѣе безъ вины; ...".

Ст. 84-я: „Если одинъ, двое, трое и болѣе убьютъ одного или несколько человѣкъ, то преступники выдаютъ или отъ одного, кого они потребуютъ для истребленія преступленія сей слѣдующей вины; буде же не такъ случаю не платили;... ."

Ст. 116-я: „Кто насилія учинитъ дѣвѣ непорочной, за того слѣдуетъ отдать женѣ (вѣдомъ перечисленіе); буде же отцовой не за состояніе его платитъ, то подвергается смерти". Въ такомъ же родѣ сказано: 117, 118, 119, 123, 126 и далѣе. Но само уложеніе ст. 200-я: „Если сына или дочь; были уже повѣнчаны, отдаваемо за другимъ за другими, безъ отдачи родителей своихъ, наказуетъ предаетъ смерти".

(**) Матеріалы для географіи и статистики Россіи, собранные офицерами генеральнаго штаба.

(***) Въ сочиненіи Краснокутскаго „Область Сибирскихъ киргизовъ", изданномъ въ 1868 г., описаніе нравовъ и обычаевъ заимствовано у Мейера и Леонтьева и особенно по отношенію къ предмету не содержитъ почти заслуживающаго.

нія обѣ управленіи въ областяхъ Семиреченской и Сыръ-Дарьинской", изъ коихъ въ 1867 году было образовано Туркестанское генералъ-губернаторство, управлявшееся на основаніи указанныхъ „Проектовъ положенія" до 1887 года, т. е. въ теченіи почти 20 лѣтъ. Если въ этомъ „Проектѣ положенія" не надѣлано очень крупныхъ ошибокъ, то благодаря только удачному личному персоналу составителей „Проекта" коммисіи.

За время управленія Туркестанскимъ краемъ генералъ-губернатора К. П. Кауфмана, отъ просвѣщеннаго ума котораго не могла укрыться необходимость собранія постановленій киргизскаго обычнаго права, дѣлались попытки въ этомъ направленіи. Но задуманное не удалось по многимъ причинамъ, изъ коихъ, какъ на главную, можно указать на то, что дѣло велось канцелярскимъ порядкомъ. Впрочемъ, мысль Кауфмана, поощрявшаго изслѣдованія Средней Азіи во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ, не осталась безъ всякаго результата. Вмѣсто офиціальныхъ, въ печати появились частныя работы.

Изъ нихъ болѣе замѣчательна работа г. Запрягскаго, напечатанная въ 1876 году, въ IV выпускѣ сборника „Матеріаловъ для статистики Туркестанскаго края", подъ заглавіемъ: „Юридическій обычай киргизовъ". Трудъ этотъ довольно полонъ и касается юридическаго быта не только степныхъ киргизовъ (казаковъ), но и каракиргизовъ. Недостатки его заключаются въ формѣ изложенія: все разбито по параграфамъ и изложено въ сухой доматической формѣ, безъ варіантовъ по ордамъ и мѣстностямъ; затѣмъ не указаны время составленія, а также и мѣстность, въ которой записывались адаты. Между тѣмъ въ подобной работѣ все это имѣетъ существенное значеніе, потому что юридическіе обычаи киргизовъ разныхъ ордъ и мѣстностей, далеко отстоящихъ одна отъ другой, значительно разнятся между собою.

Кромѣ этого капитальнаго труда имѣется нѣсколько мелкихъ статей, помѣщенныхъ въ разное время въ періодическихъ изданіяхъ. Изъ нихъ заслуживаетъ упоминанія статья г. Ибрагимова, помѣщенная въ Запискахъ Географическаго общества (томъ VIII, 1878 г.), подъ заглавіемъ „Замѣтки о киргизскомъ судѣ." Статья не представляетъ собою сборника постановленій обычнаго права киргизовъ, а есть очеркъ киргизскаго судопроизводства и характеристика нѣкоторыхъ обычаевъ. Между прочимъ въ ней имѣются важныя для юриста указанія на отношенія киргизовъ къ русскимъ и мусульманскимъ (по шаріату) судебнымъ постановленіямъ.

Западно-сибирскіе статистическіе комитеты, изучая киргизовъ

IV

отличной частью книгой, обратили внимание на изслѣдованіе этого юридическаго быта; при чемъ отдѣльныя попытки практической разработки этого материала, такъ рано и самого юридическаго быта.

В 1882 году издана въ Омскѣ „Памятная книжка Западной Сибири"; въ отдѣлѣ III въ ней имѣется статья Н. Ермолова, подъ названіемъ „Обычное право киргизовъ", составленная на основаніи судебныхъ рѣшеній біевъ, сообразуясь съ трудами Сиверсова, Зыряновъ, Кенесаръ и другихъ. По этому направленію, статья эта представляетъ критическую разработку обычнаго права всѣхъ киргизовъ и общую характеристику его, съ указаніемъ такихъ нововведеній и измѣненій, которыя вошли въ обычное право изъ шаріата и „Временнаго положенія объ управленіи въ областяхъ Уральской, Туркайской, Акмолинской и Семипалатинской"; параллельно съ обычаями сибирскихъ киризовъ, приведены и обычаи киризовъ Туркестанскаго края.

Послѣднюю работу по киргизскому обычному праву представляетъ изданіе, въ 1886 г., въ Омскѣ, Семипалатинскаго областнаго статистическаго комитета „Матеріаловъ для изученія юридическихъ обычаевъ киризовъ" (вып. I. Матеріальное право). Основными матеріалами для этой книги послужили данныя, собранныя уѣздными начальниками Семипалатинской области, по программѣ, данной въ 1882 г. генералъ-губернаторомъ Западной Сибири; онѣ разработаны и дополнены составителемъ книги П. Е. Маковецкимъ, членомъ статистическаго комитета, посредствомъ устныхъ распросовъ въ степи и путемъ изученія подлинныхъ рѣшеній біевъ.

Трудъ г. Маковецкаго представляетъ цѣнный вкладъ въ литературу по обычному праву киризовъ, заключая въ себѣ указаніе на историческое происхожденіе нѣкоторыхъ обычаевъ, на вліяніе шаріата и русскихъ законовъ; кромѣ того въ книгѣ собраны варіанты обычаевъ по мѣстностямъ и обстоятельствамъ дѣла; введены критическій разборъ, объясненія и проч.

Съ первыхъ дней вступленія въ управленіе Сыръ-Дарьинскою Областью, я занялся большой пробѣлъ въ свѣдѣніяхъ по обычному праву киризовъ. То, что было напечатано по этому отдѣлу въ Россіи, мало удовлетворяло современнымъ мѣстнымъ требованіямъ, вслѣдствіе крайней ограниченности собраннаго матеріала и совершенно недостаточной его разработки. Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, подъ вліяніемъ такихъ могущественныхъ факторовъ, какъ: мусульманство, энергія проповѣди которою среди почитателей ислама изъ Бухары, Самарканда, Кокандъ и Ташкента усилилась со времени умиротворенія нами Средней Азіи; русское

владѣчество съ новыми порядками и цивилизаціею; переходъ кочевниковъ къ земледѣлію; появленіе новыхъ видовъ промышленности и проч., произвело значительное измѣненіе въ обычномъ правѣ. То, что было у киргизовъ при ханахъ, при султанахъ, управлявшихъ ордами и группами родовъ, при сильныхъ, независимыхъ родовичахъ, при военныхъ бекахъ и такимахъ и пр., отчасти давно забыто, отчасти измѣнено. Въ жизнь народа широкою волною влились новые взгляды и понятія; жизнь начала предъявлять новыя требованія, къ которымъ и пришлось приспособить постановленія обычнаго права.

Въ 1884 году я обратился къ лицамъ уѣздной администраціи съ просьбою собрать адаты. Но присланный матеріалъ, собранный чрезъ безграмотныхъ переводчиковъ, не имѣлъ никакой цѣны.

Въ Январѣ 1886 года я познакомился съ окончившимъ курсъ историко-филологическаго института А. Н. Вышегорскимъ. На службѣ въ Средней Азіи онъ изучилъ языки: киргизскій, сартовскій и персидскій. Мнѣ тогда же пришло на мысль пригласить его собрать адаты, на мѣстѣ, въ самыхъ кочевьяхъ и зимовьяхъ стойбищахъ киргизовъ, посредствомъ разспросовъ и записыванія со словъ бѣговъ и другихъ сѣдущихъ людей.

Чтобы приступить къ дѣлу, я обратился съ просьбою къ извѣстному знатоку Средней Азіи, В. П. Наливкину, составить программу для сбора постановленій киргизскаго обычнаго права. Г. Наливкинъ исполнилъ мою просьбу, и въ началѣ 1886 г. г. Вышегорскій былъ посланъ въ уѣзды. Ему между прочимъ было указано: записывать всѣ варіанты адатовъ по мѣстностямъ и имена сообщившихъ и не пренебрегать никакими свѣдѣніями, какъ бы они ни казались малозначущими. Г. Вышегорскій пробылъ въ средѣ кочевого населенія семь мѣсяцевъ. Имъ собрано было такъ много матеріала, что на разборъ его потребовалось около года. Кромѣ того пришлось вести сношенія съ уѣздами, для пополненія пропусковъ или объясненія мѣстъ неясныхъ. Для иллюстраціи собраннаго матеріала, взяты были изъ бійскихъ книгъ рѣшенія на разные случаи.

Такимъ образомъ составился настоящій томъ, представляющій свѣдѣ современныхъ юридическихъ обычаевъ киргизовъ (казаковъ) и каракиргизовъ Сыръ-Дарьинской области.

Кромѣ матеріала, имѣющаго чисто юридическій характеръ, попутно собирались: историческія сказанія по концамъ древнихъ рукописей, сохранившихся въ рукахъ грамотныхъ киргизовъ, героическія поэмы, повѣрья, басни, загадки, заклинанія и проч. Этого матеріала, вѣроятно, хватитъ еще на два тома. Въ виду этою программу все-

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го изданія пришлось значительно расширить и дать ему болѣе общее заглавіе: „Киргизы и киргизцы Сыръ-Дарьинской области".

При собираніи этнографическихъ данныхъ я имѣлъ достаточно: 1, Е. А. Александровъ, помощникъ начальника Казалинскаго уѣзда, родомъ сибирскій казакъ, изъ мѣст. Кокчетава, хорошо владѣющій киргизскимъ языкомъ и знакомый съ бытомъ киргизовъ. 2, Кадыръ Абдуллаевъ, переводчикъ Чимкентскаго уѣзднаго управленія, родомъ изъ татаръ, давно живущій въ Туркестанѣ и по своимъ прежнимъ профессіямъ: купца, поставщика провіанта для войскъ и содержателя почтоваго тракта, изучилъ адатъ не изъ однихъ разсказовъ бекъ, а изъ постояннаго сношенія съ народомъ, изъ бѣдствій, лишеній, жалобъ, вообще непосредственно изъ жизни. 3, Торгай, киргизъ рода Ошакты, по профессіи извочикъ, видѣвшій Оренбургъ, Троицкъ, Вѣрный и др. мѣста. Онъ занимается земледѣліемъ въ Кураминскомъ уѣздѣ. 4, Коракиргизскій бій Курметай Даулеткуловъ. 5, Бій Абдрахманъ, Аулісатинскаго уѣзда. 6, Бій Султанъ Канаевъ, Чимкентскаго уѣзда. 7, Султанъ Даулетъ Бутаевъ, изъ тюрей Перовскаго уѣзда. 8, Спандіаровъ, бій Чимкентскаго уѣзда и др.

Н. Гродековъ.

Ташкентъ.
іюнь 1890 года.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

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4) Бій Султанъ Канеевъ.
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КИРГИЗЫ и КАРАКИРГИЗЫ

Сыръ-Дарьинской Области.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКІЙ БЫТЪ.

ГЛАВА I.

Преданія о происхожденіи киргизовъ и каракиргизовъ.—Такъ.—Ёбаи поеп.—Опекунство.—Мѣстничество.

Киргизы называютъ себя казаками. Они причисляютъ себя къ племени узбековъ. Каракиргизовъ (*) они считаютъ отличнымъ отъ себя узбекскимъ племенемъ. Изъ непріязни къ нимъ, они производятъ ихъ отъ иновѣрцевъ—калмыковъ, и даже просто отъ собакъ (**). Каракиргизы называютъ себя братьями киргизовъ и отрицаютъ свое происхожденіе отъ калмыковъ или отъ собакъ.

Слово казакъ, по словарю Будагова, значитъ: вольный, бродяга, разбойникъ, также холостой. По объясненію киргиза Авиза,

(*) Киргизъ. Такъ именуютъ себя каракиргизы. Названіе каракиргизовъ или дикокаменныхъ киргизовъ имъ вообще. По ихъ мнѣнію, слово каракиргизъ появилось съ приходомъ русскихъ. Слово бурги (бургут, иургут) у каракиргизовъ употребляется.

(**) Въ Кураминскомъ уѣздѣ записанъ слѣдующій разсказъ, имѣющій цѣлью объяснить постоянную вражду между киргизами и каракиргизами. Было три брата; изъ нихъ двое киргизы, а третій каракиргизъ. Первые не хотѣли дать каракиргизу надѣла; поэтому послѣдній, поссорившись съ ними, захватилъ съ собою мѣшалку изъ сосуда (сказанье знакомо), чтобы хоть что нибудь имѣть въ надѣлъ и убѣжалъ въ горы. Отъ него произошли каракиргизы. Они остались жить въ горахъ.

[p. 1]

Переяславского уѣзда, слово казакъ состоитъ изъ двухъ словъ: каз (гусь) и заг (воронъ), т. е. стоящая птицы; иносказательно: степной житель. Эта этимологія подтверждаетъ вообще то, что названіе казакъ указываетъ на образъ жизни людей, носящихъ это имя. По объясненію біи Чиликтинскаго уѣзда, Султана Кавсова, казакъ значитъ разбойникъ. Онъ слышалъ изъ книгъ, что были два брата: Могулъ и Татаръ. Отъ перваго происходятъ казаки. Онъ слышалъ также разсказъ, что могулы сражались съ татарами и были побѣждены ими. Изъ сраженія спаслись 300 человѣкъ, которые стали называться тремя сотнями (ордами). Они нашли убѣжище въ горахъ. Здѣсь они размножились и вышли въ степь.

Преданіе относительно образованія народа казакъ, т. е. киргизовъ, изъ частей разныхъ узбекскихъ племенъ, до сихъ поръ живетъ въ устахъ народа.

По распространенному въ Сыръ-Дарьинской области преданію, отецъ, т. е. первый начальникъ киргизовъ, былъ современникъ Аласа-хана, Аласъ, почему и боевой кличъ (уранъ) всѣхъ трехъ ордъ есть Аласъ (*).

Аласа-ханъ послалъ три отряда холостыхъ наѣздниковъ разныхъ узбекскихъ родовъ въ пограничную область, сторожить свои владѣнія (**). Находясь такъ долго безъ женъ, они заманили къ себѣ, разсказами о своемъ богатствѣ, 300 кибитокъ долы (цыганъ или бродягъ) и подговорили женъ убить мужей; затѣмъ взяли къ себѣ женъ долы. Предводителями трехъ ордъ послѣ Аласа были его три сына: Великой—Байшура (***), Средней—Джаншура и Малой—Карашура. Размножившись и разбогатѣвъ, киргизы начали распространяться во всѣ стороны; при чемъ заняли: Великая орда (улу юз) югъ, около населенныхъ мѣстъ, Средняя

(*) Въ приложеніи № 1 приведены боевые клички разныхъ родовъ.

(**) Около Туркестана киргизы показываютъ мѣсто, откуда были отправлены въ разныя стороны пограничныя три сотни.

(***) Надо полагать, что Байшура былъ младшій сынъ Аласа и помѣщенный. По крайней мѣрѣ говорятъ отцовскій чадыръ (верхній кругъ кибитки) остался въ Великой ордѣ. Поэтому Малая орда называетъ Великую орду „потомствомъ отца" (ата балясы), а Средняя—„потомствомъ старшаго брата" (ага балясы).

орда (орта юз)—мѣста, удобныя для табуновъ, а Малая орда (киши юз)—мѣстности, пограничныя съ Россіею.

Между киргизами распространенъ списокъ 92 узбекскихъ родовъ въ разныхъ варіантахъ, подъ названіемъ касаб намак узбекія. По словамъ Хорошкина, списокъ этотъ обязанъ своимъ происхожденіемъ желанію бухарскихъ викировъ имѣть задаль жившаго въ устахъ народа преданія о 92 узбекскихъ родахъ; при чемъ варіанты произошли уже при самомъ собираніи 92 именъ, независимо отъ искаженія ихъ переписчиками.

Въ спискѣ 92 племенъ узбековъ сказано, что когда 92 брата разбогатѣли, то скотъ ихъ сталъ смѣшиваться. Чтобы отмѣчать принадлежность скотинъ, братья, по совѣщаніи между собою, изобрѣли 92 знака, тамги.

Древность тамгъ подтверждается тѣмъ, что многія названія родовъ, а еще чаще колѣнъ, происходятъ отъ названій начертаній тамгъ. Изученіе тамгъ важно для исторіи узбекскихъ родовъ. Нахожденіе въ извѣстномъ мѣстѣ родовой тамги на могилѣ или другомъ памятникѣ можетъ доказать, что тамъ нѣкогда кочевалъ такой то родъ (*).

Тамги служатъ вмѣсто начертанія имени на могилахъ и на всякаго рода документахъ. Тамга накладывается преимущественно на лошадяхъ и верблюдахъ, при томъ съ лѣвой стороны (съ которой садятся на лошадь). Часть тѣла, гдѣ выжигается тамга, разнствуетъ у различныхъ родовъ. Такъ напр., колѣно Турайгыръ выжигаетъ тамгу на головѣ, Кукузъ—на боку, Казъ и Кедель—на плечѣ, Каракынчакъ—на животѣ, одно колѣно Кыпчаковъ, живущее около Троицка, на лапкѣ. У овецъ и рогатаго скота не выжигаютъ тамгъ, а нарѣзываютъ ухо, правое или лѣвое. Эта зарубка называется эи, кез. Иногда дѣлаютъ нѣсколько штриховъ на щекѣ животнаго вмѣсто тамги. Это называется сурма. Хотя всякій, желающій отмѣтить свой скотъ, можетъ изобрѣсти себѣ тамгу, эи и пр.; но, разъ установивъ этотъ знакъ, онъ не можетъ его измѣнить, исключая того слу-

(*) В. П. Наливкинъ.

БѢЛАЯ КОСТЬ
САДЫКЪ
СЫНЪ КЕНИСАРЫ КАСИМОВА

[Face p. 4]

чая, когда онъ видѣлъ кого либо, вслѣдствіе ревнивости свата (*).

Отецъ каракиргизовъ происходилъ отъ мирата (сагын). Онъ женился между киргизами и женился на одной ихъ дѣвицѣ, отъ которой родился у него единственная дочь. Отецъ приставилъ къ ней 40 прислужницъ. Однажды ханская дочь вышла съ 40 прислужницами къ большой рѣкѣ, гдѣ замѣтила плывущую пѣну. Созерцая пѣну, дѣвицы услышали слова, исходившія изъ нея: «ты правъ и я правъ» (антаахан менде ак) (**). Дѣвицы изъ любопытства, обмакнувъ пальцы въ пѣну, облизали ихъ, и вскорѣ оказалось, что всѣ онѣ забеременѣли. Ханъ Сагынъ выгналъ ихъ на высокія горы, ибо не хотѣлъ убивать ихъ. Найдя пропитаніе въ горахъ, онѣ родили 40 сыновей и 40 дочерей, а всего 80 человѣкъ потомства. Эти дѣти, когда выросли, перженились между собою. Народъ, отъ нихъ образовавшійся, сталъ называться кыргызъ (кыр—кыз, 40 дѣвицъ). Каракиргизы остались жить въ горахъ, а киргизы въ долинѣ. Съ теченіемъ времени, нѣкоторые изъ каракиргизовъ прославились и оставили по себѣ роды, другіе измельчали и, не образовавъ родовъ, исчезли. Имя одного родоначальника было Унгъ (правый), имя другаго Солъ (лѣвый). Первый происходилъ отъ дочери хана, а другой отъ дочери визиря. Отъ обоихъ происходили каракиргизскіе роды.

Киргизскіе дворяне или бѣлая кость (ак сюк, тюря, султан) не причисляются ни къ одной ордѣ, ни къ одному роду. Они не раздѣляются на колѣна (нераздѣльны, «таги»). Они суть потомки хановъ, царствовавшихъ въ степи, напр. Аблай-хана. По сообщенію Султана Даулетъ Бушаева, Перовскаго уѣзда, тюри суть потомки халифа Аббаса (ибни Аппас), а въ тоже время и потомки Чингиз-хана.

(*) См. приложеніе № 2.

(**) Форма этихъ словъ правильнѣе въ исторіи Кокандскаго ханства, В. П. Наливкина, стр. 15: аза зелхан мана зелхан (и то истина, и это истина). Разсказъ объ этомъ находится также въ Путешествіи по окраинамъ русской Азіи, М. Венюкова. С.-Петербургъ. 1860 г. стр. 155.

Одинъ изъ мѣстныхъ мѣрцевъ, по имени Найнутъ, разсказываетъ, что мѣная царевна, которую отецъ никуда не пускалъ, держа ее запертою въ темной комнатѣ, забеременѣла отъ случайно попавшаго луча солнца. Отецъ бросилъ ее въ воду. Оттуда ее спасъ охотникъ, по имени Доншолъ. Отъ луча она родила родоначальника царствовавшихъ семилій (Чингиз-хана), а отъ Доншола у нея родились сыновья: Бургелтай, Будаватай, Табанатай и Таргалтай, отъ которыхъ происходятъ тюри у киргизовъ.

Настоящими тюрями (нагъ тюря) считаютъ тѣхъ, у кого не только отецъ, но и мать была отъ бѣлой кости.

Къ бѣлой кости относятся также ходжи и сейиды. Ходжи считаются потомками сподвижниковъ пророка, а сейиды, которыхъ между киргизами немного, потомками сына Хусейна, имама Зейнульабуддина, а поэтому наилучшими изъ ходжей.

Ходжи живутъ въ кибиткахъ около святынь, напр. Бабаата, Туркестанскаго уѣзда, въ сѣверныхъ отрогахъ Каратау; занимаются земледѣліемъ, развозною торговлею и ученостью, и походятъ скорѣе на сартовъ. Въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ есть также ходжи изъ кочевыхъ киргизовъ, между прочимъ около Той-тюбе. Между каракиргизами Аулієатинскаго уѣзда и Ферганской области нѣтъ ходжей.

Въ противоположность бѣлой кости остальной народъ называется черною костью, кара суекъ, а также подданными, рая, пукара.

Нынѣ законъ и, по примѣру его, адатъ, не дѣлаютъ никакого различія между бѣлою костью и остальнымъ народомъ. Когда аксуяки вѣжливы, то имъ оказываютъ особый почетъ; но при столкновеніи съ ними говорятъ имъ: «нынѣ и рабы свободны; намъ не менѣе дана свобода; на грубое обращеніе мы отвѣчаемъ грубо» (Микебай, бій Перовскаго уѣзда). Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ положительно отрицаютъ привиллегіи бѣлой кости.

Браки заключаются нынѣ между бѣлою и черною костью безпрепятственно; между тѣмъ какъ прежде женщина высшаго

[illegible], [illegible] на [illegible], [illegible] своихъ [illegible] [illegible] и подвергались [illegible] (Султанъ Даулетъ Вуцьевъ).

Туленгуты были [illegible] и [illegible] изъ бѣдныхъ, служившіе у [illegible] и [illegible] [illegible]. Прежде они служили изъ за [illegible] имущественъ (ничи), изъ за [illegible] и вообще изъ за [illegible]. Послѣ полученія [illegible] или ничи, они продолжали у [illegible] [illegible] службу, отъ которой имѣли разные доходы. Прежніе туленгуты служатъ еще и теперь, но за плату. Названіе это выходитъ, вскорѣ, изъ употребленія.

Маканы у [illegible] лучшіе люди, происходящіе отъ цѣлаго ряда бѣевъ. Они пользуются почетомъ не большимъ, впрочемъ, чѣмъ вообще всѣ хорошіе люди. Маканъ есть не вполнѣ потомственное званіе: если сынъ маканъ хуже отца, злой или обѣднѣвшій, то онъ перестаетъ быть маканомъ; съ другой стороны, какой нибудь выскочка изъ простаго народа, хотя и хорошій человѣкъ, не можетъ быть маканомъ. Біи могутъ и могли быть не только изъ макановъ, но и изъ не макановъ, безъ различія (*).

Почетный [illegible] Мулла Асанъ, самъ маканъ, сообщилъ о маканахъ слѣдующее:

«Маканъ есть званіе, въ родѣ русскаго князя. Ни одинъ маканъ не произошелъ изъ дома Чингиз-хана. Маканами стали тѣ, которые выдѣлялись изъ народа (юртаи сомъ), отличались храбростью и щедростью и предводительствовали народомъ во время безначалія. Во время непріятельскихъ нашествій собирали весь народъ и предводительствовали имъ (за баклаган) тѣ, которые сами выдѣлялись между прочими маканами (уз сомъ чыкти). Ихъ не выбирали; но если бы стали выбирать, то выбрали бы ихъ».

Родословныхъ списковъ макановъ не существуетъ.

Въ Аулиеатинскомъ уѣздѣ теперь считаются маканами слѣдующія лица со своими родичами: а (Мулла Асанъ Джингель-

(*) Сообщено Ф. Бурстаем Даулетгуреевым.

дынъ), Кыдыралы Нурашевъ, Шадыбекъ Сарлисеновъ, Шазаръ Хангельдіевъ, Канай Бешмурадовъ, Сейдъ Качкинъ, Этембердн Усеновъ и Арсали Нуранъ. Всѣ они между собою не родственны».

У каракиргизовъ нѣтъ тюрей и телевкутовъ.

Рабы (*), освобожденные русскими, затерялись совершенно. Кажется, большинство ихъ вернулось на родину; часть стала выдавать себя за киргизовъ; нѣкоторые смѣшались съ ними по усыновленію.

Порядокъ старшинства соблюдается: 1) при раздѣлѣ всякой добычи (олджа); хотя тотъ, кто первый захватилъ добычу, желаетъ присвоить себѣ львиную долю изъ вся, но старшіе происхожденіемъ обыкновенно берутъ себѣ долю первые; 2) при вступленіи въ домъ (вухтагасыб киреди, вступаютъ по порядку) и разсаживаніи по мѣстамъ; почетнѣйшее мѣсто есть тур, противъ входа; 3) при открытіи торжества (туй быстаган), спорятъ о томъ, кому, какъ старшему по роду, начать пѣніе (улен), ибо тому полагается подарокъ; 4) въ качествѣ предлагаемаго кушанья.

Старшинство между ордами, родами и колѣнами идетъ по прямой линіи: самый послѣдній родъ Великой орды имѣетъ преимущество предъ самымъ старшимъ родомъ Средней орды и т. д. Оправдываютъ это тѣмъ, что предокъ старше (атасы улкун) (**).

Родъ Джаланръ считается нынѣ старшимъ изъ Великой орды. На пирахъ, при подачѣ кушаньевъ, спрашиваютъ: есть-ли на лицо старшій изъ родовъ, Джаланръ? (вухтагасы Джаланр барма?), для того чтобы поднести ему первому. На свадьбахъ начинаютъ пѣніе Джаланры, а когда ихъ нѣтъ, то Ошанты.

(*) Рабы назывались кінди тугаи бала (сынъ, родившійся одѣтымъ).

(**) У могаловъ ханамъ наслѣдовали младшіе, т. е. незамѣдленные сыновья. И теперь еще младшіе сыновья, какъ наслѣдники отцовской кибитки (улкун уй), приобрѣтаютъ больше извѣстности тѣмъ, что они устраиваютъ похороны и поминки; къ нимъ являются гости и просители обычныхъ подарковъ и вспомоществованій; наконецъ они уже при жизни отца пользуются большимъ почетомъ. Они сами обязаны чествовать старшихъ братьевъ. По смерти отца, гости, явившіеся прежде всего въ домъ младшаго, чтобы почтить память отца (арвах сінгейиз, ни чтимъ духа), обращаются для совѣщаній къ старшему его брату.

Вотъ, вероятно, доказательство, что этотъ родъ не былъ въ самомъ началѣ старшій по происхожденію. Укурбокъ, бій Аулієатинскаго уѣзда, передаетъ слѣдующій разсказъ. Однажды Джаланръ, съ другими, выѣхалъ отбивать лошадей у противниковъ. Захвативъ большимъ количествомъ недоуздковъ (пухта), онъ усѣлъ пригнать лошадей гораздо больше, чѣмъ его товарищи. Вслѣдствіе этого онъ получилъ прозваніе пухтагасы, которое съ тѣхъ поръ стало употребляться въ смыслѣ старшаго въ родѣ. Пухта-агасы, хозяинъ или начальникъ недоуздковъ. Торгай, допуская, что Джаланръ, можетъ быть, былъ возможно и сталъ старшимъ, какъ наслѣдникъ отцовскаго чангарака, отвергаетъ однако этотъ разсказъ, на томъ основаніи, что пухтагасы не происходитъ отъ слова пухта. Киргизы рода Ошакты утверждаютъ, что Ошакты старше Джаланра, хотя послѣдній имѣетъ преимущество, какъ законный (никеи) сынъ. Мать всѣхъ родовъ Великой орды Юнарбайбише, отъ похоти, зародившейся при видѣ одного проходившаго мимо ея мужчины, имѣла, безъ сношенія съ нимъ, ребенка. Она сунула его въ очагъ (ошак), отчего нашедшіе его люди дали ему имя Ошакты. Послѣ него она имѣла законнаго сына Джаланра.

Почетному лицу, т. е. старшему родомъ (пухтагасы), старшему въ родѣ или колѣнѣ (аксакал), наконецъ ходжѣ, муллѣ и т. п., предлагаютъ, если есть, чай, лепешки, плоды (*), а изъ мясного: первому голову животнаго (**), или, по сообщенію другихъ лицъ, голову съ бокомъ (жибас) и лопаткою (мыкын), или голову съ бокомъ и пожками; второму бокъ (жибас); третьему бедро (ортан йилик, ортай илик); четвертому голень (асык йилик) (***); послѣднему плечо (джаурин). Изъ конины подгривное сало (казы) считается въ числѣ весьма почетныхъ кусковъ.

По свѣдѣніямъ изъ Аулієатинскаго уѣзда, куски барана, по степени почетности, слѣдуютъ такимъ образомъ: орта йилик

(*) См. приложеніе № 3.

(**) Самою вкусною частью головы считается носъ.

(***) Асык—коленная чашка.

(бедро передней ноги) — парням; асык йалин (голень задней ноги) — женщинамъ; кор йалин или кари йалин (голень передней ноги) — хозяйкѣ (байбише); туе (грудь) — жениху; курин (плечо и бедро передней ноги) — старцамъ; тонна (бедро задней ноги) — взрослымъ дѣвицамъ (бун йаткон кызларга); куйрык (хвостъ) — женщинамъ и дѣвицамъ.

По свѣдѣніямъ изъ Курминскаго уѣзда, мужчинамъ даютъ: бас (голову), кабырга (ребро), умуртка (позвонки), бакай (копыта и кости надъ копытами всѣхъ четырехъ ногъ) и йаличик (немного выше бакая) (*); женщинамъ же: жабак (бокъ), ортан йалик (бедро) и кор йалик (голень передней ноги).

Султаны, по мнѣнію Султана Даулета Бушаева, хотя бы были самыми почетными лицами на пирѣ, не получаютъ головы: имъ полагается асык йалик (голень).

По бію Халиахамиеду, Чиликтинскаго уѣзда, богачи часто угощаютъ своихъ гостей тремя нижними парами ребръ барана, называемыми субе кабырга; они также угощаютъ гостей куйрукбауромъ (**), хотя бы тѣ и не были сватами (см. главу о сватовствѣ).

Кушанье, приносимое на блюдахъ (табак), прежде всего подаютъ самымъ почетнымъ лицамъ, которыя произносятъ молитву (ната), въ родѣ: аулели куданынг проллыгина, жинини тубынынг кабыллыгына (или еще мураттынг асылыгына) мал бастынг бесеретине (за милость Бога, за достиженіе желаній, за благоденствіе скота и людей). Поѣмъ сами, они передаютъ остатки ниже ихъ сидящимъ лицамъ. Гость съ своего блюда угощаетъ (асатады) хозяина, кладя ему кусокъ прямо въ ротъ или въ руку. Объѣдки (сарыт) онъ оставляетъ дочери или невѣсткѣ хозяина, а если ихъ нѣтъ, то хозяйкѣ.

У каракиргизовъ куски животнаго раздѣляются на самыча и колмыча. По почету, они идутъ въ такомъ порядкѣ:

(*) Пастуху овецъ даютъ: мунин (мозг) и кутен (большую кость).
(**) Почечка съ курдючнымъ саломъ.

1) голова съ однимъ бокомъ—аксакалу.

2) курдючное сало съ другимъ бокомъ—бѣднѣ, малолѣтнѣ, бесчѣтнѣ, умалишѣнѣ хадамъ и т. п.

3) ванна йяли (джаурин у киргизовъ).

4) ити йяли (осык йяли у киргизовъ).

5) шилдчан или ширак (бакай у киргизовъ).

6) оба плеча (талы).

7) куяр йяли (подлопатки).

8) кар йяли (голень передней ноги).

9) туш (грудь).

10) муюн (шея).

11) ичак карын (кишки)—дѣтямъ и женщинамъ, которымъ не достается обыкновенно ничего изъ лучшихъ кусковъ.

Старшинство считается не по прямой линіи, т. е. братъ всего либо, старшій или младшій, имѣетъ преимущество (улкун йяа) передъ сыномъ того же лица; дяди встрѣчаются съ большимъ почетомъ, чѣмъ племянники (*).

Предъ старшими (аксакалами), т. е. старцами, муллами и вліятельными лицами, даже чужихъ родовъ, сидятъ прилично, не возражаютъ, исполняютъ просьбы. За брань и драку съ ними полагается извиненіе и взыскивается штрафъ.

Если человѣкъ низшій случайно сѣлъ между высшими, то могутъ его прогнать, могутъ и оставить, смотря потому, считаютъ ли его и его отца хорошими людьми или нѣтъ.

Если высшій несправедливо обругаетъ низшаго, то бій можетъ ему замѣтить: „смотри: если ты еще разъ такъ поступишь, то не ему, а тебѣ будетъ назначенъ штрафъ".

Когда высшій бьетъ низшаго, то не взыскивается до трехъ ударовъ включительно; и если низшій во время одного изъ трехъ первыхъ ударовъ отвѣтитъ ударомъ, то онъ платитъ штрафъ.

(*) Хану наслѣдовали братья; затѣмъ его сыновья; затѣмъ сыновья братьевъ.

Послѣдъ не бранятъ и не убиваютъ, по поговоркѣ: ильчиго улун харам, послу смерть запретца.

Нѣкоторыя, напримѣръ, молодыя женщины, не проходятъ предъ старшими, а обходятъ ихъ сзади. Проходя или проѣзжая, по необходимости, впереди ихъ, оказываютъ имъ почтеніе (такимъ), выражающееся въ привѣтѣ, или другомъ знакѣ уваженія. Если женщина пересѣкаетъ дорогу мужчинамъ, то ее останавливаютъ и заставляютъ проѣхать позади ихъ (Перев. у.).

Тюрей привѣтствуютъ, послѣ обычнаго салама, еще словомъ алдіяр (*). О гордыхъ тюряхъ говорятъ: дурной тюря, возгордившійся отъ алдіяра (алдіярга мас булган яман тюре).

На скаку подъѣзжать къ какому нибудь человѣку или къ кибиткѣ предосудительно. «Что случилось? твой отецъ умеръ?» спрашиваютъ у такого съ укоромъ. Избѣгаютъ также кричать кому нибудь издали.

(*) Калмыки, вмѣсто „алдіяр“, Ноет. Ко будетъ спрашивать.

ГЛАВА II.

Родовое начало.—Обычай.

Отражение начала родового начала (*) затемняет въ правѣ сельскаго лишь. находитъ защиту только у своего рода. За преступленіе отвѣчаетъ родъ. Относительная присяга налагается на не отговорившую личность, а на другое лицо изъ ея рода. (**) Вознагражденіе платитъ и получаетъ не лицо, а родъ. При несчастіи душа убивается не непосредственно убійца, а любой человѣкъ изъ его рода. Невѣста принадлежитъ не лицу, а роду. Вдова достается ближайшему родственнику умершаго, а разведенная должна выбрать новаго мужа среди рода прежняго мужа. Опекуномъ является всегда ближайшій родственникъ. Гостинъ оказываютъ пріемъ, смотря по степени родства.

Носители родовой идеи суть богачи и старѣйшины (аксакалы) (***). Бѣдные не знаютъ, кромѣ названій своихъ прямыхъ предковъ и своего рода и колѣна, ничего объ отдаленныхъ развѣтвленіяхъ родства.

Волостные управители, избираемые народомъ, удерживаются на должности только тогда, когда они принадлежатъ къ сильнѣйшему въ волости роду.

Паденіе родового начала сопровождаемо частыми тяжбами между близкими родственниками и неплатежемъ взысканій и долговъ за родню.

(*) О родовомъ началѣ, какъ древнѣйшей ступени соціальнаго развитія всѣхъ народовъ, см. Первобытное право, Максима Ковалевскаго, Москва 1886 г. выпускъ I. Родъ.

(**) Отсюда, человѣкъ бородатый или мусафиръ всегда рискуетъ проиграть дѣло, не имѣя возможности доставить для принятія присяги своихъ родовичей.

(***) У киргизъ аксакалъ есть административное лицо—сельскій старшина, у киргизъ—то лицо, которое называется, по родовитости, наибольшимъ авторитетомъ въ данномъ мѣстѣ.

У киргизовъ находимъ нижеслѣдующія пословицы, относящіяся къ родовымъ отношеніямъ:

Не ходи на охоту съ человѣкомъ изъ чужого рода: подъ бокомъ онъ покушаетъ тебѣ выстрѣлить.

Глупецъ забудетъ, гдѣ онъ родился.

Лучше, чтобы на спичкахъ побѣдилъ перебежкомъ твоего аула, чѣмъ конь чужаго аула.

Лучше быть пастухомъ въ своемъ родѣ, чѣмъ царемъ въ чужомъ народѣ.

Кто не знаетъ именъ своихъ семи предковъ, тотъ отступникъ.

Кто сходится, не становится еще роднымъ; кто родной, тотъ не можетъ стать чужимъ.

Собака не забудетъ мѣсто, гдѣ она найлась, нужъ—гдѣ онъ родился.

Можно родиться вмѣстѣ, но нельзя жить вмѣстѣ.

Не называй своимъ дурнаго родственника, не называй своимъ глазомъ (страшенъ) дурнаго, отдѣляющагося отъ хорошихъ.

Закономъ 1867 года объ управленіи въ Семирѣченской и Сыръ-Дарьинской областяхъ, признано было необходимымъ раздѣлить кочевое населеніе на волости и аулы, съ цѣлью разъединенія киргизскихъ родовъ, ибо признавалось вреднымъ въ политическомъ отношеніи соединеніе большаго рода подъ властью одного родоначальника. На основаніи этого, въ 1867 году были сформированы волости, по возможности, смѣшанныя изъ разныхъ родовъ. Но предоставленіе кочевникамъ права перечисляться изъ одной волости въ другую дало имъ возможность обойти означенную цѣль правительства—ослабить родовое начало.

Чтобы подвести итоги, къ чему привели постоянныя перечисленія киргизовъ изъ одной волости въ другую, въ періодъ времени съ 1867 по 1884 годъ, были потребованы свѣдѣнія отъ уѣздныхъ начальниковъ Сыръ-Дарьинской области, отъ которыхъ и получены слѣдующіе отвѣты:

1) Начальникъ Аулієатинскаго уѣзда объясняетъ, что со

времени образованія имѣній, родовое начало значительно потеряло свое первоначальное значеніе. Это подтверждается слѣдующимъ: а) въ народныхъ судахъ преимущественно назначаются біяи уже не изъ того рода или отдѣленія, къ которому принадлежатъ обвиняемый или доноситель, а изъ той волости, аула, пятидесятки, или десятки, гдѣ они числятся; б) при несостоятельности виновныхъ, къ платежу присужденнаго скота по уголовнымъ дѣламъ, привлекаются уже не родственники (*), а однозульцы обвиняемаго и, смотря по величинѣ иска, къ платежѣ скота участвуютъ или весь аулъ, или же только тѣ 50 или 10 кибитокъ, къ которымъ принадлежитъ обвиняемый; в) перечисленія печенѣговъ изъ одной волости въ другую или изъ аула въ аулъ происходятъ, большею частью, для пріобрѣтенія поземельныхъ правъ для хлѣбопашества, такъ какъ въ настоящее время кочевое населеніе придаетъ весьма большое значеніе поземельному пользованію; г) теперь баранта въ сильныхъ размѣрахъ прекратилась; грабежи весьма незначительные; по убійствамъ нѣтъ надобности прибѣгать къ кровавой мести для полученія удовлетворенія; по мошенникамъ и обманамъ нѣтъ надобности прибѣгать къ насилію, такъ какъ, въ случаѣ неполученія удовлетворенія, они могутъ обратиться къ русской власти, которая заставитъ народныхъ судей разобрать дѣло и удовлетворить истцовъ, а потому во всѣхъ такихъ дѣлахъ не настоитъ необходимости искать защиты у родовичей; д) теперь не существуетъ захвата земель однимъ родомъ у другаго, въ защиту котораго прочіе роды соединялись бы между собою.

Не смотря на все это, тяготѣніе къ своимъ родамъ все таки существуетъ, хотя нѣкоторые роды числятся по нѣсколькимъ волостямъ. Это поддерживается вліятельными лицами, представителями своихъ родовъ, такъ какъ родовое начало содѣйствуетъ къ удержанію

(*) Примѣчаніе I къ § 161 проекта положенія объ управленіи въ Сыръ-Дарьинской и Сыръ-Дарьинской областяхъ: „Если, при совершеніи преступленій, нанесенъ ущербъ казенной или частной собственности, виновный, кромѣ личнаго наказанія по закону, присуждается къ вознагражденію убытковъ. Въ случаѣ несостоятельности виновнаго, уплата убытковъ у киргизовъ, на основаніи обычаевъ, относится на родственниковъ его".

ихъ значенія въ народѣ и для составленія большинства голосовъ при выборахъ (*). Оно сильнѣе въ тѣхъ волостяхъ, потомки которыхъ составлялись почти исключительно изъ одного рода, а аулы изъ одного отдѣленія. Впрочемъ, въ аулахъ пріобрѣтаетъ большее значеніе родство по женской линіи.

Къ усиленію значенія родоваго начала также содѣйствуютъ неопредѣленности и неточности границъ волостей и ауловъ. Бываютъ нерѣдко случаи, что киргизы, принадлежа къ одной волости или къ одному аулу, занимаютъ земли для пашенъ и зимовокъ въ другихъ волостяхъ и аулахъ. Поземельное устройство и точное опредѣленіе границъ волостей и ауловъ будетъ имѣть огромное вліяніе на уничтоженіе родоваго начала. Когда каждый аулъ будетъ имѣть свой земельный надѣлъ, то переходъ кибитокъ будетъ производиться только въ хозяйственныхъ соображеніяхъ, а не для составленія большинства голосовъ своимъ родовичамъ.

2) По мнѣнію начальника Туркестанскаго уѣзда, административное дѣленіе киргизовъ по аулами и волостямъ нисколько не достигло цѣли и родовое начало, по прежнему, твердо держится. Этому способствовало между прочимъ то обстоятельство, что волости были образованы по родамъ или по отдѣленіямъ и всѣ перечисленія киргизовъ изъ одной волости въ другую вызывались желаніемъ родоваго единенія.

3) Казалинскій (**) уѣздный начальникъ высказываетъ, что раздѣленіе на волости и аулы, при выборномъ началѣ должностныхъ лицъ, значительно подавило стремленіе родовичей играть первенствующую роль, или вліять на управленіе народомъ.

(*) Лица туземной администраціи: волостные управители и аульные старшины избираются народомъ и утверждаются въ должностяхъ областною или уѣздною администраціею.

(**) О перечисленіи киргизовъ изъ волости въ волость въ своихъ родичахъ и о силѣ родовыхъ правителей въ степи, рядомъ съ волостными управителями, см. статью помощника Казалинскаго уѣзднаго начальника К. А. Александрова: „Изъ жизни степныхъ уѣздовъ Сыръ-Дарьинской области", въ Туркестанскихъ вѣдомостяхъ 1886 года № 17. „До сего времени ослабленія родоваго начала не замѣтно. Законъ 1867 года въ этомъ отношеніи не имѣлъ силы разрушающаго дѣйствія", пишетъ г. Александровъ въ 1887 году.

Вновь сдѣланное разграниченіе волостей имѣло бы еще большее вліяніе на подавленіе родового начала. Теперь же киргизы разныхъ и весьма отдаленныхъ между собою волостей, но одного рода, почуютъ большею частью нѣтъ на земляхъ, которыя считаются ими родовыми; а потому часто не допускаютъ пользоваться землею тѣмъ аулямъ, которые, вслѣдствіе постояннаго своего пребыванія въ этихъ мѣстахъ и снабженія ихъ оросительными каналами, имѣютъ большее на то право.

4) Начальникъ Бурашинскаго уѣзда сообщилъ, что въ этомъ уѣздѣ сильныхъ киргизскихъ родовъ не было, такъ какъ жители его еще во время мусульманскаго владычества пришли сюда или небольшими отдѣленіями, или по одиночкѣ. При перечисленіяхъ изъ волости въ волость, сильные роды не охотно выдѣляютъ своихъ членовъ и послѣдніе тоже не охотно отрываются отъ своего рода; перечисляются же, въ большинствѣ, бѣдняки разрозненныхъ родовъ. Киргизы, имѣющіе сильныхъ родовичей, живутъ зажиточнѣе, потому что въ трудныя минуты богатые помогаютъ своимъ бѣднымъ родовичамъ и зачастую платятъ за нихъ подати, а бѣдные въ свою очередь оплачиваютъ это своимъ трудомъ. При разрозненности родовъ, бѣдняки, предоставленные самимъ себѣ, годъ отъ году худѣютъ, не имѣя крѣпкой руки, косвенно ими управляющей. По мнѣнію начальника уѣзда, нравственность киргизовъ, принадлежащихъ къ большому роду, значительно выше нравственности пришельцевъ разрозненныхъ родовъ. Это объясняется тѣмъ, что родовое управленіе еще и теперь не потеряло своего значенія и глава рода въ средѣ киргизовъ имѣетъ вліяніе даже большее, чѣмъ русская администрація.

5) Чиликтскій уѣздъ занятъ киргизами Большой орды; кочевой бытъ между ними сохранился въ совершенной чистотѣ. Каждый киргизъ здѣсь хорошо знаетъ: какого онъ рода, отдѣленія и даже подотдѣленія. Родовое начало сохранилось въ полной силѣ, а вмѣстѣ съ нимъ и власть родовичей. Предоставленное кочевникамъ право перечисляться изъ волости въ волость дало возможность соединиться киргизскимъ родамъ, и въ настоя-

цее время въ каждой изъ волостей преобладаетъ какой нибудь одинъ родъ. Изъ этого преобладающаго рода выбирается волостной управитель, который вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ играетъ роль и родовича; аульные старшины выбираются тоже преимущественно изъ главнаго рода. Ни одна изъ волостей Чимкентскаго уѣзда не имѣетъ территоріальныхъ границъ и юртовладѣльцы большей части волостей разбросаны по всему уѣзду. Выборное начало хотя и ослабило власть единичнаго родовича въ цѣломъ волѣнѣ, но повело за собой образованіе мелкой родовой аристократіи—аткаминаровъ (*). Аткаминары—это, по большей части, лица, бывшія волостными, біями, аульными и даже пятидесятниками. Такъ какъ на всѣ эти должности выбираются люди вліятельные въ родѣ, то и послѣ смѣны съ должности возлѣ нихъ остаются приверженцы и родственники отъ 20 до 150 кибитокъ. Аткаминаръ считается покровителемъ своихъ приверженцевъ; на выборахъ и въ дѣлахъ судебныхъ онъ является ихъ представителемъ.

Въ подтвержденіе сказаннаго приводимъ ниже сего списокъ волостей Чимкентскаго уѣзда, съ обозначеніемъ количества кибитокъ по родамъ, входящимъ въ составъ волости.

Аташская волость, . .	роды:	Сиргели .	889	кибитокъ.
		Синымъ .	93	,,
		Сеуванъ .	38	,,
		Итого	1020	,,
Аннолинская ,, .	,,	Сты . .	956	,,
		Ошанты .	228	,,
		Канглы .	16	,,
		Конградъ .	2	,,
		Итого	1202	,,
Арысовская ,, . .	,,	Конградъ .	1160	,,
Ансуйская ,,	,,	Джанысъ .	884	,,
		Чимиръ .	841	,,
		Сары Айсюнъ	40	,,

(*) Аткаминаръ буквально значитъ: ѣздящій на лошади, въ переносномъ смыслѣ—человѣкъ богатый.

Алтуйская волость, . .	рода:	Джагодайды	62	жителей,
		Сикынъ .	139	„
		Аргынъ .	9	„
		Ботиай .	3	„
		Итого	1978	„
Бакрушская „ .	„	Кенградъ .	1462	„
Вентенгалинская „ .	„	Сиргели .	156	„
		Сты . .	900	„
		Ошакты .	289	„
		Джаланръ .	134	„
		Итого	1479	„
Бурадинская „ .	„	Чиняръ .	1053	„
		Сикынъ .	8	„
		Абданъ .	9	„
		Итого .	1070	„
Карабуланская „ .	„	Сикынъ .	1036	„
		Шеншикылы	65	„
		Сиргели .	90	„
		Чиняръ .	128	„
		Итого .	1319	„
Каранурутовская „ .	„	Сикынъ .	1344	„
		Шаиранты	94	„
		Абданъ .	80	„
		Аргынъ .	20	„
		Кавгалы .	15	„
		Сты . .	19	„
		Ботиай . .	20	„
		Ошакты .	10	„
		Кара-киргизовъ	20	„
		Сиргели .	15	„
		Итого .	1637	„
Кызылурутовская „ .	„	Джаныстъ .	1421	„
		Адбанъ .	150	„

Кемикуртовская волость,	роды:	Синымъ .	50	шабатокъ.
		Сты . .	47	„
		Итого.	1668	„
Кунгей-Сергелинская	„ „	Сергели .	849	„
		Джаланръ .	162	„
		Итого.	1011	„
Найманцовская .	„ „	Чиняръ .	1312	„
		Канглы Шенжилы	413	„
		Джанысъ .	50	„
		Ботпай .	251	„
		Итого	2026	„
Сорыкульская .	„ „	Конградъ .	1455	„
		Аргынъ .	19	„
		Керей . .	17	„
		Итого	1491	„
Сергелинская .	„ „	Сергели .	1827	„
		Конградъ .	12	„
		Итого	1839	„
Тилинская .	„ „	Сты . .	1599	„
Чаяновская .	„ „	Сергели .	1034	„
Чилинская .	„ „	Найманъ .	705	„
		Аргынъ .	249	„
		Кынчакъ .	152	„
		Ходжа . .	154	„
		Итого	1160	„
Чульская . .	„ „	Синымъ .	900	„
		Джагалбайлы	156	„
		Итого	1056	„
Джанысовская .	„ „	Чегыръ .	416	„
		Джанысъ .	603	„

Дмитриевская	„	Сергеев	11 „
		Итого	1030 „

б) Начальникъ Перовского уѣзда сообщилъ, что административное дѣленіе уѣзда на волости и аулы существуетъ только оффиціально. Въ дѣйствительности, волости и аулы состоятъ или изъ потомковъ одного рода, или изъ ближайшихъ между собою родовъ, что подтверждается нижеслѣдующимъ. Три волости, расположенныя выше Перовска, исключительно принадлежатъ къ роду Кымчакъ, и хотя есть между ними 150 кибитокъ Аргынъ и 200 киб. Найманъ, но они, по малочисленности, не имѣютъ значенія между Кымчакамъ и находятся подъ ихъ вліяніемъ. Кинтубская волость составлена исключительно изъ Дикинасъ. Этотъ родъ также господствуетъ въ Царской, Константиновской, Сапрыновской и Чатанской волостяхъ, надъ малочисленными родами: Бахтіаръ, Ходжа, Тазаръ, Найманъ и проч. Джумартовская волость состоитъ изъ Керейтъ, Ванзанская—изъ Табынъ, Карамачинская—изъ Алшынъ и Керейтъ, Николаевская, Кысбугутская и Янидарьинская—изъ Чуниевой и Аккырская—изъ Кете. Посредствомъ часто повторяющихся перечисленій кочевники группируются въ свои роды.

Обычай, по которому живутъ и судятся киргизы, называется тюрскимъ словомъ зангъ, или арабскимъ словомъ адатъ.

Начало занга, надо полагать, кроется въ томъ отдаленномъ времени, когда всѣ, разбросанныя теперь по Азіи, тюркскія народности жили одною общею жизнью. Доказательствомъ этого служитъ между прочимъ то, что такія, сильно окоснѣвшіяся отрасли тюркскаго народа, какъ якуты, буряты, тунгузы и другіе сибирскіе инородцы, имѣютъ много общихъ съ киргизами обычаевъ (Сборн. обычнаго права сибирскихъ инородцевъ Д. Я. Самоквасова): родоваго начала, калыма, принадлежности невѣсты не лицу, а роду, мѣны дочерями безъ калыма, названія тархун въ значеніи «родня жены, отцовскій домъ жены», штрафа за воровство въ 2 скотины (у бурятъ), очистительной присяги, отказъ отъ которой составляетъ изобличеніе (у бурятъ), усыно-

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

нія пашенныя за непріятеля поровотна (у якутовъ), потеря по четвертое поровотна (у бурятъ), послѣдованія повзрѣлѣвшихъ дѣтей (у якутовъ), обязательности отдариванія (у якутовъ), опекуна (у бурятъ), святости съ малыхъ лѣтъ (у бурятъ); мѣщанка на нѣкоторъ собственности (у якутовъ); частное на существо состоитъ въ одѣждѣ и уборѣ; нѣкоторой имѣетъ отдается на сестра (у бурятъ); одна выходитъ за родственника жена (у бурятъ); она вольна не выходить замужъ (у бурятъ и у тунгузовъ).

У киргизовъ законъ или адатъ тотъ же, что и у киргизовъ, съ небольшими отступленіями.

Въ законѣ не отличаются обычаи частной жизни отъ обычаевъ судебныхъ; не разграничиваются обязательства нравственныя отъ юридическихъ, высказанія домашнія и административныя отъ судебныхъ.

Въ древнемъ законѣ не было разницы между авторитетомъ, родственностью и судебною и административною властями.

Слова «право» въ европейскомъ смыслѣ не существуетъ въ киргизскомъ языкѣ. Слово хак означаетъ: 1) истину, 2) Богъ и 3) право на получеміе чего либо.

Древнѣйшее право было правомъ сильнаго (*). Личныхъ правъ не было вовсѣ (**). Свобода (личная) не отличалась отъ произвола. Нарушеніе интересовъ того либо влекло за собою борьбу, слѣдствіемъ которой была побѣда или примиреніе. Впослѣдствіи произвольно выработался обычай примиренія на основаніи имѣющихъ удовлетворенія. Добровольныя уступки, напр. пашенныя, надѣлъ земли, основаны на сознаніи насильственнаго отнятія.

Какъ личность постепенно начинаетъ понимать возможность пользоваться удобствами, предоставляемыми ей существу-

(*) Есть послѣдствіе: одна человѣка для одного человѣка—Богъ; «сверхъ свѣтъ», т. е. мало народа свѣтъ.

(**) Впрочемъ, личность была другомъ по власти рода. Въ адатахъ кокандскихъ городовъ приведены статьи изъ сборника кайтакскихъ адатовъ Рустамъ-хана XII вѣка: «если какое либо селеніе, принадлежащее кайтакскому обществу, отдѣлится, то съ него брать 200 руб.» Каждый одинъ изъ либо отдѣлится отъ общества, то съ него брать 100 рублей».

пищить передъ, въ силахъ свободы дѣйствій, защиты закона отъ притѣсненій, обжалованія рѣшеній и пр. Чѣмъ ближе къ городу, тѣмъ больше уважаются права личности.

Главныя положенія изустнаго преданія обычнаго права вездѣ одинаковы. Детали варіируютъ по времени и мѣсту. Уже есть сознаніе, что единство киргизовъ почеевотъ (казактынг бирлигі кетеди), вслѣдствіе паденія родоваго начала и общности имущества. Измѣненныя условія жизни вызвали возникновеніе, такъ сказать, новаго адата. На замѣнъ повліяли: принятіе киргизами веры, сосѣдство поселенцевъ по укрѣпленіямъ, переходъ части почевниковъ къ осѣдлому состоянію, нравственное вліяніе и распоряженія русской администраціи. Главныя черты новаго адата суть: ограниченіе родовой связи и родоваго имущества болѣе тѣснымъ кругомъ, какъ это и было цѣлью закона, по которому управлялся Туркестанскій край до 1887 года (*); дарованіе невѣстамъ и вдовамъ свободы выбора мужа; введеніе въ употребленіе письменныхъ актовъ; замѣна счета на скотъ счетомъ на деньги и проч.

Нынѣ старый адатъ потерялъ силу (адаттынг куши кетти). Возникаетъ новый адатъ. Стали употреблять такія формулы: согласно адату чрезвычайнаго съѣзда между такими-то уѣздами. Значительная часть занятій нынѣшнихъ съѣздовъ біевъ состоитъ въ присужденіи денегъ по векселямъ и росписямъ. Нерѣдко разсматриваются такіе документы, какъ свидѣтельства русскихъ врачей, акты о поимкѣ воровъ съ поличнымъ, подложные протоколы и росписки, протоколы съ особымъ мнѣніемъ меньшинства, справки изъ транспортной конторы. Между исками встрѣчаются: о невыдачѣ копіи съ рѣшенія, о присвоеніи денегъ, переданныхъ для взноса въ уѣздную ссудную кассу съ процентами, о серебряныхъ часахъ, пропавшихъ у проститутки и т. под. Съѣздъ скрѣпляетъ поземельныя и др. рѣшенія (осу ишин ныгытамыз); отбираетъ подписку съ помирившихся въ преду-

(*) Проектъ положенія объ управленіи въ Семирѣченской и Сыръ-Дарьинской областяхъ, 1887 года.

преданіе возобновленія всего хуна; наконецъ даже постановляетъ вѣчное рѣшеніе, нововведеніе, неслыханное въ древнемъ адатѣ. Рядомъ съ нововведеніями юридическими идутъ онтологическія. Для примѣра приводимъ обыкновенное начало протоколовъ происшедшихъ съѣздовъ Перовскаго уѣзда: бя чирмалчайный ръйа біилери ясайнилер ушбу пуртукулиг аниг хапыида ким..... Вмѣсто «бій» попадается «судья бій». О самомъ характерѣ настоящаго адата (толук адат) можно слышать разногласія у біевъ. Отсюда желаніе, высказанное нѣкоторыми лицами русской администраціи, имѣть кодексъ адатовъ, собранный по распросамъ и просмотрѣнный при участіи свѣдущихъ лицъ, который служилъ бы для огражденія тяжущихся отъ произвола суда.

Между киргизами существуетъ стремленіе къ шаріату, изучаемому ихъ болѣе учеными муллами. Такъ напр., Авизъ (Перов. уѣзда), высказалъ: «жаль, что при взятіи края мы не выпросили себѣ шаріата; адата нѣтъ, есть шаріатъ». На вопросъ о статьяхъ шаріата, непредусмотрѣнныхъ адатомъ, напр. о правѣ сосѣда (шефа), какъ привиллегированнаго покупателя, бій Умурбекъ, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда, признавалъ шаріатъ важнѣе адата. На вопросъ о столкновеніяхъ шаріата и адата, онъ сказалъ: «мы рабы шаріата, за адатъ не стоимъ» (шаріатка кулмыз адатка таласпаймыз). Только по поводу непокрытія лица женщинами (*) онъ допустилъ, что это обычай (минес раси) киргизовъ, которые пользуются большею свободою (казак кенг булады). Торгай объ адатѣ отозвался такъ: «адатъ есть прямо перосе-

(*) Въ Ягабазарѣ, около Ташкента, бывшій волостной управитель Мулла Муса и киргизъ Джуматай хотѣли у себя дома ввести затворничество женщинъ. Но киргизы продолжали входить къ нимъ (басаверли). Они говорили: „наши отцы и дѣды не заставляли женщинъ закрываться; въ нашемъ законѣ этого нѣтъ" (ата бабаныз затиргы йок, законы мизда йок). Такую же неудачу потерпѣлъ Мулла Муса, когда онъ на свадьбѣ своей дочери хотѣлъ воспретить пѣніе кулетовъ (улеи), такъ какъ ихъ не поютъ у сартовъ. Доводы, на которыхъ киргизы возлагаютъ возможность отступать отъ шаріата въ вопросѣ о закрытіи лица женщинами и не считаютъ грѣхомъ видѣть лицо ея (курген ися гунаегер булмайды), суть слѣдующіе: 1) киргизка, пріобрѣтаемая въ замужество за деньги, является рабынѣ (чури хисаби булады) и 2) она по летто обольщается посторонними, такъ какъ живетъ въ степи и работаетъ около мужа, пасучивая верблюдовъ, доитъ скотъ и нянчитъ дѣтей (бетано аланга куб кунгуль берсейди, байка кимет кылыб тпа артиб ч-а саубъ бала чагасина карабъ юреди).

ногъ (чучманнг больгы болсы): онъ не подчиняется адату. По мнѣнію киргизъ Курминскаго уѣзда Кильбеева, адатъ отъ всякихъ шаріата (адат шаріатынг йалгыгори). Въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ небольшая часть сѣдлыхъ киргизовъ приняла шаріатъ; большая же часть ихъ держится адата; но въ администрацію неоднократно поступали просьбы о введеніи у нихъ шаріата. Лучшіе люди судятся у казія, гдѣ они скоро могутъ очиститься личною присягою, тогда какъ у біевъ присяга налагается на родню въ третьемъ колѣнѣ и далѣе, что затрудняетъ положеніе тяжущагося. Въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ спрашиваютъ: хочешь ли судиться по адату или по шаріату, и знаютъ, что русскимъ угоденъ (кануд) адатъ.

Въ книгахъ біевъ Перовскаго уѣзда встрѣчаются фразы: «по адату», «по полному адату» (толук адат бунша), «по шаріату» и «по закону». Послѣднее, по толкованію нѣкоторыхъ киргизовъ, имѣетъ цѣлью придать рѣшенію больше силы.

Маковецкій, въ предисловіи къ I выпуску матеріаловъ для изученія юридическихъ обычаевъ киргизовъ (Омскъ 1886 г.), отличаетъ нововведенія отъ старыхъ обычаевъ, относящихся преимущественно къ правамъ, установленнымъ при ханѣ Азъ Тауке. Ханъ Тауке собралъ на уроч. Культюбе (въ Сыръ-Дарьинской области) семь біевъ, въ числѣ которыхъ былъ знаменитый бій Туле Алимбековъ, и эти біи соединили старые обычаи хановъ Касыма и Ишима («Касымханнынг каска джол»—чистая дорога хана Касыма, «Исымханнынг иски джол»—древняя дорога хана Ишима) въ новые обычаи, называемые джоты джарга. Эти обычаи не были записаны, но облечены въ форму краткихъ изреченій и пословицъ, въ значительной части сохранившихся до сихъ поръ и пользующихся всеобщимъ уваженіемъ (*).

Бій Минобай, Перов. уѣзда, оказался въ полномъ невѣдѣніи

(*) О ханѣ Тауке (Тауке) Левшинъ говоритъ: это Лікургъ, это Драконъ киргизскихъ ордъ. Повелѣвая всѣми вообще киргизами, онъ жилъ въ Туркестанѣ; для надзора же и управленія каждою ордою ему были подчинены три начальника: въ Большой ордѣ Тюля, въ Средней—Кобекъ и въ Малой—Айтекъ (часть II, стр. 64).

относительно приведеннаго преданія. Онъ единственно слышалъ выраженіе: «казаттыг каска йолы», въ смыслѣ «настоящій адатъ киргизовъ». Бій Султанъ и Халбій знаютъ, что всѣ три орды ежегодно собирались для совѣщаній (маслагат) (*), на холмѣ Мартубе (въ горахъ около Сайрама). Предметами совѣщаній служили вопросы о томъ, гдѣ зимовать, гдѣ лѣтовать, какъ достигнуть спокойствія (буйтсок тынчыймыз) и какъ воевать. Но бій Султанъ утверждаетъ положительно, что они не измѣняли обычаевъ (раси). До новаго собранія ордъ рѣшенія послѣдняго собранія не нарушались (бузбейды). При Тауке-ханѣ собрались семь біевъ, «джети джаргыш», или, вѣрнѣе, «джети джарги», то есть семь сотрудниковъ (иш биттиретугун). Въ числѣ ихъ было три знатныхъ бія, по одному изъ каждой орды: изъ Великой—Туле, изъ Средней—каз даусты Казбек, т. е. Казбекъ съ голосомъ гуся (звучнымъ), изъ Малой—Айтеке. Что Туле Алибековъ (а не Алимбековъ) и остальные біи соединили обычаи хановъ Ишима и Касыма, Султанъ и Халбій не знаютъ. Чистый путь хана Касыма и древній путь хана Ишима для нихъ суть два названія одной дороги чрезъ Куктюбе, около Турбата, по которой ханы должны были кочевать, когда каракалпаки, завладѣвъ Ташкентомъ, вытѣснили ихъ изъ долины. Они не придаютъ этимъ выраженіямъ значеніе обычаевъ. Туле въ то время владѣлъ Ташкентомъ. Самъ онъ жилъ въ Сартюбе, около Ташкента; въ аишлакѣ Кыбрай жилъ его родственникъ Кыбрай—батыръ; въ аишлакѣ Байтикурганѣ—его родственникъ Байтикъ. На старости, Туле сдѣлалъ сборщикомъ податей или дуванбеги въ Ташкентѣ своего конюха Юнусходжа, изъ племени гальча. По смерти Туле, Юнусходжа выгналъ киргизовъ изъ Ташкента. Война съ ними продолжалась 15—20 лѣтъ, пока пришедшій изъ Кокана на помощь къ нему Маметъ Шерифъ-Аталыкъ не покорилъ киргизовъ. Это было лѣтъ сто тому назадъ.

Относительно того же вопроса киргизъ Чимкентскаго уѣзда

(*) О постепенномъ измѣненіи адатовъ кавказскихъ горцевъ подъ вліяніемъ маслагатовъ, какъ судебныхъ, такъ и рѣчевыхъ, смотри Адаты кавказскихъ горцевъ, стр. 7—22.

Йса Ётырбековъ сообщалъ: «Эсинъ-ханъ или сутуловатый нунъ Эсинъ (всегда були эр Эсин), отправляясь въ Бухару, сказалъ своему визирю Кесынъ-хану, чтобы онъ оставался ханомъ до его возвращенія (отсюда его прозваще Хантурсунъ), но заключилъ съ нимъ условіе, чтобы онъ не убивалъ его семейство. Послѣ своего возвращенія, черезъ 12 лѣтъ, Эсин-ханъ засталъ свое семейство заключеннымъ въ крѣпость Чобъ или Ханымчоби, на верховьѣ Сайранской рѣчки. Пословица: чистый путь и пр., означаетъ киргизскіе адаты, установленные обоими ханами, или же весеннюю дорогу черезъ кишлаки Сайлыкъ и Хатынайлыкъ».

ГЛАВА III.

Степени родства.—Власть родителей.—Совершеннолѣтіе.—Родъ матери.—Усыновленіе.—Опека.—Побратимство.

Незнакомцу прежде всего предлагаютъ вопросы о его родѣ (не вы сен? сюгиш ве?). Если сопесѣдній того же рода, то онъ спрашиваетъ о колѣнѣ, далѣе о подколѣнѣ и т. д., до той группы, послѣ которой уже начинается прямой нисходящій списокъ предковъ. Каждый долженъ знать своихъ предковъ. «Кто не знаетъ семи предковъ, говоритъ пословица, тотъ отступникъ» (это атасын билмегон иуртод) (*). Эти распросы служатъ удостовѣреніемъ личности. На основаніи узнанной степени родства, гости принимаютъ или хорошо, или дурно. Родство считается, какъ говорятъ, до сороковаго колѣна.

Перечисленіе изъ одного рода въ другой невозможно; но пребываніе и кочевка среди чужаго рода допускается.

Браки заключаются между ордами, родами, колѣнами и т. д., до седьмаго «предка», т. е. седьмаго колѣна родства включительно по мужской линіи (**), а, по мнѣнію нѣкоторыхъ, до четвертаго и даже третьяго колѣна. У каракиргизовъ, по заявленію біи Курметая Даулетмулова, браки заключаются до пятаго колѣна. Въ настоящее время берутъ ближе, даже изъ второго колѣна, за что порицаютъ словами: «ты портишь зангъ»; но не расторгаютъ брака и не наказываютъ (***). Мулла Асанъ подтверждаетъ это: «прежде между каракиргизами браки, какъ у

(*) Нашъ неоднократно приходилось удостовѣряться, что даже дѣти 10—11 лѣтъ отчетливо знаютъ своихъ семь предковъ.

(**) Заключаютъ совершенно, когда прошли семь предковъ (это ата утаносоо). Если кто нибудь имѣетъ любовную связь ближе этой степени родства, то его изгоняютъ изъ общества (муттан чыгарды). Сообщеніе біи Хамаланкеда, Чимкентскаго уѣзда.

(***) Въ Семиѣтіи „не могутъ вступить въ бракъ даже тѣ, родство которыхъ исчисляется двѣнадцатью степенями". (Вѣст. Евр. 1866 г., августъ).

КАРАКИРГИЗЪ МАНАПЪ
МУЛЛА АСАНЪ ДЖАНГЕЛЬДИНЪ
АУЛІЕАТИНСКАГО УѢЗДА

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киргизовъ, невѣстъ изъ седьмаго колѣна; теперь же берутъ изъ третьяго, даже начинаютъ брать изъ втораго колѣна, согласно шаріату. Въ этомъ манапы и простой народъ не отличаются».

При каждомъ сватовствѣ не высчитываютъ, сколько поколѣній (ата) прошло послѣ общаго предка обоихъ сватовъ, ибо всегда извѣстно, какія колѣна могутъ заключать между собою браки (кыз алысады), такъ какъ они представляютъ седьмыя или болѣе дальнія поколѣнія общаго предка. Равно извѣстно, какія колѣна и подколѣна не могутъ заключать браковъ (кыз алыспайды), потому что со времени раздѣленія ихъ прошло меньше семи поколѣній. Между колѣнами, не заключающими браковъ, не принято отвѣчать другъ другу пѣніемъ на свадьбѣ.

Причина, почему киргизы не берутъ невѣстъ близкой степени родства, заключается въ томъ, что во 1-хъ, при близкихъ бракахъ не было бы стыдливости между парнями и дѣвицами одного аула, они не стѣснялись бы имѣть любовныя сношенія (ой насады), и во 2-хъ, при такихъ бракахъ потомство бываетъ немногочисленно (тухмя усмейди, «сѣмя ихъ не растетъ») (*), а также мужъ не любитъ жену (сюймейди) и бываетъ, какъ передаютъ (какл бар), слабосиленъ въ половомъ отношеніи (ургачга кемкуват булады). Вотъ почему біи установили (тохтатман) нынѣшній порядокъ дальняго сватовства, по совѣщанію между собою (акылдасып) и не нарушая шаріата (шаріятка кабыл), прибавляетъ бій Султанъ Кавевъ.

Родство по женской линіи не препятствуетъ заключенію брака, за нѣкоторыми исключеніями.

Нельзя, чтобы отецъ женился на матери, когда сынъ женится на дочери, или наоборотъ.

За двухъ братьевъ не выдаютъ двухъ сестеръ. Невѣсты

(*) Такіе же мотивы удерживаютъ Канаковъ, въ Новой Каледоніи, отъ выбора невѣсты изъ своей деревни: Jamais un Canaque n'épousera une femme de son village. Ils disent qu'en se mariant entre eux, ce sang s'appauvrit, tandis qu'en prenant une femme d'un autre village ou même d'une autre tribu, il s'améliore; et puis, de cette manière on se fait des alliés en cas de guerre ou de querelles. (Bulletin de la Société de Geographie de Paris 3-e trimestre 1886. Aperçu général sur la Nouvelle Calédonie, par Octave Opiges, page 487).

двухъ братьевъ должны находиться между собою въ третьемъ колѣнѣ родства или дальше.

За двухъ двоюродныхъ братьевъ могутъ выдать сестеръ. Но и это не дѣлаютъ охотно, говоря: мы лучше заводимъ связь въ двухъ мѣстахъ, а не въ одномъ (эки тамырдя бр тамыр ыймайыз).

Нельзя жениться на не родной (угей) сестрѣ отъ того же отца, но другой матери, или наоборотъ. Нельзя жениться на падчерицѣ, дѣвицѣ или овдовѣвшей (*).

Вдова можетъ выдти замужъ за пасынка, принятаго другою женою покойнаго ея мужа.

Вдова за свекра не выходитъ; но за его брата выходитъ. Дочь не можетъ выдти за брата жены отца; но за его сына можетъ.

На мачихѣ (угей шешо) нельзя жениться. Если вдова съ своимъ сыномъ перешла къ старшему или младшему брату мужа, женатому уже раньше, и если онъ также умеръ, то сынъ можетъ жениться на вдовѣ его, т. е. своей мачихѣ, какъ выражается Торгай, по шаріату, но не по адату. Если же жена дяди не приходилась мачихою, то и по адату можно на ней жениться (Торгай).

По Халмахаммеду, Чимк. у., нельзя жениться на вдовѣ сына, на тещѣ; сынъ отъ одной жены можетъ взять падчерицу своего отца по другой женѣ.

Противъ Маковецкаго, вып. I стр. 2, этотъ бій находитъ, что два брата могутъ быть женаты на двухъ сестрахъ, или одинъ на матери, другой на дочери. Тоже говоритъ и султанъ Абулфайзъ, Чимк. уѣзда, утверждая, что онъ встрѣчалъ тому примѣры.

Жениться на сестрѣ мачихи считается предосудительнымъ, хотя это случается по любви. Каракиргизъ Курпетай Даулетмулонъ говоритъ, что такой бракъ непозволителенъ.

(*) «Совершенный это сдѣлался бы кафиромъ», восклицалъ бій Халмахаммедъ.

Свояченица, сестра жены брата, считается за родную сестру до смерти брата; поэтому на ней, до этого времени, нельзя жениться.

Нельзя жениться на сестрѣ жены (балдыз), пока жена въ живыхъ.

По смерти жены мужъ требуетъ выдачи въ замужество за себя, ея сестру, если послѣдняя еще не сосватана, или родственницу ея, съ уплатою калыма безъ 6 скотинъ изъ разряда яхсы (*).

Когда тесть требуетъ вступленія зятя въ бракъ съ балдыз, то зять можетъ отказаться, но за такой отказъ принято вознаграждать тестя лошадью или халатомъ, если только отказъ не основанъ на проступкѣ или какомъ нибудь недостаткѣ невѣсты.

Нельзя жениться на кормилицѣ (эмеке) и молочной сестрѣ (эмекдас), но можно на ближайшихъ родственницахъ ихъ.

Бѣлая кость вступаетъ въ браки между собой, а также беретъ невѣстъ изъ черной кости, но за черную кость замужъ не выдаетъ.

По адату, не слѣдуетъ жениться учителю на ученицѣ, хотя шаріатъ этого не возбраняетъ (Перов. уѣздъ). По Торгаю, шаріатъ дозволяетъ бракъ ученицы съ учителемъ (устад), но не учительницы съ ученикомъ; адатъ же дозволяетъ то и другое. У каракиргизъ тоже дозволяется.

Названія родства по киргизски:

Отецъ—ане (по сартовски ата).

Мать—шеше; зовутъ также апа (по сартовски ана, она).

Отчимъ—угей ане.

Мачиха—угей шеше.

Сынъ—ул.

Дочь—кыз.

(*) О яхсы см. ниже.

Пасынокъ—угей ул, угей бала.

Падчерица—угей кыз, угей бала.

Старшій братъ—ага (по сартовски аке).

Младшій братъ—ини (по сартов. уке).

Старшая сестра—апа.

Младшая сестра мужчины—кырындас (по сартовски сингли).

Младшая сестра женщины—сингли.

Дѣдъ, отецъ отца—баба.

Бабка, мать отца—улу эне, карья шеше, ядже.

Дѣдъ, отецъ матери—нагаши, нагаши ата.

Бабка, мать матери—нагаши шеше.

Старшій братъ матери—нагаши, нагаши ата (по сартовски и по каракиргизски тага).

Младшій братъ матери—нагаши, нагаши ага (по сартовски и по каракиргизски тага).

Тетка, сестра отца—апа (по сартовски амма).

Тетка, сестра матери—нагаши енге (по сартовски хала).

Старшій братъ отца—ата, немере ата (по сартовски амане).

Младшій братъ отца—ага, немере ага (по сартовски амане).

Племянникъ, сынъ старшаго и младшаго брата—немере (по сартовски джіен).

Племянникъ, сынъ старшей и младшей сестры—джіен.

Племянникъ, внукъ брата—шубере.

Внукъ, сынъ сына—немере.

Внукъ, сынъ дочери—джіен.

Двоюродный братъ, сынъ брата отца—немере.

Двоюродный братъ, сынъ сестры отца—джіен.

Двоюродный братъ, сынъ старшей или младшей сестры матери—буле (по сартовски халавача).

Двоюродный братъ, сынъ старшаго или младшаго брата матери—нагаши.

Троюродный братъ—шубере.

Сынъ старшаго и младшаго брата жены, по отношенію къ сыну ея мужа—дзіен.

Мужъ—эр, бай.

Жена—хатын, у киргизъ—аяш.

Первая жена—бейбише.

Прочія жены—тамал, яшя хатын.

Сватъ—куда.

Сынъ свата—куда бала.

Дочь свата—кудача.

Жена свата—кудагай.

Женихъ—куду.

Невѣста—калыдык (у киргизъ—корунтыя).

Сноха, жена старшаго брата—ешге.

Сноха, жена младшаго брата—келин, келинчек.

Деверь, старшій братъ мужа—кайнага.

Деверь, младшій братъ мужа—кайн.

Золовка, старшая сестра мужа—кайн бике.

Золовка, младшая сестра мужа—бикеш.

Своякъ, мужъ старшей сестры—езде.

Своякъ, мужъ младшей сестры—бадже.

Свояченица, старшая сестра жены—кайн бике.

Свояченица, младшая сестра жены—балдыз.

Жена старшаго и младшаго брата мужа—абысын.

Свекоръ—ата, кайната.

Свекровь—ана, кайнана.

Тесть—ата, кайната.

Отецъ тестя—улу ата.

Теща—эне, кайн эне.

Мать тестя—улу эне.

Старшій братъ тестя—улуя ата.

Жена старшаго брата тестя—аце.
Сынъ старшаго и младшаго брата тестя—каин.
Дочь старшаго и младшаго брата тестя—енге.
Младшій братъ тестя—кайнага.
Жена младшаго брата тестя—енге.
Старшая родня тестя—кайнага, улуу уй.
Младшая родня тестя—каин, отау.

Неповиновеніе дѣтей наказывается домашними исправительными мѣрами родителей. Сына наказываетъ отецъ, а дочь наказывается матерью, ибо сына воспитываетъ отецъ, а дочь воспитывается матерью. Пословица: сынъ передъ отцомъ, какъ рабъ передъ господиномъ, и другія, приведенныя Маковецкимъ на стр. 28, вып. I, найдены Е. А. Александровымъ въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ.

При господствѣ патріархальнаго родоваго начала не могло быть и рѣчи о тяжбѣ дѣтей съ родителями и наоборотъ. За побои и оскорбленіе родителей со стороны дѣтей полагается тѣлесное наказаніе и посрамленіе передъ народомъ.

За оскорбленіе отца (ложный доносъ на него и т. п.) выдѣленный сынъ платитъ отъ одной лошади до одного верблюда, а у каракиргизовъ—аттонъ, т. е, лошадь и халатъ. Его заставляютъ заклать животное и просить на колѣнахъ прощенія. Его увѣщеваютъ, говоря: „кто больше: ты или народъ“ (юрт куп не, сен куп не) и наконецъ старшіе и аксакалы бьютъ безъ счета, вплоть до раскаянія. Выдѣленная дочь въ подобномъ случаѣ не подвергается тѣлесному наказанію. Штрафъ за нее уплачивается ея мужемъ. У каракиргизовъ ее бьетъ мать.

За воровство у родителей выдѣленныя дѣти не отвѣчаютъ вовсе до трехъ разъ, ибо оно считается только тайнымъ отнятіемъ (ясырыб алган). Въ четвертый разъ обязаны только возвратить отнятое. Ребенокъ замужней дочери, не успѣвъ выпросить вещицу у дѣда, беретъ ее безъ позволенія и не отдаетъ до

трехъ разъ. Въ четвертый разъ бій присуждаетъ къ отдачѣ вещи безъ штрафа; но штрафъ назначается за драку при отнятіи этой вещи. Все это относится и къ близкимъ родственникамъ вообще.

Когда украшій отпирается, то бій допрашиваетъ свидѣтелей, но не даетъ между родною присяги. Бій утѣшаетъ, между прочимъ, отца (или родственника) тѣмъ, что онъ возьметъ въ свою очередь у сына, когда тотъ разбогатѣетъ (собрано въ Перов. уѣздѣ).

Отцеубійство неизвѣстно въ степи. За это преступленіе изгнали бы изъ общества послѣ предварительнаго посрамленія. Помощникъ начальника Казалинскаго уѣзда Е. А. Александровъ говоритъ, что адатъ молчитъ объ отцеубійствѣ. Дѣтоубійство можетъ случиться по ошибкѣ, и въ такомъ случаѣ остается безнаказаннымъ (*).

Невыдѣленные дѣти своего отдѣльнаго имущества не могутъ имѣть. Но разъ они выдѣлены, отецъ перестаетъ распоряжаться ихъ имуществомъ.

До 12—15 лѣтъ дѣти не обладаютъ еще серьезнымъ умомъ (акыл токтатпайды); а потому продажа, купля, заемъ и другія распоряженія ихъ недѣйствительны. Купля и продажа, учиненныя противъ воли отца совершеннолѣтнимъ невыдѣленнымъ сыномъ, не расторгаются.

Власть матери опирается на власть отца: дѣти повинуются изъ боязни, что она скажетъ отцу.

Когда отецъ хочетъ освободиться отъ неисправимаго сына, то онъ выдѣляетъ его съ небольшимъ надѣломъ, предоставляя самому заработать калымъ, если онъ былъ холостой; если же сынъ уже женатъ, то отецъ выгоняетъ его безъ надѣла, предоставляя ему заработать таковой.

(*) Иногда случается, что киргизы, въ порывѣ гнѣва и вообще въ дѣлахъ спорныхъ, оказывая сопротивленіе, бросаютъ подъ ноги противниковъ своихъ дѣтей, которыхъ въ борьбѣ передаютъ и затаптываютъ. Женщины въ особенности практикуютъ такой способъ сопротивленія, бросая подъ ноги домаля грудныхъ дѣтей. Хуже въ подобныхъ случаяхъ ищутъ съ лицей, находящихся въ животу или въ утробѣ.

Въ крайности, отецъ отрекается отъ сына, хатти бизар, бизар хатт, при свидѣтеляхъ. По каракиргизу Курметаю Даулетмулову, къ документу (ибо хатти бизар собственно значитъ: письмо объ отверженіи) біи прикладываютъ печати. Форма отреченія: „если ты будешь убитъ, я не потребую хуна за тебя; если ты убьешь кого, я не плачу хуна вмѣсто тебя". Впрочемъ, не смотря на это заявленіе, отцу не избѣжать уплаты хуна за совершенное, послѣ этого, сыномъ убійство, если онъ, отказываясь отъ уплаты хуна, не дозволитъ убить сына въ наказаніе за совершенное имъ убійство. Изгнанный отцемъ, сынъ уходитъ къ кому либо изъ родни.

Иногда даритъ дочь, какъ богоугодное приношеніе (назр), имаму или муллѣ (*), не состоящему въ запрещенной степени родства, также и побратиму.

Слышно, что подъ давленіемъ бѣдности, въ Пировскомъ уѣздѣ продаютъ иногда мальчиковъ (за 20 барановъ напр.). Каракиргизъ Курметай Даулетмуловъ утверждаетъ, что теперь не продаютъ дѣтей.

Дочь не продается, ибо есть возможность выдать ее за небольшой калымъ. Бій Султанъ Канаевъ помнитъ, что во время голода, дочерей продавали за 1—2 головы скота, или за 20—30 тиллей, а по минованіи голода требовали передъ нимъ, біемъ Султаномъ, доплаты до полнаго калыма. Бій присуждалъ къ доплатѣ до полнаго калыма разряда „7 кулунди біи (**) и 2 буйдак" (***).

Противъ насильственной отдачи въ замужество дочь, по адату, не можетъ протестовать; ее принимаетъ подъ защиту только русскій законъ.

Содержаніе престарѣлыхъ родителей лежитъ на обязанности дѣтей. Въ случаѣ жалобъ, бій присуждаетъ таковое. Неимущій отецъ можетъ поселиться у замужней дочери, только съ согласія зяти (****).

(*) Каракиргизскій бій Курметай Даулетмуловъ передаетъ: бываетъ, что отецъ, больной, обѣщаетъ при выздоровленіи отдать дочь своему имаму.

(**) Кулунди біи—побила съ сосудомъ. } О калымахъ см. главу шестую.

(***) Буйдак—двухлѣтній баранъ.

(****) Е. А. Александровъ, Казакин. у.

Женщина, за недостаткомъ собственнаго молока, кормитъ ребенка молокомъ скота, или, съ дозволенія мужа, принимаетъ кормилицу (эмеге), къ которой ребенокъ обращается, какъ къ родной матери, словомъ „эмеке".

Совершеннолѣтіе считается съ 15 лѣтъ, а по другимъ сообщеніямъ, съ 12 лѣтъ (Перов. у). Съ этого времени юноша отлучается, женится и занимается дѣломъ самъ, безъ спроса. По Абдрахману, Аулієат. уѣзда, до 13 лѣтъ называются несовершеннолѣтними (ер, сагыр—молодой, несовершеннолѣтній), съ 15 или 16 лѣтъ—совершеннолѣтними. Юноша 14 лѣтъ, смотря по уму, можетъ считаться и совершеннолѣтнимъ, и несовершеннолѣтнимъ. Вообще, независимо отъ точнаго счета лѣтъ, если мальчикъ заявитъ, что онъ, какъ несовершеннолѣтній, не можетъ отвѣчать передъ судомъ, или, если онъ заявитъ, что не смотря на малолѣтіе, въ состояніи вести дѣло, то судъ не находитъ препятствій къ исполненію его желанія. У каракиргизовъ, какъ сообщаетъ Курпетай Даулетмуловъ, совершеннолѣтіе начинается съ 13 лѣтъ. По сообщенію начальника Чиментскаго уѣзда Н. Е. Благовидова, совершеннолѣтіе считается у мальчиковъ съ 12 лѣтъ, а у дѣвушекъ съ 9 лѣтъ; одинако дѣвушки не допускаются къ дачѣ свидѣтельскихъ показаній на судѣ. По бію Халмаханмеду, если дѣвица была помолвлена (бета окуган) лѣтъ 4—8, то помолвка равняется бракосочетанію (бетаринг узи нике булир ики) и она не можетъ отказываться, когда женихъ не дозволяетъ этого (чигалмайды эри койнаганша). Когда же дочери богача или мясника достигаютъ 10 лѣтъ, а дочери бѣдняка 15 л., тогда адатъ допускаетъ съ ихъ стороны заявленіе о нежеланіи выдти за выбраннаго отцомъ жениха (тіймейген десе адат кутореди). Это объясняется тѣмъ, что дочь богача, которая одѣвается и питается лучше (ачыны, ыны, кіймы таза), равно какъ дочь мясника, которая живетъ на мясной пищѣ, достигаютъ совершеннолѣтія раньше (съ 10 л.), чѣмъ дочь бѣдняка (съ 15 л.). Затѣмъ Халмаханмедъ добавилъ: „о другихъ не могу сказать, а знаю только, что я съ 12 л. достигъ совершеннолѣтія

(балагатна - отцы), такъ какъ съ тѣхъ поръ отцы способны быть отцами семейства (подходящими праб одни); другіе, болѣе слабые люди (пачарраи одни), годятся только съ 15 лѣтъ".

Дѣти пользуются защитою рода матери (турчуи), когда родъ отца бездѣйствуетъ или отсутствуетъ. Есть случаи, когда по смерти отца изъ рода, полошинъ, Чуненей, ребенокъ воспитывается у материной родни, полошинъ, Дзаниносъ, и среди нихъ называетъ себя Дзаниносомъ, во избѣжаніе холодности отношеній. Однако, въ случаѣ убійства ребенка, за него требуетъ хуна его настоящій родъ, а не родъ матери.

Если у умершаго отца нѣтъ родни, то дѣти идутъ къ роду матери; сынъ имѣетъ волю идти или нѣтъ, ибо онъ можетъ заняться и ремесломъ, но дочь должна идти. Ее потребуютъ по суду.

Никто не можетъ принадлежать къ роду матери; даже незаконнорожденные (хараши инкасы) отыскиваютъ того, отъ кого произошли, и считаются въ его родѣ. Дѣти, рожденныя отъ вдовы черезъ нѣсколько лѣтъ по смерти мужа, считаются иногда наравнѣ съ дѣтьми покойнаго (Перов. уѣздъ).

У карачаевцевъ выросшіе въ чужомъ родѣ не перестаютъ считаться родомъ отца. Но хараши бала, безъ отца, считаются въ родѣ матери.

Пріемныя дѣти, начиная бала, какъ самое названіе показываетъ, участвуютъ въ выдѣленномъ имуществѣ ихъ названныхъ родителей. Усыновившій платитъ штрафы и хунъ и получаетъ таковые, какъ за родныхъ дѣтей. Когда родители усыновленнаго находятся въ живыхъ, то необходимо ихъ согласіе на усыновленіе.

Взаимное усыновленіе или мѣна дѣтьми возможна во всяко, какъ между родными.

Усыновленіе объявляется при свидѣтеляхъ и сопровождается закланіемъ животнаго, отъ котораго свидѣтель—аксакалъ даетъ въ руки усыновленному, если это мальчикъ, кость всыи

йаши. Усыновленный, пославъ ее въ рукѣ, принимается ѣсть. Дѣвицѣ можно дать тоннаи йаши.

Приложеніе къ груди названной матери есть символъ того, что она, хотя и не вскормила усыновленнаго, но считаетъ его наравнѣ съ собственными, вскормленными ею, дѣтьми.

Усыновленный обыкновенно не считается столь близкимъ, какъ родное дитя, хотя своими душевными качествами и услугами можетъ пріобрѣсти больше расположенія, чѣмъ родныя дѣти. Тоже можно сказать объ усыновленныхъ рабахъ.

Когда хотятъ отвергнуть усыновленнаго, ему даютъ только надѣлъ ничи или только калымъ. Въ крайнемъ случаѣ достаточно дать лошадь для отъѣзда. По просьбѣ усыновленнаго, аксакалы могутъ упрашивать отца, не отвергать питомца безъ важной вины (Перов. у.). Усыновленный, съ своей стороны, во всякое время можетъ уйти къ своему роду.

Чрезъ усыновленіе родъ не мѣняется, по крайней мѣрѣ нынѣ.

По сообщенію Е. А. Александрова, пріемышъ (ничилес бала), происходящій изъ рода и колѣна, откуда бракъ дозволенъ, никоимъ образомъ не можетъ вступить въ бракъ съ усыновившимъ его, не только семействомъ, но и съ ближайшими родственниками этого семейства. Онъ считается какъ родной сынъ усыновителя и наравнѣ съ законными дѣтьми имѣетъ право на имя и наслѣдство.

По смерти отца, хотя бы и была мать, для защиты сироты (етим), одинъ изъ ближайшихъ родственниковъ заступаетъ мѣсто отца и опекаемые кочуютъ вмѣстѣ съ нимъ.

Эта опека не юридическая, а патріархальная, почему и мало употребительны слова, означающія опекуна: мирасхур, мирас, мира (*), а по Даулету Бушаеву—васы.

(*) Слыша форму „мираси", „его опекунъ", принимали „си" за суффиксъ—и стали употреблять „мира". Собственно, арабское мирасъ значитъ наслѣдство, а мирасхуръ—получатель наслѣдства. У киргизовъ же эти слова получили значеніе опекуна.

Если въ кибиткѣ не осталось никого въ живыхъ, кромѣ несовершеннолѣтняго наслѣдника, то онъ переходитъ со всѣмъ своимъ имуществомъ къ ближайшему родственнику (Перов. уѣздъ). Къ послѣднему являются другіе родственники и берутъ изъ сиротскаго имущества что имъ нужно, говоря: „когда ты ѣшь (*), развѣ я не могу ѣсть?“ (сен огенде мен ашаймынбе?) (Тургай).

Только когда ближайшій родственникъ совершенно не годится въ опекуны, то, по требованію остальной родни, бій или аксакалъ назначаютъ другаго, возможно близкаго, родственника, или, вѣрнѣе сказать, не назначаютъ, а передаютъ малолѣтняго въ его руки.

За отсутствіемъ мужчинъ, опекуна приглашаетъ женщина, мать или ближайшая родственница, ибо хотя женщины покупаются калымомъ, на подобіе имущества, хотя съ женской стороны не даютъ присяги, но въ нихъ не отрицается умъ (акл), иначе онѣ не допускались бы къ дачѣ показаній на судѣ. За неимѣніемъ мужской родни, женщины сами считаются опекунами. Только въ самомъ крайнемъ случаѣ въ опекуны приглашаются посторонніе аксакалы. Вообще, опекунъ бываетъ изъ родни не дальше седьмаго колѣна.

Опекуномъ назначается также тотъ ближайшій родственникъ убитаго, который предъявляетъ требованіе хуна, или тотъ, который, за неимѣніемъ ближайшаго родственника, защищать права покойнаго, заступаетъ его мѣсто.

Когда мать выходитъ за родственника своего умершаго мужа, то дѣти остаются при матери; если же мать уходитъ къ новому мужу изъ чужаго рода, то дѣти остаются при опекунѣ изъ прежней родни.

Безумные, калѣки и т. п., не лишаются имущества. Опекунами ихъ считаются ихъ ближайшіе родственники. Хотя бы они не могли заработывать себѣ пропитаніе, но имъ даютъ женъ, не нарушая того правила, что женятъ сыновей по порядку ихъ старшинства.

(*) ѣсть равносильно—пользоваться.

За опекой несовершеннолѣтнихъ (до 15 лѣтъ приблизительно) ходатайствуютъ ихъ опекуны.

На бракъ дѣвицы требуется согласіе опекуна, если онъ родственникъ; въ противномъ случаѣ требуется согласіе ближайшаго родственника. Опекунъ не родственникъ можетъ только совѣтовать опекаемымъ, жениху или невѣстѣ, отложить уплату калыма до весны, когда число головъ скота удвоится. Ближайшій родственникъ можетъ отказать въ своемъ согласіи на бракъ, котораго желаютъ опекунъ и сами дѣти. Опекуну не воспрещается жениться на опекаемой дѣвицѣ, съ соблюденіемъ обычныхъ правилъ. Напр., когда онъ ближній родственникъ, только не въ запрещенной степени, то платитъ родні невѣсты „родственный“ калымъ (ру калым мал).

Адатъ предоставляетъ опекуну, какъ родні, и въ виду его полномочій по опекѣ, всѣ выгоды безконтрольнаго управленія имуществомъ. Придя въ возрастъ, наслѣдникъ можетъ простить растрату части его.

Обѣщая быть другомъ (таныр, кынаттты дос), дарятъ что нибудь. Полученный подарокъ обязываетъ къ отдачѣ равнаго по стоимости подарка. Таныры поочередно пріѣзжаютъ другъ къ другу и дѣлаютъ выборъ (калау) изъ скота и хорошихъ вещей. Выбранный предметъ долженъ быть подаренъ безъ отказа. Въ древности, жалобы на неполученіе равноцѣннаго отвѣтнаго подарка были не въ обычаѣ. Нынѣ біи высчитываютъ на деньги сумму стоимости всѣхъ подарковъ той и другой стороны и заставляютъ доплатить разность (книги біевъ Перов. уѣзда, бій Абдрахманъ Аулієат. у.). Впрочемъ, судебное разбирательство между побратимами поблагожелательно. Бій увѣщеваетъ: „удовлетвори желаніе (разныя) своего таныра; послѣ ты пріѣдешь къ нему и онъ удовлетворитъ твое желаніе“.

Побратимство состоитъ въ томъ, что другъ у друга останавливаются во время разъѣздовъ; бываютъ какъ у себя дома; берутъ на подержаніе нужныя вещи и скотъ, но не иначе, какъ

съ согласія хозяина, жены его, или другаго изъ домашнихъ, знающаго о существованіи побратимства. На тоихъ, поминкахъ и подобныхъ собраніяхъ, также дарятъ другъ другу.

Побратимство заключается и между дѣвицами. Оно возможно и между разными полами. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ менѣе подходитъ названіе ыныматтин, а скорѣе тамырлык.

Другъ на вѣки называется ыныматти дос, достамыр, дос. По Торгаю, у доса можно уносить вещи безъ спроса; между тѣмъ, какъ у простаго тамыра нужно спрашивать. По бію Султану, досы обѣщаютъ передъ Богомъ не тягаться о взаимныхъ счетахъ (бир бири иждан бериб алысканы мызны худаныг алдында сурамайлыг).

По Даулету Бушаеву, дружба на вѣки заключается на коранѣ; по Маковецкому (I, стр. 45)—посредствомъ объятія съ обнаженною грудью—кушактаскан; по И. Ибрагимову—обнимаютъ другъ друга черезъ обнаженную саблю или черезъ коранъ, который потомъ цѣлуютъ.

Дѣти тамыровъ, продолжая дружбу, называются ата тамыр. Сваты называются сюяк тамыр (потомственные друзья). Прочіе тамыры называются, въ отличіе отъ приведенныхъ формъ крѣпкой дружбы, „словесными", ауз тамыр. Они и не обнимаются. Къ словесной дружбѣ, или простому знакомству, Торгай относитъ также дружбу, скрѣпленную пожатіемъ ладони, барман устаскан. О шаткости словесной дружбы свидѣтельствуетъ пословица: друзья всегда спорятъ, ровесники всегда враждуютъ (тамыр тубе дау курдас тубе джау).

По Торгаю, на тамырство походитъ обычай считаться посаженымъ тестемъ или отцомъ (укул ата) и названнымъ сыномъ или зятемъ (укул куяу, укул бала) (*). Одинъ изъ нихъ напрашивается на эти отношенія, чтобы получить подарокъ. Послѣ этого они другъ друга посѣщаютъ для полученія подарковъ. Когда названный зять является къ посаженому тестю, то его,

(*) Укул—испорченное арабское вакил.

подобно настоящему зятю, угощаютъ грудинкою (тус). Но хорошій зять, понимающій, что онъ только названный, не долженъ садиться въ тус.

По біи Султану, укуанцу, подобно словесному другу, только называется зятемъ, но не беретъ невѣсты у названнаго тестя. Это можетъ быть и холостой. Названный (тутанген) зять, до своей свадьбы, живетъ у названнаго тестя, а потомъ обыкновенно уходитъ къ своей роднѣ. Онъ получаетъ и ничи, но меньше прочихъ выдѣляемыхъ. Впрочемъ, передъ надѣломъ тесть спрашиваетъ его: останешься ли ты съ женою жить у меня? и въ случаѣ отказа, даетъ ему лошадь и кибитку, навьюченную на верблюда, а если нѣтъ кибитки, то только одѣяла (ту сек орны).

У большинства молодыхъ людей бываютъ наперсницы, „арнедас". Позволяется между ними брать понравившіеся предметы безъ спроса. Даритъ взаимно разныя бездѣлицы. Наперсницы чаще всего даритъ завязки для халатовъ и гашники своей ручной работы. Молодые люди, когда встрѣчаютъ наперсницъ наединѣ, берутъ ихъ за груди. Кибитку наперсницы посѣщаютъ подъ предлогомъ узнать: нѣтъ ли бузы? Если буза оказывается въ сосѣднихъ кибиткахъ и если не удастся выпить вмѣстѣ съ наперсницей, то тайкомъ посылаютъ ей чашку бузы (*) при посредствѣ дѣтей. Она отвѣчаетъ посылкою подарка. Посылаютъ другъ другу поклонъ (салем) и стихи (улен). Наперсникъ даже иногда провожаетъ наперсницу со свадебнымъ поѣздомъ въ аулъ ея свекра, гдѣ она при прощаніи даетъ ему подарокъ. Мужъ ея не обижается, такъ какъ онъ самъ также имѣлъ наперсницъ (ташкентскіе киргизы).

У каракиргизовъ друзья (тамыр, билиш) даютъ также другъ другу подарки. Дослы есть ненарушаемая на этомъ и на томъ свѣтѣ дружба. Досы обнимаются иногда черезъ саблю, или черезъ ножъ. Послѣ объятія ѣдятъ хлѣбъ (нан торейды). Между каракиргизскою молодежью тоже есть „арнедаш"; но конечно, тайно, прибавилъ сообщавшій эти свѣдѣнія бій.

(*) Буза—опьяняющій напитокъ, приготовляемый изъ риса, проса или джугары.

ГЛАВА IV.

Выдѣленіе сыновей.—Ничи.—Наслѣдство.

На отцѣ лежитъ забота о снабженіи каждаго сына калымомъ и надѣломъ ничи (*).

Выдѣленіе сыновей, зависящее вполнѣ отъ отца, происходитъ у киргизовъ и каракиргизовъ, по порядку старшинства и послѣ ихъ вступленія въ бракъ.

Поводомъ къ выдѣленію являются обыкновенно: тѣсота помѣщенія и неуживчивость кого нибудь.

Пора выдѣленія каждаго сына также зависитъ отъ того, въ какомъ положеніи находятся дѣла отца, и опредѣляется въ семейномъ кругу, но не ранѣе того, какъ минетъ сыну 15 лѣтъ, по пословицѣ: „въ пятнадцать лѣтъ—хозяинъ небитти" (свободная отку іесе); у каракиргизовъ—не раньше 13 лѣтъ отъ роду, когда считается совершеннолѣтіе.

Если отецъ, по требованію сына, не хочетъ выдѣлить его въ данное время, то сынъ можетъ обождать или не выдти безъ ничи, но уже съ потерею права требовать его послѣ. На такое требованіе ему отвѣтятъ: „ты не ждалъ согласія отца" (атанынынг ризалыгына карамадынг). Въ этомъ случаѣ выдѣляющій себя сынъ беретъ съ собою только то, что при свадьбѣ привезла приданаго жена. Если сынъ дурнаго поведенія или не умѣетъ заработывать деньги и отецъ хочетъ его прогнать, то сынъ требуетъ: „дай мнѣ жену или ничи". Народъ мирятъ ихъ. Если не помирились, то та часть калыма, которая еще не уплочена, такъ и остается неуплоченною отцомъ, который отпускаетъ сына на хорошемъ животномъ (хорошей лошади, хорошемъ верблюдѣ).

(*) Ничи, зачи, происходитъ отъ слова зи, зарубки, дѣлаемой на раздѣленномъ скотѣ для отличія.

ТОРГАН

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Эта скотина и зачисляется ничи. Если послѣ этого сынъ не могъ заработать остатокъ калыма, то отецъ долженъ произвести уплату его, ибо ни одинъ отецъ не можетъ обойтись безъ уплаты калыма за сына; иначе сыну предоставляется, не считаясь воромъ, отогнать требуемое количество скота изъ отцовскаго стада.

Выдѣленіе сына до женитьбы всегда есть признакъ несогласій съ отцомъ. Если послѣ этого отецъ обнищалъ, то сынъ, помня выдачу ничи раньше женитьбы, не хочетъ пренебрегать отца. Тогда народъ говоритъ: „мы тогда не взыскали съ тебя за воровство у отца (анбга бююрнадук); теперь корми и призрѣвай отца" (ас жуктыны кара, жут). Сына, который не слушается этого наставленія, народъ (юрт) бранитъ, бьетъ и презираетъ (анбгр кылады). Если сынъ положительно хочетъ отказаться отъ призрѣнія отца, то долженъ отдать ему приданое, привезенное женою и удалиться совершенно съ глазъ отца (касынан). Если сынъ по добру просится уйти отъ отца, раньше женитьбы, то ему не даютъ ничи, а то онъ, пожалуй, уѣдетъ вдаль и растратитъ имущество, чего вообще не желаетъ народъ. Если этотъ сынъ согласенъ присоединиться къ младшему или старшему брату, уже выдѣленному, то ему не отказываютъ въ ничи. Имущество обоихъ братьевъ остается отдѣльнымъ, въ предотвращеніе ссоры или требованія выдѣленія. При положительномъ отказѣ сына жениться когда либо, отецъ не даетъ ему ничи. Если сынъ проситъ ничи подъ предлогомъ женитьбы, то отецъ отвѣчаетъ: „я тебѣ самъ дамъ жену, а потомъ уже ничи; иначе уходи". Въ данномъ случаѣ отецъ опасается растраты имущества. Таковы свѣдѣнія, сообщенныя Торгаевъ. По другимъ свѣдѣніямъ (бій Микебай), если случится, что сынъ „по неразумію" положительно отказывается когда нибудь жениться и настоятельно требуетъ выдачи ничи, то таковой выдѣляется; а у каракиргизовъ Курпетай Даулетмуловъ прибавляетъ, что тогда даютъ больше, въ виду неплатежа калыма.

Отецъ можетъ выдѣлить, если хочетъ, младшаго сына раньше старшаго. Иногда старшій сынъ говоритъ: „я не разстанусь съ отцемъ, буду его кормить до смерти". По такому заявленію,

дѣленному не всегда имѣется на наслѣдника, выдѣляется слѣдующій сынъ.

Производство раздѣла имущества при выдѣленіи есть одинъ изъ труднѣйшихъ пунктовъ адата. Нижніе не могутъ раздѣлиться и часто прибѣгаютъ опытныхъ въ раздѣлѣ людей (бурун ничи булиб иреги адамлар). Дѣло осложняется еще тѣмъ, что невыдѣленные ворчатъ другъ у друга. Нѣкоторые удостовѣряютъ, что выдѣленный не соглашается на то, чтобы отецъ самъ вычислялъ количество надѣла, а требуетъ для этого участія родни.

Maximum ничи зависитъ отъ отца; minimum опредѣляется старцами, имѣющими нравственный авторитетъ, но не судебную власть (Торгай).

На малымъ сыновей расходуется меньше (около $^1/_6$), чѣмъ на ихъ надѣлы (около $^5/_6$ всего имущества отца).

Уплативъ малымъ за старшаго сына, отецъ не выдѣляетъ его раньше, чѣмъ не назначитъ всѣмъ своимъ сыновьямъ по равной части на малымъ, не исключая и того сына (младшаго), который не долженъ быть выдѣленъ.

При выдѣленіи кого либо изъ сыновей, отецъ разбиваетъ, за вычетомъ малымовъ, все имущество на столько равныхъ частей (сыбага), сколько у него сыновей, имѣющихъ выдѣлиться, т. е. всѣхъ, кромѣ одного младшаго. Кромѣ этихъ частей, онъ еще откладываетъ двѣ части, на пропитаніе себя и жены въ старости (Перов. уѣздъ и каракиргизъ Курпетай Двулетхуловъ). По Торгаю, имущество раздѣляютъ на столько частей, сколько сыновей, съ прибавкою одной части на погребеніе (хурсебок асатау). Если не хватаетъ имущества, то послѣдней части не нужно.

Все оставшееся наслѣдуетъ невыдѣленный сынъ, который жилъ съ отцемъ до смерти его и хоронилъ его. Если, по выдѣленіи женатыхъ сыновей, отецъ, умирая, не оставилъ ничего невыдѣленнымъ, то первые обязываются женить послѣднихъ. (Умурбекъ Аулієат. уѣзда и каракиргизъ Курпетай Двулетхуловъ). Не обязаны къ этому двоюродные и др. родственники.

Если отецъ, умирая, оставилъ 4 сыновей, то они чтутъ годъ, на поминокъ, рѣжутъ скотину и говорятъ старшинамъ: „мы раздѣлились, довольно" (бир булсак булаг бузамыз, ничи нияды булиб бер). Старшины спрашиваютъ: „хотите раздѣлиться на четыре части или на двѣ (по 2 человѣка)"? Смотря по отцу, дѣлятъ имущество на 4 или на 2 части, но старшину даютъ небольшое. Если между 4 сыновьями 2 не женаты, то не могутъ требовать раздѣла на 4 части; на это не согласились бы (бузурнайды) старшины, а дѣлятъ на 2 части, присоединяя по одному неженатому къ каждому женатому, который и заступаетъ первому вмѣсто отца, т. е. женитъ и выдѣляетъ его. При послѣднемъ выдѣленіи дѣлятъ скотъ опять пополамъ, опредѣливъ 1—2 скотины старшему, заступающему отца.

Если кромѣ 4 сыновей женатыхъ или неженатыхъ, осталась мать, то имущество дѣлятъ на 5 частей. Она можетъ съ своею долею остаться у того сына, котораго больше любитъ. Имущество этого сына и ея считается одинъ (ничиси бир). Онъ хоронитъ мать. Остальные братья даютъ небольшое пособіе (ердам берисади) на похороны.

Если изъ 4 сыновей двое женаты и хотятъ раздѣлиться на 2 части такъ, чтобы оба неженатыхъ были вмѣстѣ съ однимъ изъ женатыхъ, тогда сначала откладываютъ два калыма, по разсчету, сдѣланному на сватовствѣ, а потомъ уже имущество раздѣляютъ на 4 части. Если же сыновья еще не сватались, то старшины соображаютъ количество скота, потребное на калымъ. Если имущества не хватаетъ на калымъ и ничи, то все таки откладываютъ калымъ въ принятомъ вообще размѣрѣ, а въ ничи отказываютъ.

Невыданную дочь присоединяютъ къ тому, за кого еще не дали калыма, для того, чтобы изъ полученнаго за сестру калыма онъ уплатилъ калымъ за свою невѣсту.

Если остаются два неженатыхъ сына и одна дочь, а имущества мало, то одному сыну даютъ имущество, а другому дочь.

Если вовсе нѣтъ имущества, то дочь отдаютъ обоимъ братьямъ для раздѣленія пополамъ полученнаго калыма. При этомъ

онъ можетъ жить у своего брата, съ которымъ захочетъ. За платьемъ дѣвицы и ея прочими нуждами смотрятъ оба одинаково (тоже какъ турды).

Если оставшаяся дочь просватана, но еще не выдана (узатетеи), то старшему поручается, какъ бы отца, отпустить ее и нести расходъ по свадьбѣ (той).

Положимъ, у отца 10.000 овецъ, а сыновей 10—15. Тогда онъ, не откладывая калымовъ и вичи для каждаго, просто даетъ выдѣляемому, безъ особаго вычисленія, minimum 30 и maximum 100 овецъ (опредѣленіе количества зависитъ отъ него) и въ прибавку столько верблюдовъ, сколько требуется для перевозки кибитки и пожитковъ (для малой кибитки 3 верблюда, а для большой 5 верблюдовъ). Если бы у него было только два сына, то онъ раздѣлилъ бы весь скотъ на 3 части, не полагая на мать особой доли. Кромѣ того, передъ раздѣломъ 3—4 головы скота отдѣляются въ пользу отца, изъ уваженія къ нему.

Если женатый сынъ получитъ отъ невѣсты кибитку (уй), то въ этой кибиткѣ онъ и выдѣляется; въ противномъ случаѣ отецъ даетъ новую кибитку или стоимость ея.

Если у отца нѣсколько женатыхъ сыновей и у нихъ есть свои кибитки, но скотъ, котораго очень мало, еще не раздѣленъ, и либо отецъ, либо сыновья задумали приступить къ раздѣлу скота, то старики выдѣляютъ всѣхъ безъ вичи, не исключая (если отецъ пожелаетъ) даже младшаго, для предотвращенія зависти между сыновьями. Послѣ этого, отецъ съ своимъ скотомъ, если младшій сынъ не остался при немъ, можетъ присоединиться къ тому сыну, котораго болѣе любитъ.

Когда раздѣлъ происходитъ послѣ смерти отца, то драгоцѣнности и домашняя утварь (ускене) всецѣло достаются младшему сыну, чтобы не портить обстановки кибитки; но старшіе берутъ по выбору изъ платья, на память объ отцѣ (аксиниг кузе).

Если въ кибиткѣ умершаго остались его бездѣтныя жены, то молодыя достаются братьямъ покойнаго, а старыя остаются

ще тѣхъ посѣщаетъ, которыхъ онѣ любятъ, или у которыхъ [illegible] родные [illegible]. Дѣвочки дѣти, изъ уваженія къ [illegible], [illegible] своихъ [illegible], хотя бы ихъ нѣсколько [illegible] къ своему [illegible]. Если [illegible] хочетъ уйти по разу, то ей [illegible] не дѣлаетъ; если она уходитъ по добру, то старшіе присуждаютъ ей на прощаніе (ас аукат) и она идетъ къ своему роду (туркуп) или къ своему зятю. Родные которые не могутъ уйти отъ дѣтей. Ихъ не пускаютъ дѣти и бы.

Когда выданная дочь посѣщаетъ, по обычаю, отцовскій домъ (туркундеми), то отецъ обязанъ подарить ей, по крайней мѣрѣ, лошадь или верблюда. По смерти отца это дѣлаетъ наслѣдникъ отцовской кибитки (улуя уй, аненинг шангарагы). Если у богача нѣсколько сыновей и выданныхъ дочерей, то отецъ приглашаетъ дочерей на это посѣщеніе (туркундеб кельмекка) раньше приступленія къ семейному раздѣлу, чтобы раздѣлаться съ долгомъ, ибо туркунденов считается долгомъ (карз). Явившимся дочерямъ онъ даетъ 1—2 головы скота, а для неявившихся откладываетъ такое же количество въ сторону (шигарыб кой ады) и оставляетъ у себя на сохраненіи. Потомъ приступаетъ къ раздѣлу. Отецъ не долженъ непремѣнно остаться съ младшимъ сыномъ, если онъ его не любитъ. Но туда, куда присоединяется отецъ съ „большою кибиткою", старшіе кладутъ больше скота, въ виду гостей и другихъ посѣщеній.

Когда по смерти отца, въ большую кибитку являются дочери за полученіемъ туркунденов, то хозяинъ ея собираетъ старшихъ братьевъ для совѣщанія: дадимъ ли мы каждый одной изъ нихъ, или сложимся и изъ полученной суммы удовлетворимъ ихъ? Въ складчину нѣкоторые вносятъ овцу, другіе—лошадь, халатъ и пр. Если всѣ откажутся по эгоизму (ну будды), то хозяинъ большой кибитки обязанъ сколько нибудь дать самъ, такъ какъ онъ получилъ надѣлъ больше другихъ. Дочь указываетъ на это въ своемъ требованіи: „заповѣдный кругъ моего отца остался у тебя; ты живешь, гдѣ жилъ мой отецъ; его имущество перешло къ тебѣ" (аненынг кара шангарагы сендо калды, сан аненынг отургы ерида отурсен мулядери сендо

волости). Къ хозяину на большой кибитки приходитъ всѣ гости, тамыры, свояки, племянники съ женской стороны и требователи разныхъ платежей. Племянникъ, сынъ выдѣленной дочери (дженгеи), приходитъ за полученіемъ „дженгеи", въ пору достиженія имъ совершеннолѣтія. Не получивъ своего, племянникъ предетъ, не считаясь воронъ. Нѣкоторыя дѣти, предвидя это, и не хотятъ быть наслѣдниками отцовской кибитки (дѣлимомъ на Тургаи).

Киргизы раздѣляютъ имущество, если есть одинъ сынъ, на 3 части; изъ нихъ 2 части для отца и матери. Старая кибитка остается у отца; для сына онъ дѣлаетъ новую. Если у отца, кромѣ сына, есть холостой младшій братъ, то сначала женятъ брата, а потомъ выдѣляютъ сына. Если изъ двухъ сыновей младшій въ мирѣ съ отцомъ, то дѣлятъ, какъ выше; если нѣтъ, то отецъ даетъ обоимъ сыновьямъ вмѣстѣ не менѣе одной трети, то есть каждому по $^1/_6$. Тремъ сыновьямъ родители уступаютъ половину, т. е. каждому по $^1/_4$. Вообще даютъ столько, сколько нужно для пропитанія. Поэтому старики говорятъ выдѣленнымъ: вы молоды, вы еще заработаете; удовольствуйтесь небольшимъ. „Я самъ", прибавилъ сообщитель, киргизскій бій Даніяръ, „сказалъ своему отцу, подносе ему сарыпай (постномъ): если хочешь дать имущество, дай; если нѣтъ, то дай благословеніе (фатиха)".

Кромѣ скота, семейному раздѣлу подлежатъ: 1) деньги отца, если о существованіи ихъ всѣмъ извѣстно, 2) земли (*) и 3) долги.

Если, по выдѣленіи, узнаютъ о долгахъ отца, то отвѣчаетъ передъ судомъ и платитъ тотъ сынъ, который получалъ наслѣдство. Прежде всѣ дѣти, по совѣщанію между собой (канту клыб), платили долги отца; нынѣ платитъ только получившій наслѣдство и при томъ изъ наслѣдства, а не изъ благопріобрѣтеннаго, о чемъ долженъ представить доказательство или присягу. За жи-

(*) По сообщенію изъ Аулиеатинскаго уѣзда, земли не дѣлятся, ибо выдѣленные могутъ отыскать себѣ другую землю.

ныхъ отсутствующихъ родителей выдѣленныя дѣти не платятъ. Выдѣленные сыновья юридически не обязаны платить долги отца, потому что они не могутъ знать о нихъ; но нравственно они обязаны (халал уа туулбди). Изъ книгъ біевъ Переяскаго уѣзда видно, что біи отказываютъ въ исахъ къ сыновьямъ за долги отца, основываясь на „точномъ адатѣ" (толык адет). Выдѣленныя дѣти отказываются платить долги отца, ссылаясь на то, что „ихъ надѣлъ другой, ихъ зарубки особенныя" (ничик бузек, ничик бесик). Но если они, стыдясь оставлять долгъ за отцомъ (атаныга карз ыалмайлы), захотятъ помочь получившему наслѣдство, то раздѣлятъ долгъ на 3 части, изъ коихъ одну уплачиваетъ наслѣдникъ, а двѣ—остальные братья. Иногда заставляютъ богатыхъ сыновей платить больше, бѣдныхъ меньше.

У киргизовъ, по сообщенію бія Курпстая Даулеткулова, изъ наслѣдства не присуждаютъ уплату долговъ отца; совѣтуютъ только заплатить долгъ, если онъ доказанъ, изъ за отвѣтственности въ будущей жизни (кыямет карз).

Если истецъ явился раньше раздѣла, то прежде отдѣляются отъ долга, а потомъ приступаютъ къ раздѣлу. Если это окажется неудобнымъ, то сумма долга распредѣляется между дѣтьми, сообразно получаемому ими. Если долгъ больше, чѣмъ имущество, а дѣти хотятъ раздѣлиться (при жизни или послѣ смерти отца), то сначала откладываютъ въ сторону на похороны и поминки, а потомъ приходится дѣлиться въ оставшемся и въ долгѣ по ровну.

Если у отца всего одна дочь, то онъ изъ ея калыма долженъ платить долги. По смерти отца неимущая дочь никогда не отвѣчаетъ за долги его. Если же наслѣдство и имѣнія достались единственной дочери, то опекунъ ея или „хозяинъ" ея (кызымыг іесі) отвѣчаетъ изъ наслѣдства.

Если невѣста умретъ до брака, то полученная уже часть калыма возвращается обязательно (сузсиз), съ предоставленіемъ отцу невѣсты подавать въ судъ о тѣхъ долговыхъ обязательствахъ, которыя принялъ на себя зять по другому поводу (книги біевъ Перовск у.).

Народъ наставляетъ сына платить долги обнищавшаго отца, на томъ основаніи, что отецъ заботился въ заботахъ о сынѣ (Торгай).

Наслѣдство (мирас) (*) можетъ состоять: въ скотѣ, въ деньгахъ, въ избыткѣ съ домашнимъ утварью и въ землѣ, а въ прежнее время и въ рабахъ. О томъ, что вдова считалась наслѣдствомъ, свидѣтельствуютъ поговорки: „У киргизовъ жена наслѣдство, у сартовъ земля наслѣдство“ (казактынг катыны мирас, сарттынг ери мирас). Дѣти могутъ также называться мирас.

Никакихъ завѣщаній, кромѣ наставленій, не признается. Отецъ не можетъ завѣщать одному сыну столько-то, а другому столько-то. Все наслѣдство достается невыдѣленнымъ, т. е. обыкновенно младшимъ сыновьямъ, которые и обязаны нести расходы на похороны и поминки. Если бы отецъ захотѣлъ лишить невыдѣленнаго сына наслѣдства, то сынъ потребовалъ бы его чрезъ біи, который и присудилъ бы его непременно. Единственное средство лишить наслѣдства младшаго сына—это выдѣлить его раньше старшаго, при жизни отца.

Если дѣти умершаго малолѣтнія и жена его молодая, то братъ умершаго, женившись на ней, воспитываетъ дѣтей до зрѣлаго возраста, такъ что о наслѣдствѣ никакого спора быть не можетъ. Если не осталось дѣтей, то изъ наслѣдства покрываютъ расходы ас, а остальное дѣлятъ между собою. Оставшуюся отъ умершаго дѣвочку воспитываютъ родственники, употребляя наслѣдство на выдачу ея замужъ. Изъ остатка $^1/_2$ выдаютъ ей подъ названіемъ ничи, остальныя $^1/_2$ родня дѣлитъ между собою. (**).

Если кромѣ дѣтей остается невыдѣленный братъ покойнаго,

(*) Въ раздѣленіи способовъ пріобрѣтенія имущества у Малиновскаго (I, стр. 87) на: 1) атъ мураси—унаслѣдованное отъ отца, 2) уз табасы—благопріобрѣтенное и 3) бурунги мал—бариш отъ торговли, святочства, найма и прочаго, можетъ быть находится неточность. По правдѣ міръ Торгай раздѣляетъ имущество на: 1) атъ мураси или атъ мулки и 2) уз табаны; но не назвалъ слово бурунги мал. Но есть ли это русское слово баришъ?

(**) Сообщеніе Чиликбаева.

то имущество дѣлится поровнѣ между племянниками и дядею (если захотятъ раздѣлиться). Изъ полученнаго, доставшейся сыновьямъ покойнаго, каждый сынъ, за отдѣленіемъ калымовъ для холостыхъ, получаетъ равную долю для выдѣленія.

Если по смерти сына остается только отецъ и братъ, то отецъ, какъ давшій пичи, получаетъ все имущество умершаго, хотя можетъ по доброй волѣ дать часть своему сыну. Тоже у каракиргизовъ.

Если нѣтъ дѣтей, то наслѣдуютъ братья; если нѣтъ братьевъ, то двоюродные братья (немере), затѣмъ троюродные и т. д. Только тогда, когда вовсе нельзя отыскать родственниковъ мужчинъ, наслѣдство получаютъ дочери и ихъ мужья. По Торгаю, наслѣдство никогда не достается дочери, потому что она всегда выходитъ въ дальній родъ. Каракиргизъ Курпстай Даулетгуловъ сообщаетъ тоже.

Единственная дочь умершаго, при нѣсколькихъ, равно близкихъ, родственникахъ, напр., дядяхъ, можетъ выбирать между ними. Кого она выберетъ себѣ въ опекуны, тому достается только калымъ, если таковой не былъ полученъ при отцѣ, но не наслѣдство. Наслѣдство раздѣляется между остальными родственниками поровну. Если у нея есть братъ, но еще малолѣтній, то старшая родня помогаетъ ему совѣтами при отправленіи сестры къ ея жениху. Если нѣтъ родни по мужской линіи, то ее отправляетъ родня по женской линіи: отецъ ея матери (нагаши), мать ея матери (нагаши шеше), сестра отца (апа). Предпочтительно поручаютъ отправленіе невѣсты старцу, напр., дѣду (баба), для того чтобы не было подозрѣнія въ корысти. Вообще, кто бы ни взялся отпустить (узатамы дисе) единственную дочь, тотъ беретъ себѣ приходящееся ей наслѣдство; но онъ долженъ, если это чужой, сохранить такое имущество въ продолженіи 2—3 лѣтъ неприкосновенно, на случай появленія родственника (Торгай).

Если вдова выйдетъ снова замужъ, то она ничего не получаетъ изъ наслѣдства, исключая того случая, когда беретъ съ собою сына, ибо наслѣдство принадлежитъ ему. Если она не

выйдетъ замужъ, а хочетъ жить у своего отца, то получаетъ только избитку и ¼ наслѣдства. Часто родня не пускаетъ маленькаго сына къ новому мужу вдовы. Взрослый сынъ имѣетъ свободный выборъ между своею роднею и новымъ мѣстомъ жительства матери.

Сынъ, рожденный вдовою отъ любовника безъ брака, не получаетъ наслѣдства по смерти отца. Если же дѣвица никогда не вступала въ бракъ, а имѣетъ дѣтей, то она считается законною женою любовника, не получившею калыма, и дѣти ея не лишаются наслѣдства (Перов. уѣздъ).

У киргизовъ имущество не уходитъ со вдовою, а остается ближайшему родственнику.

По Торгаю, вдова можетъ уйти съ наслѣдствомъ къ тому, кого она любитъ, если никого не осталось въ живыхъ изъ родни. Такую вдову, хотя бы старую и некрасивую, берутъ изъ за богатства, однако не безъ риска, ибо появившійся наслѣдникъ можетъ требовать отдачи наслѣдства. Тогда мужъ ея, подъ предлогомъ расходовъ на похороны и на содержаніе жены (хатынды бантыи кантыи), отказывается отъ выдачи и вопросъ остается спорнымъ.

У киргизовъ вдова, если дѣти хотятъ раздѣлиться, остается съ младшимъ сыномъ. При этомъ, за вычетомъ расходовъ на похороны, образуютъ столько долей, сколько сыновей, съ прибавкою одной доли для матери. Напр., при двухъ сыновьяхъ она получаетъ одну треть. Это самое справедливое; но требовательные люди успѣваютъ выговорить себѣ больше.

О выморочномъ имуществѣ не бываютъ заявленій, такъ какъ никто не живетъ безъ родныхъ и друзей, которые присвоиваютъ себѣ это имущество. Въ случаѣ какой нибудь эпидеміи такое имущество разграбили бы (Перов. уѣздъ) (*).

(*) Рабы не могли владѣть имуществомъ и получать наслѣдство. Выдѣленный рабъ и его семейство не наслѣдовали ничего; помѣщѣнный усыновленный или его дѣти получали малую долю наслѣдства. Рабыня доставалась наслѣднику. Въ виду преклонныхъ лѣтъ, ей могли дать что нибудь. Если у нея былъ сынъ,

Въ старину съ наслѣдниковъ требовали изъ наслѣдства платежа хуна, присужденнаго во взысканію съ покойнаго. Но если передъ рѣшеніемъ дѣла отвѣтчикъ умиралъ, такъ что лишенъ былъ возможности оправдаться, то отказывали въ искѣ хуна. Нынѣ наслѣдникъ участвуетъ въ платежѣ хуна на столько, на сколько всѣ члены рода плательщика хуна (худдас).

то онъ, смотря по родству покойнаго или наслѣдника, могъ получить часть, напр. 1/3 обыкновенныхъ долей или меньше.

Дѣти отъ наложницъ, допущенныя, не получали наслѣдства; усыновленныя получали меньшую противъ другихъ наслѣдниковъ. Особенно Султанъ Даулетъ Бу-[illegible]

ГЛАВА V.

Условія для вступленія въ бракъ.—Сватовство.—Оружіе.—Свадьба.—Подарки жениха посаженымъ.—Пріѣзъ молодыхъ въ аулъ.

Вступленіе въ бракъ обусловливается уплатою калыма, но не совершеннолѣтіемъ жениха и невѣсты (*). Богатые обыкновенно женятъ сыновей 12—15 лѣтъ, бѣдные гораздо позже, напр. въ 30 лѣтъ (Перов. уѣздъ). Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ женятъ отъ 9 до 12 лѣтъ. Ранняя выдача дочерей обусловливается бѣдностью родителей, которымъ трудно содержать ихъ. Въ Чиликтскомъ уѣздѣ обыкновенно отпускаютъ невѣсту 20—25 лѣтъ.

Послѣ полной уплаты калыма бракъ не можетъ не быть совершенъ. Но нецѣломудріе или другіе недостатки (айб) невѣсты, происходящіе не по винѣ жениха, а также неспособность жениха къ брачному сожитію, могутъ быть причинами несовершенія брака и послѣ уплаты калыма.

Хорошій женихъ умалчиваетъ объ извѣстномъ ему недостаткѣ невѣсты, тѣмъ болѣе, что нынѣ невѣсту безъ недостатка рѣдко встрѣтить (Перов. уѣздъ). Заявивъ претензію, но не отказавшись отъ брака, онъ можетъ получить $^1/_2$ калыма обратно. Если же онъ совсѣмъ откажется отъ невѣсты, то ему предлагаютъ на выборъ другую дочь или весь (тегиз) уплоченный калымъ. Если женихъ, безъ вины со стороны невѣсты, откажется отъ брака, то онъ не можетъ требовать обратно уплоченный калымъ. Иногда случается, что ему возвращаютъ нѣкоторую часть калыма (**). Изъ Чиликтскаго уѣзда сообщаютъ, что въ

(*) У Алейскихъ киргизовъ женитьба совершается чаще всего, когда мальчику минетъ годъ, рѣдко въ зрѣломъ возрастѣ. Сообщеніе Грембчевскаго.

Сватовство можетъ быть и до рожденія ребенка.

(**) Если невѣста заявитъ русскому начальству о своемъ нежеланіи видѣть за женихъ, избраннаго ея отцемъ, то, если она еще въ домѣ отца, что равносильно несовершенію обряда бракосочетанія, ей дозволяютъ видѣть по собственному выбору, съ возвратомъ прежнему жениху полученной части калыма.

случай подобного отказа, если женихъ бывалъ у своей невѣсты, то онъ платитъ въ пользу ея штрафъ въ восемь лошадей и одного верблюда.

Если невѣста пожалуется своей матери на совокупленіе съ нею жениха раньше свадьбы, то на немъ разодираютъ платье и распарываютъ животъ его лошади.

Если у непросватанной дѣвицы есть ребенокъ, то она считается женою его отца, не получившею калыма. Отецъ или родственникъ ея можетъ потребовать иногда полный калымъ, что находится въ зависимости отъ красоты и молодости невѣсты и отъ богатства ея родителей.

Что невѣста считалась и въ настоящее время считается достояніемъ рода, доказывается тѣмъ, что по смерти жениха невѣста считается за его братомъ и вообще за ближайшимъ родственникомъ. Въ народной новелѣ Джибенкызъ, герой Тулегенъ, изъ рода Джигалбайлы, убитъ. Его братъ, достигшій совершеннолѣтія, ждетъ невѣсть руки Джибенкизъ, невѣсты новобраннаго. Между прочимъ онъ говоритъ: „если она не захочетъ за меня выдти, то я вернусь, поджавъ хвостъ“ (кутинин кысыб). Джибенкызъ со времени смерти перваго жениха ждала пріѣзда ближайшаго родственника или другаго родича. Она говоритъ: „а съ перваго начала обручена (бас кесканы) роду Джигалбайлы, который, по богатству, не успѣваетъ смотрѣть за своими табунами. Если правда, что Тулегенъ убитъ, но, о Боже! почему не берутъ Джибекъ? Развѣ въ его родѣ нѣтъ ни одного молодца, который бы отыскалъ и получилъ свою невѣсту (есир)?“

Если невѣста умретъ, то отецъ или родственникъ выдаетъ жениху не просватанную ея сестру или ближайшую родственницу за небольшую добавку къ калыму (подъ названіемъ балдызкалым) въ 1—2 верблюда. Когда нѣтъ другой дѣвицы, то полученный калымъ возвращается сполна, если невѣста умерла въ домѣ своего отца, т. е. до бракосочетанія. Если, по смерти невѣсты, ея сестры еще слишкомъ молоды, то отецъ ихъ приглашаетъ къ себѣ зятя; даритъ ему лошадь, верблюда и проситъ обождать до болѣе зрѣлаго возраста дѣвицы. Если женихъ отка-

вывается ждать совершеннолѣтія, то ему возвращаются двѣ части уплаченнаго калыма, а одна часть его остается къ пользу отца невѣсты. Невѣста можетъ, съ согласія жениховой стороны, выдти за младшаго брата жениха. При этомъ, хотя произошло посѣщеніе невѣсты, ясырин келю, но ничего не прибавляется къ прежнему калыму. Если же происходилъ орунтой, то къ калыму доплачивается за сестру балдызкалым, сумма, равная половинѣ даннаго калыма. Въ крайности, если некого выдать, возвращается калымъ безъ 1 кулунди бія, а по другимъ свѣдѣніямъ, половина калыма, если женихъ ходилъ къ невѣстѣ, а если не ходилъ, то весь калымъ.

По смерти невѣсты, женихъ долженъ посѣтить аулъ ея родителей, иначе онъ теряетъ право на ея сестру; при этомъ, за новое его сватовство, съ него присуждаютъ еще тогузъ (бійскія книги).

Если отецъ, получивъ калымъ съ одного жениха, выдавалъ невѣсту за другаго, то въ прежнее время первый женихъ убивалъ отца или своего соперника, требуя выдачи самой невѣсты, называя ее тангбалы тайнининг кузи (глазъ намѣченнаго жеребенка) и не соглашаясь на возвратъ калыма, или же требуя выдачи ея сестры, съ присылкою ему, для смытія позора, одного раба.

Когда по уплатѣ калыма, женихъ начинаетъ ходить къ невѣстѣ въ отцовскій домъ и она узнаетъ, что онъ неспособенъ къ супружеской жизни, вслѣдствіе чего откажется выдти за него въ замужество, то почетные люди отдаютъ жениха для освидѣтельствованія. Если онъ въ теченіи одного года не поправится, то дѣвушкѣ предоставляется право выдти замужъ за другаго, а уплаченный женихомъ калымъ поступаетъ къ нему обратно.

Если отецъ засватаетъ свою дочь въ дѣтствѣ и получитъ за нее калымъ, а по достиженіи совершеннолѣтія она не захочетъ выдти замужъ за своего нареченнаго, также не пожелаетъ этого и отецъ ея, то она тѣмъ не менѣе уйти отъ него не можетъ, если только женихъ не скажетъ, что не желаетъ ее взять

за себя. Въ такомъ случаѣ отецъ дѣвушки платитъ полученный имъ калымъ и кромѣ того штрафъ въ двадцать семь головъ скота, начиная съ верблюда и кончая баранами и козами.

Если дѣвушка, сосватанная въ младенчествѣ, по достиженіи совершеннолѣтія, убѣжитъ съ какимъ нибудь парнемъ, то послѣдній долженъ дать прежнему ея жениху одну дѣвушку или же уплатить калымъ.

Вообще, по адату, сотвореніе молитвы и полученіе калыма равносильны бракосочетанію.

Вслѣдствіе размолвки (ораз), женихъ или сватаетъ другую дѣвушку, или уѣзжаетъ надолго. Въ первомъ случаѣ прежняя невѣста обижается; женихъ объясняетъ ей, что онъ возьметъ ее послѣ другой; но она не хочетъ быть прислугою у другихъ и возвращаетъ калымъ безъ 1—2 головъ (кара). Во второмъ случаѣ тесть теряетъ терпѣніе и прочитъ дочь за другаго. Тогда является женихъ и требуетъ „или калыма или жены". Тестю приходится отдать калымъ со штрафомъ—аттонъ.

Опредѣленіе штрафа за отказъ одной изъ сватавшихся сторонъ вполнѣ зависитъ отъ біевъ. Если отказъ былъ вызванъ, напр., неплатежемъ калыма, то штрафъ бываетъ меньше. Вообще, кто въ продолженіи платежа калыма по частямъ, откажется, тотъ платитъ бійлыкъ, а уплаченная сумма возвращается безъ одной лошади и одного верблюда.

Выборъ невѣсты зависитъ отъ отца жениха, который посылаетъ посторонняго человѣка (халис адам), въ качествѣ яучи, чтобы не подвергнуться случайностямъ, могущимъ испортить все дѣло. Яучи заводитъ рѣчь такъ: „у васъ есть соколъ, у насъ кречетъ" (сизде зашин бар инен бизде сункар бар инен). Торгуются о количествѣ калыма. Яучи, давъ подарокъ каргибау, получаетъ въ подарокъ лошадь или халатъ, называемый чеге чапан (гвоздь—халатъ), потому что онъ скрѣпляетъ сватовство. Отецъ невѣсты назначаетъ, черезъ этого яучи, день, для пріѣзда отца жениха съ формальнымъ предложеніемъ, для угощенія и врученія ему подарковъ (кінт кінб, сонс еб, куда тусиб кетсин). По Маковецкому, „формальное предложеніе нерѣдко отдѣлено отъ

перваго соглашенія многими годами, напр., если женихъ и невѣста во время соглашенія находились въ колыбели". Тогда сватомъ (куда) становится отецъ или родственникъ жениха, являясь въ домъ невѣсты, обыкновенно въ сопровожденіи родни, для формальнаго предложенія, уговора о калымѣ и принятія подарковъ кінт. По Маковецкому, чѣмъ знатнѣе сватающіеся, тѣмъ больше число сватовъ, иногда больше двадцати. Приближаясь къ аулу отца невѣсты, сваты останавливаются у его родственниковъ и оттуда посылаютъ извѣщеніе о своемъ пріѣздѣ. Отецъ невѣсты оповѣщаетъ своихъ родственниковъ и друзей о прибытіи сватовъ и распоряжается выставленіемъ юртъ для гостей. Затѣмъ явившись, сваты дѣлаютъ въ присутствіи гостей, предложеніе, которое принимается и закрѣпляется закланіемъ бѣлаго барана и прочтеніемъ баты. Изъ подарковъ самый цѣнный дается отцу жениха; онъ обязателенъ даже въ томъ случаѣ, если отецъ жениха не находится въ числѣ сватовъ. Въ этомъ случаѣ подарокъ посылается ему на домъ. По сообщенію біи Халмахаммеда, цвѣтъ барана безразличенъ; можетъ быть и козленокъ, а бѣдные могутъ купить мяса на базарѣ. Онъ же говоритъ, что лучшій подарокъ дается отцу жениха или тому, кто его замѣняетъ.

Для освященія заключеннаго условія, присутствующихъ угощаютъ курдючнымъ саломъ (куйрук) и печенкою (баур), разрѣзанными на длинныя полосы. Блюдо съ куйрукбауромъ подается сперва роднѣ жениха, потомъ роднѣ невѣсты. Послѣ этого обряда, женихъ о своей невѣстѣ уже выражается: моя законная жена (никахли хатынымъ). Пиръ, называемый куда тусертой, продолжается иногда нѣсколько дней. Устраиваютъ байгу, борьбу, пѣніе хоровъ и солистовъ (жирчи), которые поютъ народные эпосы или состязаются въ импровизаціяхъ, играютъ на балалайкѣ (домбра), скрипкѣ (кобыз) и флейтѣ (сыбызга).

Во все время празднества самую печальную роль играютъ сваты. Молодыя женщины и дѣвушки всевозможными способами потѣшаются надъ ними. Ихъ раздѣваютъ до нага и съ веревкою на шеѣ протаскиваютъ по аулу на посмѣшище народа; пришп-

вашъ къ вошшимъ во время ѣды; предѣлываютъ съ ними такія исключительныя вещи, что упоминуть о нихъ здѣсь невозможно; вытесываютъ на ногти чрезъ чангракъ и пр. Бывали случаи, что женщины заигрывали сватовъ до смерти. Въ этомъ случаѣ мужья ихъ и родственники все таки отвѣтствуютъ хунамъ.

Послѣ этого отецъ или родственникъ невѣсты, съ родными, но въ меньшемъ числѣ, чѣмъ сваты со стороны жениха, посѣщаютъ отца жениха и получаютъ отъ него подарки кінт. По бія Султану, опредѣленный договоромъ (несинди) кінт идетъ въ пользу отца невѣсты. Прочіе сваты получаютъ по доброй волѣ отца жениха, безъ опредѣленія (несинсиз). Угощеніе куйрукбаурекъ необязательно. На этомъ посѣщеніи уплачивается, если не весь калымъ, то первый взносъ, въ присутствіи гостей. Дальнѣйшіе взносы могутъ производиться безъ свидѣтелей. Если отецъ невѣсты запрется въ полученіи ихъ, то присяга налагается на него самого. Родные и знакомые (таныр, енчет) жертвуютъ къ калымъ (калымга несады) чисто по доброй волѣ; нѣтъ такого обычая, чтобы сваты жертвовали тѣмъ больше, чѣмъ цѣннѣе полученный ими отъ отца невѣсты подарокъ (противъ Ивановскаго, вып. I, стр. 16).

У киргизовъ богатый отецъ жениха закалываетъ 4—5 барановъ, бѣдный 2—3; ночью варятъ ихъ. На другой день это мясо, называемое „той", навьючивается на хорошую скотину, къ головѣ которой, для примѣты (ирык), привязанъ кусокъ ваты, называемый ватыи, и везется къ отцу невѣсты. Ему дарятъ эту скотину со словами: „на перевозку твоей клади", если это верблюдъ, или: „на ѣзду тебѣ", если это лошадь. Онъ дарятъ ему также сарыпай (*). Женихъ остается дома. На сватовствѣ устраиваютъ байгу или кукбуре, игру на балалайкѣ (**) и зурнѣ.

Сватовство можетъ быть взаимное (карсыны карсы куда булмы, атастырмак); тогда ни съ чьей стороны не платится калымъ.

(*) Халатъ.

(**) Киргизская балалайка имѣетъ 3 струны, между тѣмъ какъ киргизская только 2.

Братья отца оказываютъ поддержку племянникамъ при уплатѣ послѣднимъ калыма (калымалга посады). За сына уважаемаго, но обѣднѣвшаго человѣка, пятидесятокъ или аулъ устраиваетъ сборъ на калымъ (иртты кылыб эрдаи тигизеди). Тутъ каждый жертвуетъ сколько хочетъ.

Выборъ жениха невѣстою бываетъ, но безъ уплаты калыма (Перовскій уѣздъ). Этого прежде не бывало, какъ сообщилъ бій Ауліеат. уѣзда Умурбекъ. Теперь случается, что дѣвица убѣгаетъ къ избраннику ея сердца противъ воли отца (эрасиз). Послѣ этого выбранный ею женихъ можетъ быть принужденъ къ уплатѣ калыма и штрафа.

Виновный въ похищеніи невѣсты является къ ея отцу съ подарками (тарту тартиб), прося прощенія: „простите меня; я тоже вашъ сынъ" (менен утинги, менде балаги). Эти подарки не обязываютъ тестя отказаться отъ калыма. По Абсалямову, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, женихъ, въ наказаніе, долженъ заплатить двойной калымъ.

Подтвержденіемъ святости сватовства служитъ сказаніе о Карабаѣ и Сарыбаѣ, которые вступили въ сватовство раньше рожденія дѣтей. Сарыбай умеръ. Карабай не хотѣлъ выдать свою дочь Баянъ-Сулу за сироту, откочевалъ и выдалъ ее за Кодаркула. Сынъ Сарыбая, Казыкурпишъ, пріѣзжаетъ къ Баянъ-Сулу, прячется съ нею въ сундукъ, но показывающіеся оттуда длинные волосы его (*) выдаютъ его. Родня Карабая щадитъ его жизнь, но Кодаркулъ убиваетъ его. Вслѣдъ затѣмъ онъ самъ погибаетъ отъ руки Баянъ-Сулу.

Каракиргизы, при сватовствѣ, не опредѣляютъ количество калыма. Они даютъ сначала 2—3 скотины, а потомъ ежегодно по 1—2 головы. Только на посѣщеніи „уй джаны кылган", тесть въ первый разъ спрашиваетъ жениха: „сколько ты еще заплатишь? опредѣли самъ; прежнее не считается" (бурунгы мал исебсиз, инде канча бересин? узинг биль). Тогда опредѣляютъ количество калыма. Если послѣ этого тяжело платить назначенную сумму, то родители жениха, съ

(*) Въ сказкахъ упоминаются длинные волосы у мужчинъ.

другими родственниками, везутъ зарѣзанную скотину въ кибитку тестя. На вопросъ встрѣчныхъ: „куда ѣдете?“ (йол булсун), отвѣчаютъ: „мы ѣдемъ къ нашему свату, бить челомъ“ (куданыга куддук ургалы барактырмиз). Будущій тесть прощаетъ, ради свата, около ½ калыма. Потомъ жена просителя говоритъ: „я ваша сваха, я пришла тоже бить челомъ“ (мен де кудагайныг мен де куддук ургали кельдим), и ради нея прощаютъ около ½ калыма. Наконецъ, ради прочей родни, прощаютъ еще малую толику. Остатокъ подлежитъ непремѣнной уплатѣ. Тесть можетъ не согласиться на сбавку и потребовать уплаты сполна (Торгай).

По Курнитаю Даулетмулову, каракиргизы платятъ сначала безъ счета; потомъ, когда невѣстѣ 13—16 лѣтъ, отецъ жениха говоритъ: „мое имущество истощилось, а если не имущество, то по крайней мѣрѣ мои дни истощились; дай дѣвицу; и мой сынъ взрослый и твоя дочь взрослая“ (малым йитти, малым йитмесе, кукин йитти, кызны бер, баламда чунгайды, сенинг кызынг да чунгайды). Каракиргизъ Даніяръ говоритъ, что спустя годъ послѣ сватовства устраивается, соотвѣтствующее киргизскому орунтою, „открытіе двери“, ишикачты (*), съ байгою, кукбуре, игрою на балалайкѣ и зурнѣ. Женщины получаютъ йиртич, а отецъ невѣсты—скотину. Если онъ довольствуется ею, то говоритъ: „я открылъ дверь“ и даритъ сарыпай. Женихъ спрашиваетъ: „сколько тебѣ еще дать скота? когда ты дашь невѣсту?“ Богатый запрашиваетъ больше бѣднаго. Ночуя съ невѣстою, женихъ можетъ, обѣщаніемъ соблюсти тайну, добиться предвкушенія супружескихъ наслажденій.

Женихъ не можетъ идти къ родинѣ невѣсты или въ ея аулъ. Если его увидятъ тамъ, то бранятъ, а въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ у него отбираютъ лошадь и онъ со стыдомъ отправляется пѣшкомъ домой. Въ случаѣ необходимости, онъ ждетъ за ауломъ (аулныг сиртинда). Женщины выноситъ ему пищу, ибо онъ не

(*) Относительно слова ишикачту сообщитель говоритъ, что осмотръ грудей бываетъ между молодежью аула, но конечно тайно, и если кто увидитъ, то выходитъ скверно (хиан булади). Судя по этому, ишикачту у Вамбери, въ главѣ о каракиргизахъ, является ошибкою вмѣсто кишкачты.

можетъ войти ни въ домъ тестя (ата), ни въ дома родни послѣдняго: его старшаго брата, улкун ата, сына этого старшаго брата, кайнага, и вообще старшей родни тестя, ульчун уй, а если въ ихъ домѣ живетъ или жилъ невыдѣленный тесть, то сюда включается и младшая родня тестя. Въ кибитку младшаго брата тестя и младшей родни его онъ входитъ, но не садится въ почетное мѣсто тур. Исключеніе составляетъ, если женихъ до сватовства уже былъ тамыромъ кого либо изъ этой родни. Тогда онъ продолжаетъ входить въ домъ тамыра безъ стѣсненія, „потому что ему уже не стыдно".

Невѣста не посѣщаетъ аула жениха; иначе она уже не можетъ вернуться домой. Она не входитъ также въ аулъ ни старшей, ни младшей родни будущаго свекра. Въ случаѣ надобности, она идетъ къ младшей роднѣ, если въ ея кибиткѣ не живетъ или не жилъ свекоръ, какъ не выдѣленный и то только съ выкупомъ (элю), состоящимъ въ вещахъ: платкѣ (орамал, богдама), головномъ уборѣ (ялык), перстнѣ (сакына) и т. д., съ цѣлью доброй примѣты (ирык кылыб).

Помолвленная невѣста называется: у киргизовъ калындыг, у каракиргизовъ ворутык. Посѣщеніе ея женихомъ (куку) еще до брака, тайно (ясырын), называется у киргизовъ орунберген или орунтой, а у каракиргизовъ уй джаны кылган. Тесть, которому женихъ не показывается, игнорируетъ посѣщеніе его, а если посторонніе вздумаютъ его упрекать, то онъ имъ говоритъ, чтобы они не вмѣшивались въ чужія дѣла. „Развѣ женихъ, говоритъ тесть, мертвый, что онъ не можетъ придти, когда далъ животное для закланія?" (ультерупи берген сунг, улуб ятыр куку ша бара вернай).

Къ орунтою женихъ приводитъ козла (серке), для закланія (ультиру) у старшаго брата невѣсты, въ кибиткѣ котораго происходитъ орунтой и жена котораго (енге) служитъ посредницею, приводя невѣсту на одну или на двѣ ночи. Женихъ ложится съ невѣстою, но не долженъ совершать совокупленія.

При варкѣ пищи бросаютъ въ огонь куски сала, говоря:

пусть пойдетъ на душу такого-то (называнье аруахина тійсин) и называютъ имена умершихъ родственниковъ.

Цѣль орунтоя, этого древняго обычая всѣхъ киргизовъ, есть ободреніе жениха и совѣщаніе объ окончательной уплатѣ калыма. Бываетъ, что на орунтоѣ отдаютъ дочь, довѣряя обѣщанію жениха о доплатѣ калыма и избѣгая устройства торжественной свадьбы (Торгай). Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ передавали, что раньше полной уплаты калыма дочь не отдаютъ жениху, опасаясь, что послѣдній не выполнитъ свое обѣщаніе о доплатѣ калыма. Теперь входитъ въ обычай (Аулієат. у.), чтобы женихъ, по уплатѣ калыма, ночью пріѣзжалъ за полученіемъ невѣсты и тайно уѣзжалъ, безъ празднованія свадьбы. Въ Курамиискомъ уѣздѣ такъ дѣлаютъ бѣдные, угощая приглашенныхъ только однимъ котломъ каши (бутка). При этомъ, само собою разумѣется, обходятся безъ тойгала (*).

По біи Султану и Маковецкому, отправляясь на орунтой, женихъ беретъ съ собою одного спутника—куну юлдасы (у Маковецкаго отагасы), сопровождающаго его во все время орунтоя, и 5—10 человѣкъ джигитовъ, для привоза элю, босага элю, уйгенерер и джартыс. Джигиты возвращаются тотчасъ, когда отдадутъ это имущество и получатъ за это кінт. Женихъ останавливается съ спутникомъ въ кибиткѣ отца или дяди невѣсты, а у богатыхъ въ особо приготовленной для него кибиткѣ. Иногда для спутника приготовляется особая кибитка. Тогда сваты, встрѣчающія жениха верхомъ или пѣшкомъ, просятъ у него подарка за ихъ „усталость" (интик бер) при приготовленіи кибитки. За входъ жениха въ кибитку онѣ опять просятъ подарка (чатырбайгазысы). Затѣмъ завѣдывающій подарками (каде) спутникъ жениха раздаетъ ихъ, смотря по степени родства. Первый и лучшій подарокъ дѣлается матери невѣсты; слѣдующій за тѣмъ ея бабушкѣ и т. д. Уйгенерер, за входъ въ кибитку, состоитъ

(*) Киргизъ Курам. у. Худайкулъ увезъ калымъ и тойгалъ, но безъ одной кобылы. Отецъ его невѣсты предлагаетъ ему, въ порыстовліе, дать одну лошадь и тайно увезти невѣсту. Но Худайкулъ требуетъ устройства свадьбы на полученный тойгалъ, обѣщая дать оставшуюся кобылу.

въ верблюдѣ или лошади. Уйдиртыс поручается цѣлиномъ матери невѣсты, для раздачи „въ домѣ". Аудиртыс передается самой уважаемой женщинѣ „изъ аула", для раздачи прочимъ. Когда женщины заявляютъ, что подарки слишкомъ незначительны, то женихъ отправляетъ своего спутника назадъ, за новыми подарками. Послѣ этого начинается празднество орунтоя, продолжающееся одинъ день. Невѣста скрывается гдѣ нибудь и хозяйка того дома, гдѣ она скрылась, получаетъ за выдачу ея подарокъ кыз кашар, состоящій изъ ткани (адраса, тика или ситца) на 2—3 платья.

Вечеромъ, когда постель для жениха будетъ приготовлена (*), двѣ женщины зовутъ его, за что получаютъ подарокъ кузучакырар. При входѣ его въ кибитку, сноха невѣсты сыплетъ на него урюкъ, орѣхи и баурсакъ (**). Это называется чачу. Затѣмъ входится невѣста. Въ прежнее время невѣста, при входѣ въ юрту, бросала сало въ горѣвшій по срединѣ огонь, со словами: „огонь—мать, сало—мать, благослови" (от ана май ана джарылга). „Этотъ обычай былъ при Чингизханѣ, когда не знали книгъ. Это дурной обычай", говоритъ бій. Въ эту же ночь одна женщина, лежащая за спиною невѣсты и крѣпко держащая ее въ объятіи, получаетъ за свой уходъ подарокъ эрка ятар или кыз кушактар.

При отъѣздѣ жениха обратно, тесть даетъ ему, подъ названіемъ „въ дно мѣшка", подарокъ, состоящій изъ одной скотины, а если калымъ еще не весь полученъ, то прощаетъ одну скотину.

Посѣщенія жениха повторяются до свадьбы. Богатый женихъ пріѣзжаетъ каждый разъ съ товарищами. Привозимые подарки имѣютъ меньшую цѣнность и назначаются для снохъ (енгелер).

Если женихъ, посѣтившій невѣсту на орунтоѣ, умретъ, то родители привозятъ ее въ траурѣ, съ подарками аза, въ аулъ умершаго и здѣсь она оплакиваетъ жениха въ продолженіи года,

(*) Постель приготовляютъ женщины, за что получаютъ подарокъ тюсек салар.

(**) Небольшіе кусочки тѣста, заваренные на бараньемъ салѣ.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

НЕВѢСТА ВЪ САУКАЛЕ.

Рис. Ахматовъ.

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а затѣмъ выходитъ за его брата или за ближайшаго родственника. Въ русское время, прибавляетъ біи Халмахамедъ, этотъ обычай утерялся; но прежде бывало, что 20—30 парней изъ аула жениха отправлялись въ аулъ невѣсты, чтобы привести ее силою.

По біи Халмахамеду, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, согласно Маповецкому, вып. 1, стр. 7 и 8, отъ орунелю или эсикачти, то есть, перваго посѣщенія невѣсты послѣ уплаты калыма, сопровождающагося угощеніемъ со стороны жениха баурсакомъ съ подарками джиртич, также пѣснями и скачками кукбуре, устраиваемыми тестемъ, отличается ясырын келю, то есть посѣщеніе, предшествующее полной уплатѣ калыма.

Свадьба можетъ быть сыграна во всѣ мѣсяцы, кромѣ мѣсяцевъ лунаго года саефарай и уразай (мѣсяцъ поста).

Въ отличіе отъ празднества орунтой, свадебный пиръ, послѣ котораго отпускаютъ невѣсту, называется отпускнымъ пиромъ (узатагуги той). Бѣдные не устраиваютъ орунтоя, а прямо отпускной пиръ.

Къ торжеству бракосочетанія, происходящему въ аулѣ тестя, женихъ пріѣзжаетъ на убранномъ конѣ со спутникомъ (юлдас), привозя съ собою для матери невѣсты сутаны, для новой кибитки чангарак, дверные косяки и половину нужныхъ кошемъ, равно какъ прочіе подарки. Новая кибитка ставится не сразу, иногда черезъ мѣсяцъ, потому что нужно купить принадлежности ея. Богатая невѣста надѣваетъ головной уборъ (саукеле, у киргизовъ шаукеле). Женихъ является къ тестю въ халатѣ съ длинными рукавами. Когда онъ низко кланяется тестю, тещѣ, шурину, его женѣ (енге), то рукава касаются земли. Онъ проводитъ, выпрямляясь, руками по колѣнамъ.

Получивъ 7—8 халатовъ, подъ названіемъ той джиртые и одну кобылу, тесть устраиваетъ угощеніе (ас). Старики (карьялер) сидятъ, угощаются и смотрятъ, какъ парни (бозбалалар) скачутъ кукбуре. Призомъ въ этотъ день служитъ зарѣзанный козленокъ, называемый сагулак. Къ вечеру дѣвицы собираются въ какую нибудь кибитку, только не въ кибитку тестя. Дверь затворяется, но кошмы кругомъ приподнимаются. Снаружи са-

дить парни. Начинается состязаніе въ пѣніи (улен) между парнями и дѣвицами. По два парня поютъ вмѣстѣ. Чтобы не было споровъ, старшіе просятъ пѣть всѣмъ парнямъ по очереди (кезек). Хорошимъ пѣвцамъ дѣвицы дарятъ кольца (сакына), запястья (билезук) и деньги. Дѣвицамъ предлагаютъ угощеніе изъ сухаго урюка, лепешекъ и т. п. Старики слушаютъ пѣніе.

Первый день свадьбы называется днемъ „покрытія кибитки", отау джабар, въ отличіе отъ „большаго пира" (улькун той). За покрытіе кибитки женщины получаютъ подарки отау джабар. За мюнтастар (*) онѣ получаютъ барана, котораго и съѣдаютъ.

На другой день утромъ скачутъ кукбуре (**). Козленокъ при этомъ называется просто улак.

Торжество этого дня (той) идетъ тѣмъ же порядкомъ, какъ наканунѣ. Но на этотъ разъ женщины хотятъ позабавиться и увести невѣсту изъ среды подругъ, гдѣ она участвуетъ въ пѣніи. Дѣвицы защищаютъ свою сверстницу, женщины отбиваютъ ее (тартады). Этотъ обрядъ называется отбитіемъ, тартис. Наконецъ, женщины сажаютъ невѣсту насильно на коверъ и уносятъ, сопровождаемыя хнывающими дѣвицами (сингсійды), получившими 1—2 куска ткани, подъ названіемъ „за взятіе", алын, въ кибитку тестя, гдѣ для жениха за пологомъ (шимилдык) приготовлено ложе (тусек), съ постланнымъ бѣлымъ платкомъ (кинеулык) (***). Женщины требуютъ, чтобы женихъ самъ поднялъ невѣсту и отнесъ ее на постель. Женихъ отъ этого отказывается, говоря, что мужчинѣ стыдно поднимать женщину. Тогда одна изъ сильныхъ женщинъ поднимаетъ невѣсту за подаркомъ кызкутерер. Дѣвицы уходятъ. Остаются женщины, чтобы снаружи прислушиваться (тынглаб турады). Потомъ онѣ уносятъ

(*) Мюнтастар, набрасываніе шеи барана чрезъ тюндукъ, чтобы въ новой кибиткѣ не дымило.

(**) Вообще парни требуютъ кукбуре на каждомъ тоѣ, предъ байгою и послѣ байги. Если имъ откажутъ, то они грозятъ сдернуть тюндукъ съ кибитки, для позора ея хозяину. (Ілій Султанъ Каиевъ).

(***) См. приложеніе № 4: яръ—яръ и аулжаръ.

сервиллавный платокъ (инкулы) къ родителямъ невѣсты, со словами: „твоя дочь дѣвственна, Богъ низовалъ, дай сюючи" (кызыгы ыз ыны, нудай ярлыкай калды, сюючи бер). Если мужъ окажется несостоятельнымъ, то платитъ теткамъ стоимость одной лошади.

Если невѣста окажется недѣвственною, то женихъ можетъ заявить претензію, говоря, что онъ платилъ калымъ за дѣвицу, а не за женщину (кызга мал берген мен, хатынга мал бергенем йок). За это присуждаютъ тестя къ штрафу, прежде до трехъ тогузовъ, а теперь къ аттону (лошадь и халатъ), но не оставляютъ безъ вниманія. (Торгай).

Если самъ женихъ лишилъ невѣсту невинности на орунтой, то онъ сообщаетъ объ этомъ сахаямъ, постилающимъ инкулы, которыя въ такомъ случаѣ требуютъ себѣ подарки, прибѣгая къ угрозѣ, никогда не исполняющейся: распороть брюхо его лошади. (Бій Султанъ).

Если женихъ не въ мочи (арамса), то ждутъ до трехъ дней. Потомъ невѣста можетъ, если ей не нравится женихъ, подъ этимъ предлогомъ заявить, что не выходитъ за него (тіймейменъ). Тогда ея отецъ возвращаетъ калымъ въ опредѣленномъ біями размѣрѣ.

На слѣдующій день, въ первый разъ днемъ, тесть и теща приглашаютъ жениха въ свою кибитку. Онъ не садится въ тур, а остается въ углу между первою и второю рѣшетками (абсар — уголъ, связь). Его угощаютъ бараньею грудью (тус). Гости являются съ кушаньями и получаютъ отъ жениха въ порожнія чаши (табак) монеты. (Торгай).

По Ирсбеку, ни одна свадьба у ташкентскихъ киргизовъ не обходится безъ нѣнчанія (никa), за которое женихъ даетъ плату, никакыяр, нашу 40 коп. и бію 2 руб. По сообщенію Даулета Бушаева, муллѣ даютъ по состоянію: 1 барана и 40 коп., или деньгами 4 руб. 40 коп., или другой подарокъ. По Минебаю, бій не беретъ подарка, развѣ какъ гость. Мулла получаетъ эки баулы чапан, „халатъ съ двумя завязками", т. е. одинъ халатъ, или эки тисти тусак, „самку овцу съ двумя зубами", или 4 рубля. Во-

гатые даютъ больше. За вдову дается только половина этой суммы.

Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ обрядъ бракосочетанія происходитъ такимъ образомъ. При чтеніи молитвъ наливается въ чашу вода; выходящая замужъ дѣвица бросаетъ въ нее или серьги, или серебряное кольцо и закрываетъ сосудъ бѣлымъ платкомъ; а женихъ привязываетъ бѣлымъ же платкомъ къ краю чашки палочку, изображающую стрѣлу. По окончаніи молитвъ, молодая беретъ обратно изъ чашки брошенную туда вещь и впослѣдствіи хранитъ ее, какъ залогъ счастья. Одинъ изъ свидѣтелей бракосочетанія (*) беретъ чашку и обхватываетъ ее руками такъ, чтобы вытянутые по борту пальцы не сходились на вершокъ. Въ этотъ промежутокъ мужъ и жена прикладываются по очереди (сначала мужъ) губами и пьютъ воду. Затѣмъ чашка переходитъ въ руки всѣхъ присутствующихъ, которые отпиваютъ отъ нея, не прикладываясь губами къ тому мѣсту, гдѣ пили новобрачные. Бѣлые платки идутъ свидѣтелямъ (**).

Обрядъ бракосочетанія, по Маковецкому, вып. I, стр. 11, совершается лишь передъ самымъ отъѣздомъ молодыхъ, а по бію Султану, передъ обрядомъ отаусалар. Онъ состоитъ въ прочтеніи муллою баты „амин аллаакбар". Невѣста, ея подруги и другія женщины, находятся за занавѣсью, а по срединѣ юрты сидятъ женихъ съ двумя свидѣтелями или поручителями (гуа, вакил), по одному отъ каждой стороны, роднею и прочими гостями, безъ занавѣси (противъ Маковецкаго). Свидѣтели, а по Маковецкому, мулла, спрашиваетъ жениха: согласенъ ли ты взять въ замужество (жупти кыыб алуга) такую-то (называя ея имя) дочь такого то (имя отца) и такой-то (имя матери). Женихъ отвѣчаетъ: согласенъ (кабыл кыыдым, кабыл туттим). Потомъ они съ такимъ же вопросомъ обращаются къ невѣстѣ и получаютъ подобный же отвѣтъ. Затѣмъ

(*) Ихъ должно быть по одному съ каждой стороны.

(**) Сообщеніе К. А. Александрова.

нулла читаетъ молитву хутба. Приносятъ чашку (аяк) съ чистою водою, въ которую опускаютъ, въ пользу свидѣтелей, монеты, кольца или тому подобное; нулла осыпаетъ ее духовеніемъ (дон сальды), а потомъ свидѣтели подносятъ ее жениху, невѣстѣ и гостямъ, которые пьютъ каждый по глотку. Женихъ и невѣста, при этомъ, должны прикоснуться къ чашкѣ въ одномъ и томъ же мѣстѣ, что символически означаетъ ихъ единеніе. Муллѣ обыкновенно даютъ не меньше 40 коп., но эта плата (никахыр) не обязательна. Бій зула, извѣстившись о бракосочетаніи, также проситъ никахыр и получаетъ также что нибудь.

По окончаніи обряда, родня обращается къ новобрачнымъ съ наставленіями къ мирной жизни. Жениху говорятъ: „мы тебѣ дали въ руки кость (т. е. родственницу свою), обращайся съ ней хорошо, не мучь и не бей ее, не брани безъ вины“ (кулыгызга бр суяк бердик, нуны яксылаб кутиб багынгыз азар бериб урма, би кадж ямак сюйленгенгыз). Невѣстѣ говорятъ: „живи такъ, чтобъ меня не проклинали“ (балам джаман болма аталга калет келтерерсен). Затѣмъ невѣста съ матерью и дружкою жениха отправляются, а женихъ остается для принятія пищи и прощанія съ тестемъ и догоняетъ поѣздъ. (Бій Султанъ).

Теперь перейдемъ къ перечисленію подарковъ, которые женихъ обязанъ дѣлать женщинамъ:

1) Сутаны—тещѣ за вскормленіе грудью—верблюдъ или лошадь, но не меньше хорошаго халата въ 4 руб. Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ богатые даютъ 10 верблюдовъ, бѣдные хорошую скотину въ 40 руб., или столько же деньгами (Торгай).

2) Балдыз куримдик—за лицезрѣніе невѣстиной сестры (балдыз). Этотъ подарокъ дается во время орунборгаи и во всякомъ случаѣ раньше свадьбы, иначе балдыз обидѣлась бы.

3) Енгетай—женѣ брата невѣсты или женѣ того ближайшаго родственника невѣсты, который слѣдуетъ за ея отцомъ. Размѣръ подобенъ предъидущему.

4) Саукаленнг байгазысы. Головной уборъ невѣсты надѣ-

ваетъ какая нибудь женщина и надается къ жениху получить подарокъ, халатъ или рубашку, за уступку этого убора невѣстѣ.

5) Отку джабар—къ подарковой тестомъ, покрытой кибиткѣ, женихъ даетъ пешны, а за покрытіе кибитки женщинамъ даритъ женщинамъ одну скотину.

6) Эндинидик—за усталость женщинъ, которыя бѣжали, запыхавсь (эндикиб келгеи), при пріѣздѣ жениха—подарокъ въ 20 или 40 коп.

7) Атбайлар—за привязываніе лошади—подарокъ изъ 9 кусковъ на платье (тогузкіим) или 3 кусковъ ситы. Это раздѣляется женщинами между собою.

8) Тюсек салар—за постелу ложа на орунтоѣ.

9) Шимилдык байлар—за привязываніе полога.

10) Колустартар—за врученіе невѣсты въ руки жениха на орунтоѣ.

11) Шашсиватар—за право погладить волосы невѣсты.

12) Курпа кимылтартар—за движенія одѣяла.

13) Итыриадер—за прогнаніе собаки, которая ворчитъ на жениха (*).

14) Бакансалдыкдик—за открытіе тюндюка.

15) Мукитастар—за выбрасываніе женщинами чрезъ тюндюкъ бараньей шеи.

16) Арна ятар (не у всѣхъ киргизовъ)—за уходъ лежащей за спиною невѣсты женщины.

17) Кызкутерер—за водвореніе невѣсты на ковръ.

18) Кемпир ульди—за то что старуха, пропятствовавшая соединенію, притворяется мертвою.

19) Куну аттандырер—за посадку жениха на лошадь.

(*) Собаку изображаетъ женщина, которая сидитъ у порога кибитки.

20) Кыз пашар—за приведеніе невѣсты, родной ея бѣгутся къ родственникамъ.

Каждый изъ послѣднихъ подарковъ стоитъ 20—40 коп., а во Ирсбаю (Ташкент. киргизу), дается по маленькому кусочку ткани, на подобіе платка.

Когда женихъ отказывается платить, за истощеніемъ денегъ, то женщины говорятъ: „хотя бы лошадь погибла съ голоду, но обычный подарокъ не долженъ погибнуть“ (от улсо де пада улмейди), ибо по пословицѣ: невѣста можетъ быть безъ калыма, но не безъ подарковъ (калымсиз кыз булады, кадесиз булмайды).

Если женихъ не даетъ ничего, то женщины рвутъ платье на его спутникѣ.

Парни аула невѣсты, которые угрожаютъ убить жениха, получаютъ отъ него подарки муше (*), состоящіе въ платкахъ. Аксакалъ получаетъ при этомъ халатъ (Перовскій уѣздъ).

У каракиргизовъ родня жениха сама приводитъ скотъ въ домъ тестя, для угощенія гостей и устраиваетъ весь пиръ. Женщины получаютъ отъ жениха кишимишъ, ойсашки, баурсакъ, а отъ заколотой скотины: буйрек, шійрак, куче (йота йилаки). Жениха, не угостившаго ихъ этимъ, онѣ называютъ дурнымъ и стыдятъ, но не бьютъ. Увеселяются кунбуре, байгою, балалайкою и зурною. Отецъ невѣсты даетъ сарыпай для зурнайчи жениха и свекрови. Въ первый день свадьбы кунбуре не называется, какъ у киргизовъ сагулак, а просто улак. На второй день закалываютъ скотъ, называемый той, скачутъ кунбуре, а вечеромъ поютъ въ кибиткѣ. Дѣвицы даритъ пѣвцамъ перстни и платки. Потомъ выходятъ въ степь, для „дѣвичьей игры“ (кыз уни), при лунномъ свѣтѣ. Молодухи сажаютъ дѣ-

(*) Въ словарѣ Будагова, подъ словомъ „муше“ сказано, что муше баси, „главный подарокъ“, шелковый халатъ или лошадь, дается старшему по роду, который его даритъ султану или другому киргизу лично старшему. Остальные муше даются послѣдовательно младшимъ родамъ. Послѣдній—лоскутъ шелковой матеріи или ситцу—хватаетъ кто нибудь и скачетъ. Его преслѣдуютъ и кто догонитъ, тому онъ передается, чтобы остаться окончательно у того, чья лошадь быстрѣе всѣхъ.

лицъ и парней сажаютъ въ сакиф, а потомъ заставляютъ ихъ встать, дозволяя парням брать дѣвицъ за груди и цѣловать. На другой день ѣдутъ той. Вечеромъ сажаютъ невѣсту съ женихомъ въ ихъ кибитку (кыцды отаулитты). Добрый женихъ ухаживаетъ о нецѣломудріи невѣсты. Но въ обычаѣ, чтобы женщины показывали окровавленный платокъ. Таково сообщеніе біи Даніяра, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда (*).

Предъ отъѣздомъ изъ отцовскаго аула въ аулъ жениха, невѣста обходитъ всѣхъ знакомыхъ, для прощанія (танысады). Каждый даетъ ей что нибудь, въ родѣ кольца или скотины. Она не отдариваетъ. Окончивъ этотъ обходъ, молодая собирается въ путь въ одинъ изъ благополучныхъ дней, кушанг саати. Такими днями считаютъ: понедѣльникъ, среду и пятницу. Передъ отъѣздомъ дочери, отецъ спрашиваетъ ее: „чего ты желаешь себѣ изъ моего дома?“ и, по ея указанію, даритъ желаемое. Если онъ откажетъ, то дочь въ претензіи (азар булады) и, по прибытіи въ домъ свекра, посылаетъ мужа барантовать у отца. (Тергай).

Богатые киргизы устраиваютъ на проводахъ дочери (кыз узатпак) байгу или кукбуре.

Новобрачная ѣдетъ на убранномъ животномъ, въ праздничномъ одѣяніи, надѣвъ саукале или же обыкновенный головной уборъ женщинъ (**) и покрывъ лицо фатою. Саукале есть высокій конусовидный колпакъ изъ кошмы, оклеенный внутри и снаружи краснымъ и чернымъ сукномъ и богато украшенный мѣхомъ, золотомъ, серебромъ, кораллами, жемчугомъ и камнями. Сверху къ нему прикрѣпляются нѣсколько перьевъ совы, для за-

(*) Обычай всхать кровь въ эту ночь существуетъ у алайскихъ киргизовъ, по сообщенію П. Л. Гроембчевскаго. Но открытіе недѣвственности среди бѣднѣйшаго класса не ведетъ къ осложненіямъ. Если женихъ богаче и знатнѣе невѣсти, то родня жениха барантуетъ у тестя одну или нѣсколько лошадей и рѣжетъ ихъ, въ наказаніе за то, что отецъ не сберегъ дочь. Это, конечно, бываетъ только тогда, когда виновникомъ лишенія невинности былъ не самъ женихъ.

(**) Головной уборъ женщинъ бѣлый. Онъ состоитъ изъ джаулук, навертываемаго на подобіе чалмы и находящагося подъ нимъ и закрывающаго совершенно шею, плеча, кичечек, или, взамѣнъ послѣдняго, навертываемаго вокругъ лица куска ткани (ичче). Біи Султанъ замѣняетъ помѣщеніе ичче вмѣсто кичечек. Фата (джелек) дѣлается изъ куска шелка, хватающаго на 2 рубашки.

щиты отъ дурного глаза, а снизу—нѣсколько шнуровъ коралловъ и пемзуги, свисающихъ ниже колѣнъ. Скулаго возвращается въ радъ жены, если она умерла бездѣтною. Скулаго уже выходитъ изъ употребленія. Вмѣсто него носятъ болѣе простой головной уборъ кособо. Кособо состоитъ изъ конусообразнаго куска кошмы, на который наметана бѣлая ткань. Загнутая впередъ вершина этого конуса украшена разноцвѣтною бахромою киргизскаго издѣлія.

Новобрачныхъ провожаютъ: одинъ мужчина и одна невѣста, а если ея нѣтъ, то жена старшаго брата (сиго); если таковой нѣтъ, то самъ старшій братъ.

Приближаясь къ своему аулу, женихъ опережаетъ свадебный поѣздъ, чтобы предупредить о пріѣздѣ молодой (колин или колинчак). Свекоръ устраиваетъ скачки кунбуре. За 3—4 версты на встрѣчу (алдынан шигады) идутъ дѣвицы аула, для состязанія молодой (колинчиг кузгысы). Дѣвицы снимаютъ ее съ лошади и ведутъ пѣшкомъ. Онѣ выпрашиваютъ у нея разныя бездѣлицы, какъ то: кольца, запястья, ворадлы (нарджан) ожерелья (мунчак) и нарочно для этого навѣшанныя монеты.

Подарокъ отъ матери невѣсты для родственницъ жениха называется нурундык, т. е. за поводъ верблюда.

Молодую вводятъ въ кибитку свекра, но не показываютъ ни ему, ни свекрови (ене) и пропускаютъ за пологъ. Эту ночь и слѣдующія, до трехъ ночей, она ночуетъ подъ пологомъ съ дѣвицами, безъ мужа. Занимаются вышивкою. Утромъ четвертаго дня устраиваютъ церемонію открытія лица (бетачар той). Если есть пѣвецъ (жирши), то онъ, надѣвъ на конецъ палки кусокъ ваты, называемый ватыи, въ пользу невѣсты, приподнимаетъ пологъ со стихами, въ которыхъ называетъ, по порядку, всю присутствующую родню, заставляя молодую отдавать каждому лицу поклонъ (*).

Свекоръ угощаетъ гостей и раздаетъ имъ все что изъ приданаго, тибетейки и т. д. и устраиваетъ скачки кунбуре. Послѣ

(*) Смотри приложеніе № 5.

уходя гостей, дѣвицы изъ приносятъ пищу и выпрашиваютъ опять, каждая что нибудь, сундукъ, подушку, амулетъ (тумар). Этотъ обычай называется поздравленіемъ (кутуи). На него пріѣзжаютъ издали. Дальнимъ даютъ спать. Вечеромъ невѣстка, вытопивъ курдючное сало, мажетъ себѣ лицо, и приноситъ свекру и свекрови почтаніе (тазим) и поклонъ (салам) (*). Въ Туркестанскомъ уѣздѣ отрицаютъ, что невѣстка мажетъ себѣ лицо. Она только бросаетъ сало въ огонь, въ поминовеніе умершихъ.

Когда невѣстка бросаетъ въ огонь сало, то старшія приговариваютъ: будьте единодушны, какъ сало (найдой ошату бул). (Ташк. уѣзда).

Пока свекровь въ живыхъ, сноха не можетъ находиться или проходить по почетному углу тур. Иначе она заболѣваетъ ногами. По смерти свекрови, сноха бросаетъ въ огонь сало и уже можетъ находиться въ тур. (Ташкентскій уѣздъ).

Молодой супругъ не убѣгаетъ отъ женниной родни, а посѣщаетъ ее не стѣсняясь, ибо вся родня жены, даже до сверстницъ, перезнакомилась съ нимъ на бракосочетаніи.

Молодая супруга, до одного года, не идетъ къ своей родинѣ „изъ стыда" (уялиб), такъ какъ теперь она носитъ не дѣвичій платокъ, а головной уборъ замужнихъ женъ (кулы). Извѣстія о здоровьи родныхъ и новости она получаетъ отъ мужа. Только въ случаѣ смерти кого либо изъ родни, она идетъ къ ней, выразить свое соболѣзнованіе (аза тутиб).

Хорошая невѣстка всю жизнь скрывается изъ стыда и изъ почтительности (уялади, изет клады) отъ свекра и всѣхъ его восходящихъ родственниковъ, по пословицѣ: не цѣнятъ мужа, тѣло котораго видятъ; не цѣнятъ родственницу, лицо которой видятъ (эрдинг кадрын бильмейди, этин куреди, агаидынг кадрын бильмейди ботин куреди).

По свѣдѣніямъ, сообщеннымъ изъ Аулиеатинскаго уѣзда, молодая жена не показывается старшимъ родственникамъ мужа до третьяго колѣна, вплоть до первыхъ родовъ.

(*) Сообщено Торгасмъ.

У перешедшаго пешёлку, пробывшую въ сакуру, садятъ на пологъ. Кто говоритъ: „дайте на смотрины“ (курундитин бер). Тѣ, кому она нравится, даютъ. Пешёлка въ „большомъ домѣ“ (чуг уйде), то есть въ домѣ свекра, приветствуетъ свекра и свекровь и бросаетъ въ огонь сало со словами: „да воспылаютъ васъ Богъ! да приникнетъ къ вамъ сюда скотъ! да приникнутъ къ вамъ скороди дѣти! У меньки и у васъ обоихъ да будутъ лѣта жизни долги!“ (*). Въ отвѣтъ на это свекоръ и свекровь произносятъ благословленіе (бата).

(*) Ах аттыгыз! арпыгыз пол болсун, ашыгыз бол болсун! ушуцы уюцыз ушуц ешек ушуц бурсын!

Калымъ за невѣсту или калымъ (калымъ, калымъ пал) идетъ въ пользу того, кто воспитывалъ и выдалъ ее, т. е. отца, родственниковъ, опекуна и т. п. Размѣры калыма весьма различны у богатыхъ и бѣдныхъ, за невѣсту красивую и некрасивую (*). За дѣвицу со здоровьемъ требуютъ больше калыма, чѣмъ съ людей, вступающихъ въ первый бракъ. Послѣ уплаты калыма, на день свадьбы, женихъ поставляетъ еще: 1) тойгал. Къ полученному тойгалу тесть прибавляетъ отъ себя столько же и на это устраиваетъ свадебный пиръ и покупаетъ для новобрачныхъ кибитку, ковры, одѣяла, шубу, сундуки, утварь, платье и прочее приданое. 2) Эльо, т. е. скотъ для подъема кибитки и всего приданаго.

Калымы Перовскаго уѣзда, по біи Инсебаю Султанбаеву, состоятъ изъ слѣдующихъ отдѣловъ:

(*) Глухонѣмую дѣвицу въ Ташкентѣ предлагали за 5 коровъ.

Названіе отдѣловъ.	Калымъ богатыхъ „сорокъ сокъ" (кырк ото) (*).	Калымъ зажиточныхъ, подъ тѣмъ же названіемъ (элинчи кырк ото).	Калымъ бѣдныхъ „тридцать сокъ" (отуз ото).
Карашал .	60 сауалы 60 тонты } 500 руб.	40 сауалы. 40 тонты.	30 сауалы (беременная овца). 30 тонты (годовалый баранъ).
Ваш ахсыси	60 тусак (порошавшая овца).	40 тусак.	1 верблюдъ. 1 лошадь.
Ямака ахсыси . .	1 верблюдъ. 1 лошадь.	1 верблюдъ.	1 лошадь.
Ектеу біе .	1 беременная кобыла.	1 беременная кобыла.	1 кунан (трехлѣтнее животное).
Тусет . .	1 лошадь.	1 жеребенокъ (тай).	1 тонты.
Калыктие . .	1 верблюдъ.	1 верблюдъ.	1 тайлак (двухлѣтній верблюдъ).
Сутаны (**)	1 верблюдъ.	1 верблюдъ.	1 лошадь. 1 халатъ

(*) То есть 47 трехлѣтнихъ кобылъ, см. Мелиоранскій, вып. I, стр. 5. Въ Семиналатинской области употребительны калымы: 47, 37, 27 и 17. Хотя и въ Туркестанскомъ краѣ киргизы понимаютъ кырк ото въ смыслѣ 47, но грамматика допускаетъ другой переводъ: „сорокъ сороковъ".

(**) Сутаны уже упомянуты въ числѣ добровольныхъ подарковъ жениха женщинамъ.

Тойшы . .	100 барановъ.	Въ той же пропорціи, но меньше.	Очень мало, или вовсе нѣтъ.
Ялю . .	10 верблюдовъ для новой избитки. 20—30 лошадей для утвари и т. п.		

Теперь по всѣ эти отдѣлы существуютъ. Если же гдѣ и существуютъ, то отецъ невѣсты отдаетъ ихъ, особенно если ихсысы, въ видѣ подарковъ по сватовству (віит), кибитки съ прочими подарками, состоящими въ платьѣ и утвари.

Наименьшій размѣръ калыма въ Переясловскомъ уѣздѣ есть двѣнадцать дюжины, т. е. 27 головъ.

Особый видъ калыма, „тоншлаг калым", состоитъ въ томъ, что опредѣляется общая сумма скота или денегъ, какъ при продажѣ, по взаимному соглашенію (*). При этомъ нѣтъ тойшы и ялю.

Въ Аулиеатинскомъ уѣздѣ существуютъ слѣдующіе калымы:

1) По Абдрахману:

Названіе отдѣловъ.	У богатыхъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Каранал . . .	8 кулунди біе.	8 кулунди біе (побыли съ сосунцомъ).
	12 буйдак (двухлѣтній баранъ).	2 сайма (перемѣнъ, безплодные побыли).
Кисту біе . .	2 лошади.	Нѣтъ.
Тусат	1 лошадь.	
Кин ат . . .	1 лошадь.	

(*) Въ Переясловскомъ уѣздѣ нѣкто далъ деньгами 1500 рублей.

Улдуз отин (*)	130 барановъ.	
Кыш отин (**)	3 верблюда (изъ нихъ одна верблюдица, беременная или съ верблюженкомъ).	
Тойшал . . .	Неопредѣленны (по-сенсна).	
Зяю . . .		
Приданое (кёш) за невѣсту, тоотъ	100 тиллей.	

2) По Кушубаю:

Названіе судѣлъ.	Прежній калымъ у богатыхъ.	Нынѣшній калымъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Корешал . .	8 кулунда біо. 12 буйдаи	8 кулунда біо.	Албастыны тогуъ.
Бас нхсмы .	5 верблюдовъ.	1 верблюдъ.	
Аяк нхсмы .	3 верблюда.		
Тойшал . .	9 кобылъ=50 тиллей.	На 20 тиллей.	
Зяю . . .	Столько верблюдовъ, сколько ихъ у тоотъ.		

(*) Улдуз отин, „большой неопыленъ", означаетъ дѣвушку въ прошлое время въ уплату калыма неопыленка или рожденнаго отъ неопыленки. Вмѣсто неопыленки здѣлось 5 верблюдовъ.

(**) Кыш отин, „малый неопыленъ", назывался 4 верблюдами.

Йиртиг (одрас, бинесин, ситецъ и др., раздаваемые въ видѣ плетиемъ женщинамъ на свадьбѣ)	На 20 тиллей.	На 10 тиллей.	Дебелития тогр.

3) По третьему сообщенію:

Названіе отдѣловъ.	У богатыхъ.	У зажиточныхъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Пиранда . .	80 сауыш. 40 буйдак.	8 побыдъ отъ поробетаки.	20 сауыш. 20 буйдак.
Яхсысы или ренра (крупный скотъ) . . .	12 верблюдовъ и 4 лошади.	2 верблюда и 4 сайак (лошади ранняго возраста).	3 верблюда и 1 лошадь.
Тойшал . . .	30 лошадей.	3—4 лошади.	1 [illegible]

Въ біо Балыгтакиеду, Чимиритского уѣзда, выдаетъ отъ тойшалцъ и проч., состоитъ, на свадьбе отъ жиотъ, въ слѣдующихъ размѣрахъ:

Калымъ богатыхъ „сорокъ сонъ“ (кырк ото).	„Тридцать сонъ“ (отуз ото) бываетъ съ согласія тестя, когда, условившись о кырк ото, не могутъ выплатить эту сумму.	Калымъ бѣдныхъ.
Подарки кінт на 400 руб. 8 кулундн біо (поробыхъ побыдъ); изъ нихъ 4 могутъ быть замѣнены 60 баранами.	Кінт на 2 тил. 8 кулунди біо.	7 кулунди біо (изъ нихъ 3 могутъ быть замѣнены одною хорошею лошадью или верблюдомъ).

12 буйдак ныланы (не достигшихъ возраста случки верблюдовъ, т. е. 2—4 лѣтъ); изъ нихъ 6 могутъ быть замѣнены 30 барашами. Въ числѣ остальныхъ 6 лошадей бываютъ: тусат, т. е. хорошая лошадь, на которую получатель самъ укажетъ (тус салады); ниш ат, „малая лошадь", т. е. 4-хъ лѣтняя; джаманат, „другая лошадь" — хорошая лошадь; сектубіе—1 кобыла; елетубе тюя, „верблюдъ, привязанный къ арапу"—1 верблюдъ средняго достоинства; нѣкоторые не даютъ елетубе тюя.	6 буйдак ныланы—4 буйдак ныланы, 1 елетубе тюя, 1 ниш ат.	2 буйдак ныланы.
Ульхун отин или „бас отин"—120 барановъ.		
Кши отин—5 верблюдовъ.		
Тойнал (*) — на 400 руб.	Тойнал на 20 тиллей.	Женихъ даетъ невѣстѣ одежду и увезетъ ее въ ней.
Уй йиртис (ткань на раздачу) на 60 тиллей (228 рублей) или меньше.	Уй йиртис—10—15 тиллей.	
Элю—каждой женѣ тестя по 1 верб. или 1 лош. и отцу тестя 1 верб. (не обязательно, это въ числѣ кіши).	Элю—какъ въ кырк ото.	Элю — верблюдъ или лошадь, если можетъ; иначе отправляются пѣшкомъ или на лошади, одолженной знакомыми.

(*) Тойнал и уй йиртис тесть возвращаетъ въ видѣ приданаго.

вместъ какая нибудь женщина и является къ жениху получить подарокъ, халатъ или рубашку, за уступку этого убора невѣстѣ.

5) Отау диабар—къ подаровой тестемъ, покрытой кибиткѣ, женихъ даетъ пошины, а за покрытіе кибитки женщинамъ дарятъ женщинамъ одну скотину.

6) Эндикиндик—за усталость женщинъ, которыя бѣжали, запыхаясь (эндикиб келгеи), при пріѣздѣ жениха—подарокъ въ 20 или 40 пог.

7) Атбайлар—за привязываніе лошади—подарокъ изъ 9 кусковъ на платье (тогузкіим) или 3 кусковъ ситы. Это раздѣляется женщинами между собою.

8) Тюсек салар—за постилку ложа на орунтоѣ.

9) Шинилдык байлар—за привязываніе полога.

10) Колустартар—за врученіе невѣсты въ руки жениха на орунтоѣ.

11) Шашсипатар—за право погладить волосы невѣсты.

12) Курна кимыктартар—за движенія одѣяла.

13) Итыриадер—за прогнаніе собаки, которая порчитъ на жениха (*).

14) Бакансалдыкдик—за открытіе тюндюка.

15) Мунитастар—за выбрасываніе женщинами чрезъ тюндюкъ бараньей шеи.

16) Арка ятар (не у всѣхъ киргизовъ)—за уходъ женщиной за спиною невѣсты женщины.

17) Кызкутерер—за водвореніе невѣсты на коверъ.

18) Кемпир ульди—за то что старуха, препятствовавшая соединенію, притворяется мертвою.

19) Куяу аттандырар—за посадку жениха на лошадь.

(*) Собаку изображаетъ женщина, которая сидитъ у порога кибитки.

20) Кыз шашар—за приведеніе невѣсты, послѣ ея бѣгства къ родственникамъ.

Каждый изъ послѣднихъ подарковъ стоитъ 20—40 коп., а по Ирсбаю (Ташкент. киргизу), дается по маленькому кусочку ткани, на подобіе платка.

Когда женихъ отказывается платить, за потерянныя деньги, то женщины говорятъ: „хотя бы лошадь погибла съ голоду, но обычный подарокъ не долженъ погибнуть" (ат ушсе де пада улмейди), ибо по пословицѣ: невѣста можетъ быть безъ шалыка, но не безъ подарковъ (калынсиз кыз булады, кадосиз булмайды).

Если женихъ не даетъ ничего, то женщины рвутъ платье на его спутникѣ.

Парни аула невѣсты, которые угрожаютъ убить жениха, получаютъ отъ него подарки муше (*), состоящіе въ платкахъ. Аксакалъ получаетъ при этомъ халатъ (Перовскій уѣздъ).

У каракиргизовъ родня жениха сама приводитъ скотъ въ домъ тестя, для угощенія гостей и устраиваетъ весь пиръ. Женщины получаютъ отъ жениха кишимишъ, ойсташки, баурсакъ, а отъ заколотой скотины: буйрек, шійрак, муче (йота йилик). Жениха, не угостившаго ихъ этимъ, онѣ называютъ дурнымъ и стыдятъ, но не бьютъ. Увеселяются кукбуре, байгою, балалайкою и зурною. Отецъ невѣсты даетъ сарыпай для зурнайчи жениха и свекрови. Въ первый день свадьбы кукбуре не называется, какъ у киргизовъ сагулак, а просто улак. На второй день закалываютъ скотъ, называемый той, скачутъ кукбуре, а вечеромъ поютъ въ кибиткѣ. Дѣвицы даритъ пѣвцамъ перстни и платки. Потомъ выходятъ въ степь, для „дѣвичьей игры" (кыз уйн), при лунномъ свѣтѣ. Молодухи сажаютъ дѣ-

(*) Въ словарѣ Булгакова, подъ словомъ „муше" сказано, что муше баси, „платьяный подарокъ", шелковый халатъ или лошадь, дается старшему по роду, который его даритъ султану или другому киргизу лично старшему. Остальные муше даются послѣдовательно младшимъ родамъ. Послѣдній—доскутъ шелковой матеріи или ситцу—хватаетъ кто нибудь и скачетъ. Кто преслѣдуютъ и кто догонитъ, тому онъ передается, чтобы остаться окончательно у того, чья лошадь быстрѣе всѣхъ.

лицъ и парней синею въ синей, а потомъ заставляютъ ихъ вотеть, дозволяя парням брать дѣвицъ за груди и цѣловать. На другой день ѣдетъ той. Вечеромъ сопаютъ невѣсту съ женихомъ въ ихъ кибитку (ызды отаулатты). Добрый женихъ умалчиваетъ о нецѣломудріи невѣсты. Не въ обычаѣ, чтобы женщины показывали окровавленный платокъ. Таково сообщеніе біи Даніяра, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда (*).

Предъ отъѣздомъ изъ отцовскаго аула въ аулъ жениха, невѣста обходитъ всѣхъ знакомыхъ, для прощанія (танысады). Каждый даетъ ей что нибудь, въ родѣ кольца или скотины. Она не отдариваетъ. Окончивъ этотъ обходъ, молодая собирается въ путь въ одинъ изъ благополучныхъ дней, кушанье свати. Такими днями считаютъ: понедѣльникъ, среду и пятницу. Передъ отъѣздомъ дочери, отецъ спрашиваетъ ее: „чего ты желаешь себѣ изъ моего дома?“ и, по ея указанію, даритъ желаемое. Если онъ откажетъ, то дочь въ претензіи (азар булады) и, по прибытіи въ домъ свекра, посылаетъ мужа барантовать у отца. (Торгай).

Богатые киргизы устраиваютъ на проводахъ дочери (кыз узатпак) байгу или кукбуре.

Новобрачная ѣдетъ на убранномъ животномъ, въ праздничномъ одѣяніи, надѣвъ саукале или же обыкновенный головной уборъ женщинъ (**) и покрывъ лицо фатою. Саукале есть высокій конусовидный колпакъ изъ кошмы, оклеенный внутри и снаружи краснымъ и чернымъ сукномъ и богато украшенный мѣхомъ, золотомъ, серебромъ, кораллами, жемчугомъ и камнями. Сверху къ нему прикрѣпляются нѣсколько перьевъ совы, для за-

(*) Обычай искать кровь въ эту ночь существуетъ у алайскихъ киргизовъ, по сообщенію П. Л. Гроздевскаго. Но открытіе недѣвственности среди бѣднѣйшаго класса не ведетъ къ осложненіямъ. Если женихъ богаче и знатнѣе невѣсты, то родня жениха барантуетъ у тестя одну или нѣсколько лошадей и рѣжетъ ихъ, въ назаніе за то, что отецъ не сберегъ дочь. Это, конечно, бываетъ только тогда, когда виновникомъ лишенія невинности былъ не самъ женихъ.

(**) Головной уборъ женщинъ бѣлый. Онъ состоитъ изъ дилаулы, навертываемаго на подобіе чалмы и находящагося подъ нимъ и закрывающаго совершенно шею, плечи, кинечекъ, или, взамѣнъ послѣдняго, навертываемаго вокругъ лица куска ткани (эче). Біи Султанъ порицаетъ ношеніе эче вмѣсто кинечка. Фата (дилбек) дѣлается изъ куска шелка, хватающаго на 2 рубашки.

щиты отъ дурного глаза, а снизу—нѣсколько нитуровъ коралловъ и монетъ, спадающихъ ниже колѣнъ. Спустя возвращается въ родъ жены, если она умерла бездѣтною. Спустя уже выходитъ изъ употребленія. Вмѣсто него носитъ болѣе простой головной уборъ кисябе. Кисябе состоитъ изъ конусообразнаго куска кошмы, на которой намотана бѣлая ткань. Загнутая впередъ вершина этого конуса украшена разноцвѣтною бахромою киргизскаго издѣлія.

Новобрачныхъ провожаютъ: одинъ мужчина и мать невѣсты, а если ея нѣтъ, то жена старшаго брата (ага); если таковой нѣтъ, то самъ старшій братъ.

Приближаясь къ своему аулу, женихъ опережаетъ свадебный поѣздъ, чтобы предупредить о пріѣздѣ молодой (келин или келинчек). Свекоръ устраиваетъ скачки кунбуре. За 3—4 версты на встрѣчу (алдынан шыгады) идутъ дѣвицы аула, для состязанія молодой (келинниг кузысы). Дѣвицы снимаютъ ее съ лошади и ведутъ пѣшкомъ. Онѣ выпрашиваютъ у нея разныя бездѣлицы, какъ то: кольца, запястья, ноpалы (нерджи) ожерелья (мунчак) и нарочно для этого навѣшанныя монеты.

Подарокъ отъ матери невѣсты для родственницъ жениха называется журундыр, т. е. за поводъ верблюда.

Молодую вводятъ въ кибитку свекра, но не показываютъ ни ему, ни свекрови (ене) и пропускаютъ за пологъ. Эту ночь и слѣдующія, до трехъ ночей, она ночуетъ подъ пологомъ съ дѣвицами, безъ мужа. Занимаются вышивкою. Утромъ четвертаго дня устраиваютъ церемонію открытія лица (бетачар той). Если есть пѣвецъ (жирши), то онъ, надѣвъ на конецъ палки кусокъ ваты, называемый ватыи, въ пользу невѣсты, приподнимаетъ пологъ со стихами, въ которыхъ называетъ, по порядку, всѣ присутствующую родню, заставляя молодую отдавать каждому лицу поклонъ (*).

Свекоръ угощаетъ гостей и раздаетъ имъ кое-что изъ приданаго, тюбетейки и т. д. и устраиваетъ скачки кунбуре. Послѣ

(*) Смотри приложеніе № 5.

уходя гостей, дѣвицы куда приносятъ кипу и разстилаютъ скатерть, кладутъ что нибудь, сундукъ, подушку, ангулетъ (тумар). Этотъ обычай называется поздравленіемъ (кутуш). На него пріѣзжаютъ издали. Дальнимъ дарятъ скотъ. Вечеромъ невѣстка, вытопивъ курдючное сало, мажетъ себѣ лицо, и приносятъ свекру и свекрови почтеніе (ташки) и поклонъ (салем) (*). Въ Туркестанскомъ уѣздѣ отрицаютъ, что невѣстка мажетъ себѣ лицо. Она только бросаетъ сало въ огонь, въ поминовеніе умершихъ.

Когда невѣстка бросаетъ въ огонь сало, то старшіе приговариваютъ: будьте единодушны, какъ сало (найдой сакту бул). (Ташк. уѣзда).

Пока свекровь въ живыхъ, сноха не можетъ находиться или проходить по почетному углу тур. Иначе она заболѣваетъ ногами. По смерти свекрови, сноха бросаетъ въ огонь сало и уже можетъ находиться въ тур. (Ташкентскій уѣздъ).

Молодой супругъ не убѣгаетъ отъ женской родни, а посѣщаетъ ее не стѣсняясь, ибо вся родня жены, даже до сверстницъ, перезнакомилась съ нимъ на бракосочетаніи.

Молодая супруга, до одного года, не идетъ къ своей роднѣ „изъ стыда“ (уялиб), такъ какъ теперь она носитъ не дѣвичій платокъ, а головной уборъ замужнихъ женъ (кулы). Извѣстія о здоровьи родныхъ и новости она получаетъ отъ мужа. Только въ случаѣ смерти кого либо изъ родни, она идетъ къ ней, выразить свое соболѣзнованіе (аза тутиб).

Хорошая невѣстка всю жизнь скрывается изъ стыда и изъ почтительности (уялади, иззет клады) отъ свекра и всѣхъ его восходящихъ родственниковъ, по пословицѣ: не цѣнятъ мужа, тѣло котораго видятъ; не цѣнятъ родственницу, лицо которой видятъ (эрдинг кадрын бильмейди, этин куреди, агаидынг кадрын бильмейди бетин куреди).

По свѣдѣніямъ, сообщеннымъ изъ Аулієатинскаго уѣзда, молодая жена не показывается старшимъ родственникамъ мужа до третьяго колѣна, вплоть до первыхъ родовъ.

(*) Сообщено Торгаевъ.

У порога снимаетъ невѣсту, прибывшую къ свекру, сажаетъ на полстъ. Кто говоритъ: „дайте по смотрины“ (курундыгы бер). Тѣ, кому она нравится, даютъ. Невѣстка въ „большой домъ“ (чуг уйде), то есть въ домъ свекра, привѣтствуетъ свекра и свекровь и бросаетъ въ огонь сало со словами: „да вознесутъ насъ Богъ! да приникнетъ къ вамъ сюда свѣтъ! да принимутъ къ вамъ впередъ дѣти! У меняя и у васъ обоихъ да будутъ лѣта жизни долги!“ (*). Въ отвѣтъ на это свекоръ и свекровь произносятъ благословленіе (бата).

(*) Да вознесутъ! принесли мы бесѣдъ, принесли мы бесѣдъ! пусть умножатся умы наши умы будутъ!

Плата за невѣсту или калымъ (калым, калым мал) идетъ въ пользу того, кто воспитывалъ и выдалъ ее, т. е. отца, родственниковъ, опекуна и т. п. Размѣры калыма весьма различны у богатыхъ и бѣдныхъ, за невѣсту красивую и непорочную (*). За дѣвицу со вдовцовъ требуютъ больше калыма, чѣмъ съ людей, вступающихъ въ первый бракъ. Послѣ уплаты калыма, по дню свадьбы, женихъ поставляетъ еще: 1) тойнал. Къ полученному тойнал тесть прибавляетъ отъ себя столько же и на это устраиваетъ свадебный пиръ и покупаетъ для новобрачныхъ кибитку, ковры, одѣяла, шубу, сундуки, утварь, платье и прочее приданое. 2) Эдю, т. е. скотъ для подъема кибитки и всего приданаго.

Калымы Перовскаго уѣзда, по бію Мингебаю Султанбееву, состоятъ изъ слѣдующихъ отдѣловъ:

(*) Глухонѣмую дѣвицу въ Ташкентѣ предлагали за 5 коровъ.

Названіе отдѣловъ.	Калымъ богатыхъ „сорокъ семь" (ныра ете) (*).	Калымъ зажиточныхъ, подъ тѣмъ же названіемъ (вениче ныра ете).	Калымъ бѣдныхъ „тридцать семь" (отуз ете).
Карашы .	60 саулы 60 тонты } 500 руб.	40 саулы. 40 тонты.	30 саулы (беременная овца). 30 тонты (годовалый баранъ).
Кыш ачеласи	60 тусак (ненорожденная овца).	40 тусак.	1 верблюдъ. 1 лошадь.
Якша ихсаси . .	1 верблюдъ. 1 лошадь.	1 верблюдъ.	1 лошадь.
Кюту бія .	1 беременная кобыла.	1 беременная кобыла.	1 кунак (трехлѣтнее животное).
Тусак . .	1 лошадь.	1 жеребенокъ (тай).	1 тонты.
Калынтиа . .	1 верблюдъ.	1 верблюдъ.	1 тайлак (двухлѣтній верблюдъ).
Сутанцы (**)	1 верблюдъ.	1 верблюдъ.	1 лошадь. 1 халатъ

(*) То есть 47 прелѣстныхъ вещей, см. Материалы, вып. I, стр. 5. Въ Семиналатинской области употребительны калыны: 47, 37, 27 и 17. Хотя и въ Туркестанскомъ краѣ киргизы понимаютъ ныра ете въ смыслѣ 47, но практика допускаетъ другой переводъ: „сорокъ семерокъ".

(**) Сутанцы уже упоминуть въ числѣ добровольныхъ подарковъ жениха невѣстѣ.

Тойкыл . .	100 барановъ.	Въ той же пропорціи, но меньше.	Очень мало, или вовсе нѣтъ.
Эзю . . .	10 верблюдовъ для новой избы. 20—30 лошадей для утвари и т. п.		

Теперь не всѣ эти отдѣлы существуютъ. Если не гдѣ и существуютъ, то отецъ невѣсты отдаетъ ихъ, особенно бии-ясысы, въ видѣ подарковъ по свитоеству (кіет), вмѣстѣ съ прочими подарками, состоящими въ платьѣ и утвари.

Наименьшій размѣръ калыма въ Переясловскомъ уѣздѣ есть двѣсти, т. е. 27 головъ.

Особый видъ калыма, „тонкая калымъ", состоитъ въ томъ, что опредѣляется общая сумма скота или денегъ, какъ при продажѣ, по взаимному соглашенію (*). При этомъ нѣтъ тойкыла и эзю.

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ существуютъ слѣдующіе калымы:

1) По Абдракману:

Названіе отдѣловъ.	У богатыхъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Карашы . . .	8 кулунди біе.	8 кулунди біе (кобылы съ жеребятами).
	12 буйдак (двухлѣтній баранъ).	2 сайлы (верблюдъ, безплодная кобыла).
Кисту біе . .	2 лошади.	Нѣтъ.
Тусат	1 лошадь.	
Кыи ат . . .	1 лошадь.	

(*) Въ Переясловскомъ уѣздѣ кіета дать деньгами 1500 рублей.

Ульгун отин (*)	120 верблюдъ.	
Кыш отин (**)	3 верблюда (изъ нихъ одна верблюдица, беременная или отъ верблюженка).	
Тойнал . . .	Неопредѣленны (по-описки).	
Зяю . . .		
Продаже (зяю) по сторонамъ	100 тилей.	

2) По Кумтебе:

Названіе скотъ.	Прежній пылъ у богатыхъ.	Нынѣшній пылъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Карошка . .	8 кулунда біо. 12 буйдак	8 кулунда біо.	Албастаки тогуть.
Бос яхсосы .	5 верблюдовъ.	1 верблюдъ.	
Аик яхсосы .	3 верблюда.		
Тойнал . .	9 побылъ=50 тилей.	На 20 тилей.	
Зяю . . .	Столько верблюдовъ, сколько ихъ у тоста.		

(*) Ульгун отин, „большой начальникъ", означаетъ дѣйствителенъ въ прошлое время въ улусу калмыка начальника или рожденнаго отъ начальника. Вмѣсто начальника давалось 5 верблюдовъ.

(**) Кыш отин, „малый начальникъ", назывался 4 верблюдами.

Йиртич (адрас, бишеши, ситецъ и др., раздаваемые въ видѣ плетенъ невѣстамъ на свадьбѣ)	На 20 тиллой.	На 10 тиллой.	Дубовыя тоту.

3) По третьему сообщенію:

Названіе отдѣловъ.	У богатыхъ.	У зажиточныхъ.	У бѣдныхъ.
Коровы . .	80 сауыш. 40 буйдак.	8 побылъ съ коробетами.	10 сауыш. 20 буйдак.
Яхсысы или ресра (крупный скотъ) . . .	12 верблюдовъ и 4 лошади.	2 верблюда и 4 сайах (лошади равнаго возраста).	2 верблюда и 1 лошадь
Тойыны . . .	30 лошадей.	3—4 лошади.	1 сауыш.

По біо Ералиевскаго уѣзда, выдаваемое съ тойыны и проч., состоитъ, на свадьбу отъ такого, изъ слѣдующихъ расходовъ:

Калымъ богатыхъ „сорокъ сенъ“ (кыры ете).	„Тридцать сенъ“ (отуз ете) бишаютъ съ согласія тоста, когда, условившись о кыры ете, не могутъ выплатить эту сумму.	Калымъ бѣдныхъ.
Подарки кіит на 400 руб. 8 кулунди біо (коробыхъ побылъ); изъ нихъ 4 могутъ быть замѣнены 60 баранами.	Кіит на 2 тил. 8 кулунди біо.	7 кулунди біо (изъ нихъ 3 могутъ быть замѣнены одною хорошею лошадью или верблюдомъ).

12 буйдак ыныны (не достигшихъ возраста случки жеребцовъ, т. е. 2—4 лѣтъ); изъ нихъ 6 могутъ быть замѣнены 30 баранами. Въ числѣ остальныхъ 6 лошадей бываютъ: тусат, т. е. хорошая лошадь, на которую получатель самъ укажетъ (тус салады); нин ат, „малая лошадь", т. е. 4-хъ лѣтняя; джаманат, „другая лошадь" — хорошая лошадь; елетубіе—1 кобыла; елетубе тюя, „верблюдъ, привязанный къ арману"—1 верблюдъ средняго достоинства; нѣкоторые не даютъ елетубе тюя.	6 буйдак ныны—6 буйдак ныны, 1 елетубе тюя, 1 нин ат.	2 буйдак ныны
Улькун етин или „бас етин"—120 барановъ.		
Кин етин—5 верблюдовъ.		
Тойнал (*) — на 400 руб.	Тойнал на 20 тиллей.	Женихъ даетъ невѣстѣ одежду и увозитъ ее къ ней.
Уй йиртис (ткань на раздачу) на 60 тиллей (228 рублей) или меньше.	Уй йиртис—10—15 тиллей.	
Элю—каждой женѣ тестя по 1 верб. или 1 лош. и отцу тестя 1 верб. (не обязательно, это въ числѣ кіин).	Элю—какъ ныри ете.	Элю — верблюдъ или лошадь, если можетъ; иначе отправляются пѣшкомъ или на лошади, одолженной знакомыми.

(*) Тойнал и уй йиртис тесть возвращаетъ въ видѣ приданаго.

Босага алю, „за право перешагнуть черезъ порогъ"— 1 верблюдъ.	Босага алю— коробочкъ и т. д. въ меньшемъ размѣрѣ.	
На устройство пира— около 1 ½ батмана сухаго урюку и кишмишу на верблюдъ, который возвращается, если онъ не былъ алю тюя.		
Для закланія на пиру— 2 жирныя кобылы.		
Призы для кунбуре и байги.		

О количествѣ тойнала сваты не заключаютъ условія. Оно зависитъ отъ степени состоятельности жениха во времени свадьбы. Женихъ даетъ тилли и получаетъ отъ тестя лошадей, верблюдовъ, ковры, одѣяла, шубы, халаты, платье всякаго рода, самоваръ, однимъ словомъ, полную экипировку, называемую ягал. Въ числѣ этихъ предметовъ нужно замѣтить дилаекъ, шапидку изъ красной матеріи, которую новобрачная носитъ въ теченіи цѣлаго года, и саукале.

У каракиргизскихъ манановъ прежде калымъ состоялъ изъ 100 лошадей, нынѣ изъ 30—40 скотинъ (кара). У простыхъ каракиргизовъ калымъ для красивой невѣсты состоитъ изъ 15—17 скотинъ (кара), а у бѣдныхъ изъ 9—10 скотинъ. Тойнал бываетъ только у богатыхъ каракиргизовъ, и то въ небольшомъ количествѣ, ибо у нихъ не принято дѣлать подарки вещами (всау). Даютъ въ приданое только кибитку, коверъ, халатъ; прежде давали еще шаукале; сажаютъ невѣсту на лошадь; и все приданое навьючиваютъ на одного верблюда. Поэтому и алю нѣтъ. (Сообщеніе біи Курпетая Даулетмулова).

СТАРУХА КИРГИЗКА

ПЕРОВСКАГО УѢЗДА.

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По сообщенію мулла Нуллы Асана Джангельдина, прежде размѣры калыма были неопредѣленны. Нынѣ богатые рѣдко платятъ до 100 головъ (пара) разнаго скота (андай дегер). Обыкновенно калымъ не превышаетъ 9 головъ или 100 тиллей. Въ числѣ этихъ 9 головъ бываютъ: 1 верблюдъ, 4 лошади и 4 коровы, а у бѣдныхъ: 1 верблюдъ и 8 штукъ мелкаго скота (овецъ и козъ). Бѣднѣйшіе даютъ тюлгогуръ, въ смыслѣ тогуна безъ верблюда (*), а именно: 1 лошадь, 1 бишти (**), 1 кунан, 1 тилля, 1 тайгуруна (толстокъ сосунъ), 1 овцу и 1 козу. У нихъ не даютъ ни кибитки, ни подъемнаго скота; неимѣющіе отправляются пѣшкомъ.

Въ Ташкентѣ въ калымъ даютъ: богатые 12 пара (***), люди средняго состоянія 10 пара и бѣдняки 9 пара. При этомъ тойнга состоитъ: изъ 20, 15 и 10 тиллей, или же только изъ 8, 7 и 6 тиллей. На свадьбу тоже даютъ: 1 согуи (быка), для угощенія и двухъ коллетъ, для кумбуре. Эти равняются: 5 тиллямъ, 4 тиллямъ или 1 лошади и тремъ тиллямъ.

За похищеніе невѣсты, до уплаты калыма, взыскивается, сверхъ калыма, отъ 1 до 3 тогуновъ.

Женихъ ежегодно посылаетъ въ счетъ калыма одну или нѣсколько скотинъ, вырощенныхъ дома или купленныхъ на заработанныя деньги. Невѣста ждетъ окончанія уплаты съ 12 до 20 лѣтъ, не дольше.

Если послѣ этого женихъ сознается, что не въ состояніи доплатить, то, или прощаютъ оставшееся и выдаютъ дочь, или прочатъ за него другую дочь, поколоше, которая еще можетъ ждать, а старшую выдаютъ за другаго. Въ крайнемъ случаѣ выдаютъ жениху обратно то, что отъ него было получено.

По шаріату, въ одно и тоже время нельзя имѣть болѣе четырехъ женъ. Адатъ не ограничиваетъ числа женъ, ибо жена есть только самка, уругаш всобинде.

(*) Тюлгогуръ означаетъ одно тогуръ изъ вещей, безъ скота.

(**) У киргизъ-кайсаковъ такъ называется лошадь 3—4 лѣтъ.

(***) Кара, „черная скотина", т. е. одна голова рогатаго скота. Въ Аулиеатинскомъ уѣздѣ равняется 8 овцамъ съ 8 ягнятами.

Мужъ, имѣющій болѣе четырехъ женъ, живетъ, какъ супругъ, только съ четырьмя, взятыми всѣхъ. Остальныя считаются суки, воздержанными, и не живутъ по супружески (этвейди).

По адату, мужъ четырехъ женъ долженъ по очереди ночевать съ каждою. Та, которой очередь ночевать, варитъ кушанье. При несогласіи между женами, бій раздѣляетъ помѣщеніе, всю утварь и даже скотъ (дѣлая на ушахъ зарѣзки) по числу женъ. Когда одна изъ нихъ умретъ бездѣтною, то порученныя ей вещи распредѣляются между остальными женами (Перов. уѣздъ).

Старшей женѣ (байбише) младшія жены (токал, или, вѣроятнѣе: кши хатын) оказываютъ особое уваженіе. Въ прочемъ онѣ одинаковы. Дѣти всѣхъ женъ теперь равноправны. Дѣти отъ рабынь были безправны.

По Умурбеку, байбише можетъ давать приказанія младшимъ женамъ и ихъ дѣтямъ, если послѣднія не пользуются большою любовью мужа. Если дѣти токал умнѣе дѣтей байбише, то они имъ приказываютъ.

Для вступленія въ новый бракъ не требуется согласія тѣхъ женъ, которыя уже есть. Онѣ плачутъ и горюютъ (йлаб сыктаб юреди). Ихъ неудовольствіе выражается въ словахъ: развѣ я не родила тебѣ и т. д. По другому сообщенію, спрашиваютъ согласія женъ.

Срокъ траура вдовы (идда) продолжается, по мнѣнію нѣкоторыхъ біевъ, 40 дней, а по другимъ свѣдѣніямъ, 4 мѣсяца и 10 дней (для бездѣтныхъ 3 мѣсяца). Раньше этого срока вдова или разведенная не должна выходить замужъ. По свѣдѣніямъ Е. А. Александрова, вдова не должна выходить замужъ въ теченіе года; но нынѣ, подъ вліяніемъ шаріата, срокъ вдовства продолжается 100 дней.

Вдовецъ траура не носитъ; его вступленіе въ бракъ не стѣснено срокомъ.

Вдова, которая желаетъ выдти замужъ (есар) послѣ срока траура (идда), должна непремѣнно выдти за роднаго брата или

ближайшаго родственника мужа, исключая его отца, безъ калыма. При бракосочетаніи рѣжутъ только одного барана. Если же она пожелаетъ оставаться вдовою (тулхатун), то ее никто не принуждаетъ ко вторичному браку. Причина невыхода замужъ, за которую хвалятъ,—это нежеланіе разлучиться съ дѣтьми, которыя должны оставаться въ домѣ покойнаго. Она тогда продолжаетъ считаться пріобрѣтеніемъ покойнаго и получаетъ изъ его домѣ, даже бездѣтная, платье и пропитаніе изъ наслѣдства. Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ вдова, отказавшаяся отъ брака съ братомъ покойнаго мужа, только въ такомъ случаѣ становится хозяйкою имущества умершаго мужа, если у нея есть дѣти отъ него и она совсѣмъ обрекаетъ себя на вдовство. Она считается опекуншею сыновей до ихъ совершеннолѣтія. Затѣмъ, и послѣ ихъ совершеннолѣтія, полновластно распоряжается имуществомъ ихъ.

По смерти средняго брата его жена достается старшему, а не младшему, хотя обыкновенно вдовы, предпочитая младшаго, заявляютъ, что чисто родительскія отношенія къ ней бывшаго шурина (кайнага) не могутъ быть измѣнены въ супружескія. Если, при этомъ, старшій братъ уступитъ младшему, то онъ можетъ настаивать на аттонѣ въ свою пользу.

Если вдова хочетъ выдти за сына старшаго брата, то младшій братъ не соглашается на это, говоря: я старше его чиномъ (юлыи улкун). Тогда народъ можетъ сказать старшему брату: если ты не берешь ее, потому что твоя жена не согласна, то твой младшій братъ беретъ; но пусть онъ дастъ тебѣ за старшинство (юлынгды кылсун) аттонъ. Если жена младшаго брата, провѣдавъ объ этомъ, тоже подняла вой (уйбуй салды), то онъ можетъ не отдавать этого аттона и не брать вдовы, а сказать сыну старшаго брата: я уступаю, дитя мое, свое старшинство тебѣ (юлунды балам, саган бердим). За уступку онъ получаетъ съ послѣдняго аттонъ.

Посторонній человѣкъ, желая хитростью получить согласіе родни покойнаго на бракъ со вдовою, начинаетъ съ нею жить по супружески. Тогда законный женихъ не желаетъ взять ее, „потому что подолъ чужаго коснулся ея“ (итегя тіябти), но

заявляетъ все таки протестъ и получаетъ удовлетвореніе въ видѣ лошади или верблюда (*), а народъ санкціонируетъ состоявшуюся сдѣлку.

Если вдова, съ позволенія родни покойнаго, выйдетъ за посторонняго человѣка, то дѣти, даже не рожденныя еще, остаются въ домѣ прежняго мужа (**), а новый мужъ увеличиваетъ родѣ покойнаго калымъ, по крайней мѣрѣ, половинный, или по дѣвицу.

Если послѣ срока траура родственникъ мужа не является за полученіемъ сеир, то біи даютъ вдовѣ разрѣшеніе (ачык хат) выдти замужъ по выбору (***).

Когда вдова совершила уже бракосочетаніе (никя) съ постороннимъ, безъ позволенія родни мужа, то бракъ считается дѣйствительнымъ и остается открытымъ только вопросъ о размѣрѣ вознагражденія родѣ мужа. Законный женихъ, хотя и не получаетъ полнаго калыма, но до сихъ поръ не выходилъ съ пустыми руками (куру калмайды).

Обвиненію въ супружеской невѣрности біи не вѣрятъ безъ свидѣтелей.

Любовникъ, на котораго подали жалобу біи, не можетъ отдѣлаться заявленіемъ, что жена была уступлена ему за деньги и т. п., и платитъ штрафъ. За уводъ жены, безъ ея согласія, любовника бьютъ и взыскиваютъ съ него отъ одного до трехъ тогузовъ (тюя бастаган тогуз, ат бастаган тогуз, сіир бастаган тогуз). Если жена была уведена съ ея согласія, то бьютъ и любовника и жену, а любовникъ, кромѣ того, платитъ отъ одного до трехъ тогузовъ.

(*) Новый мужъ предлагаетъ сначала ценного, напр. лошадь. Законный женихъ не соглашается, грозя убить. Тогда предлагаютъ небольшое, верблюда и т. д., пока не удовлетворитъ (рази кылды) законного жениха.

(**) Бываютъ случаи, что всѣ дѣти уходятъ съ матерью.

(***) Законъ 1867 года предоставилъ недовольнымъ рѣшеніемъ народнаго суда по брачнымъ дѣламъ обращаться съ жалобою къ уѣздному начальнику. Обыкновенно русская администрація разрѣшала вдовамъ выходить замужъ по выбору. Такого рода разрѣшенія, идущія въ разрѣзъ съ обычаемъ, порождали споры между избранникомъ сердца и законнымъ женихомъ.

Если мужъ всенародно замахнется на жену ножомъ, топоромъ, шашкою или нанесетъ ей рану такими орудіями, то женина родня, которая возбуждаетъ всѣхъ, присуждается отмѣнъ. Третій случай такой жалобы влечетъ за собою разводъ.

За угрозы убить жену, ея родня не уводитъ ее къ себѣ, а только грозитъ мужу: „если ты убьешь ее, то получишь основательно" (ултирсенг тубанде нурерсен).

Если жена прибѣгъ мужа, то мужъ или мужнинъ братъ обнажаетъ ее, связываетъ и сѣчетъ. Бій, которому она пожаловалась бы, присудилъ бы ее къ тому же.

За искалѣченіе, переломъ руки, ослѣпленіе глаза и т. п., мужъ платитъ меньше обыкновеннаго штрафа за эти повреждения. Требуя штрафа, женина родня выражается такъ: „ты изуродовалъ нашу сестру, понизилъ ей цѣну" (айбди кылдынг, кырыидасынызды кем кылдынг, бахасын кеттирдинг). За нанесеніе женѣ легкой раны въ голову, за шрамъ (бас ярылса, тамга тусса) и т. п., не взыскивается.

Узнавъ о побояхъ, нанесенныхъ женѣ мужемъ, родня ея (турауа) является къ нему со словами: „развѣ она уличена въ воровствѣ, или невѣрности? (колынан урлык шыкты ма, койнынан уйнас шыкты ма?); если ты вторично будешь недоволенъ ею, то дай ее намъ (экинчи яман курсенг бизге бер); если ты недоволенъ ею, то мы ею довольны (сен яман курсенг де, биз яман курмейниз); если она провинилась, докажи это черезъ свидѣтелей и отсѣки ей голову, а мы отсѣчемъ ей ноги" (айби булса, гуваа менен муйынна кой, басын кес, биз аягын кесейик). Мужъ отвѣчаетъ: „я могу сколько угодно бить; и если убью до смерти, то заплачу хунъ". Родня не уводитъ жену, но научаетъ ее бѣжать къ нимъ, что она затѣмъ и исполняетъ. Тогда мужъ, раскаявшись въ гнѣвѣ и стыдясь народа (юрт), идетъ за нею, обѣщая клятвенно (касам береди) не бить ее и не бранить. Родня соглашается со словами: „въ первый разъ возвращать жену есть обычай народа (юрттынг ресми); но если ты во второй разъ прибѣшь ее, то мы не отдадимъ ее". Во второй разъ дѣй-

ственно не отдаютъ. Мужъ уже не идетъ за нею, а посылаетъ третье лицо, для производства расчета, т. е. полученія 3—4 кара.

Если по разногласіе съ мужемъ произошло не вина жены (айб хатыидан булса), т. е. по неправости, злому нраву и т. п., то родня не принимаетъ ее, хотя бы она и двадцать разъ бѣжала къ нимъ, объявляя: мы не требуемъ хуна за тебя. Тогда она приходитъ къ другой, болѣе дальней родня (бесна туруп). Туда является ея любовникъ и говоритъ: „ваша родственница разошлась съ мужемъ, я ее возьму и заплачу всѣ расходы". Мужъ подаетъ въ судъ. Жена ни за что не хочетъ вернуться къ нему. Любовникъ ея платитъ, въ пользу мужа, 6—7 кара или 30 тиллей.

Если законная жена затѣетъ съ мужемъ ссору, съ цѣлью уйти отъ него, безъ всякихъ со стороны его поводовъ, то адатъ не дозволяетъ ей этого. Если все таки не будетъ возможности оставить ее съ нимъ, то мужа заставляютъ дать ей разводное письмо, а жену или желающаго вступить съ нею въ бракъ обязываютъ къ полному возврату полученнаго ею калыма.

За убійство жены мужъ платитъ ея родня (какъ и при исчезновеніи), по родству, какъ говорится, меньше обыкновеннаго женскаго хуна.

За безплодіе (бедау, кысыр) не отсылаютъ жену къ отцу, а приглашаютъ муллу зачитать ее или посылаютъ ее почевать къ святымъ мѣстамъ и жечь тамъ свѣчу (муллага окутады, ауліна тунетеди чараг ягиб). Въ поэмѣ Шура Батыръ описывается поѣздка съ этою цѣлью Мирыкбая и его жены Гульнаисъ къ могилѣ святаго, который имъ является и обѣщаетъ сына и дочь.

Послѣ троекратнаго произнесенія слова талак (разводъ) или талак кейдым (я далъ разводъ), разводъ, по шаріату, становится дѣйствительнымъ. Обыкновенно, впрочемъ, разведенною считается жена, когда она уходитъ въ отцовскій домъ или къ тому, кто ее выдалъ замужъ. Она съ собою не беретъ имущества, но

мужъ дастъ ей что нибудь, напр. 1/6 часть своего имущества, если она не была виновна въ разводѣ.

Разведенная нынѣ не ходитъ закрытая покрываломъ, какъ бывало прежде.

Бывшіе супруги могутъ снова сочетаться бракомъ, даже до трехъ разъ. Въ четвертый разъ женщина можетъ выдти за своего прежняго мужа только въ томъ случаѣ, если она послѣ третьяго брака была замужемъ за посторонним. Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ разведенная только въ томъ случаѣ можетъ выдти замужъ во второй разъ за своего мужа, если она была за другимъ, получила отъ него разводъ и прожила незамужнею сто дней. Здѣсь сказалось вліяніе шаріата.

Бракъ расторгается по безвѣстному отсутствію мужа въ продолженіи 7 лѣтъ, если въ этотъ срокъ не отыскали его и не привезли женѣ отъ него средствъ къ пропитанію. Жена въ этомъ случаѣ достается старшему брату безъ калыма.

Бракъ расторгается при неспособности одного изъ супруговъ (джарансиз, или джоя, орлинис джаранайды), даже послѣ долгихъ лѣтъ сожительства. Если мужъ отрицаетъ свое безсиліе, то жена поручается ему, подъ наблюденіемъ старшины для констатированія истины (бійскія книги Перов. уѣзда). По заявленію бывшаго начальника Наманганскаго уѣзда Аверьянова, киргизка, жаловавшаяся на неспособность мужа, была отведена въ особое помѣщеніе. Тамъ она, въ присутствіи біевъ легла, приглашая мужа доказать свою способность къ брачному сожительству. Мужъ оказался неспособнымъ (*).

Жена, заявляя о неспособности мужа его роднѣ, проситъ позволенія выдти за другаго. Родня мужа, не видя основанія

(*) По сообщенію И. И. Ибрагимова, одинъ сибирскій бій приказалъ свести супруговъ и назначилъ нѣсколько человѣкъ изъ своихъ приближенныхъ для наблюденія за ними снаружи избитки; кромѣ того онъ назначилъ со стороны просительницы и отвѣтчика по одному человѣку. Наблюденіе не привело ни къ чему, ибо наблюдавшіе, равно какъ сами супруги, противорѣчили одинъ другому, такъ что бій приказалъ отвести ихъ въ особую избитку и произвести тотъ же опытъ, но въ теплой водѣ. Мужъ оказался неспособнымъ.

отказать, обязывает ее только къ тому, чтобы она выбрала новаго мужа изъ того же рода и колѣна, дабы не бросать тѣни на это колѣно. Новый мужъ, въ такомъ случаѣ, платитъ прежнему не полный калымъ, а „родственный", количество котораго тѣмъ больше, чѣмъ дальше степень родства (*).

Если жена не хочетъ жить съ мужемъ, по неспособности его къ супружеской жизни, а между тѣмъ окажется, что онъ способенъ къ этому, то она не имѣетъ права бросить его. Если же, по освидѣтельствованіи мужа, будетъ доказано, что онъ неспособенъ къ супружеской жизни, то жена, получивъ отъ него разводное письмо, за подписью благонадежныхъ лицъ, можетъ выдти къ замужество за кого ей угодно. При этомъ прежній мужъ этой женщины долженъ уплатить новому ея мужу половинный калымъ (**).

Разсчетъ, производимый при уходѣ жены отъ мужа, основывается у киргизовъ на полученномъ уже за нее съ мужа количествѣ калыма. У каракиргизовъ разсчетъ не зависитъ отъ величины калыма. У нихъ просто опредѣляютъ отъ 2 до 3 тогузовъ въ пользу мужа. Причина этого лежитъ въ томъ, что каракиргизы, со времени святовства, когда невѣстѣ было 2—10 лѣтъ, вплоть до зрѣлости ея (17 лѣтъ), платятъ безъ счета, пока не пріѣзжаютъ родители въ невѣстинъ домъ съ одною скотиною (чтобы не приходить съ пустыми руками) и опредѣляютъ количество оставшагося калыма.

Въ подражаніе шаріату, адатъ допускаетъ акымар, имущество, опредѣляемое въ пользу жены, на случай развода (хатынынг ничеси). Акымар можетъ состоять въ скотѣ, въ недвижимости и въ деньгахъ.

Женихъ опредѣляетъ акымар невѣстѣ при народѣ, но безъ росписки; онъ не отдѣляетъ его отъ своего имущества и не даетъ ей въ руки. При разводѣ, жена, ея ближайшій родственникъ (іесе), или ея родъ (джанаесы), требуютъ и получаютъ по

(*) Сообщеніе Торгаз.

(**) Сообщеніе Сагимбаева.

суду обѣщанный акынар. По смерти мужа, если вдова поссорилась съ его родною, то ей не даютъ акынара. Если же она разталась съ родною мужа въ добромъ согласіи, то наслѣдникъ даритъ ей что нибудь, взамѣнъ акынара. Если мужу надоѣла старая жена и онъ беретъ молодую, то можетъ выдѣлить прежнюю жену съ акынаромъ, съ прибавкою ничи для ея ребенка. Онъ выдѣляетъ ее къ своему сыну, или брату, или около себя. Отпустить ее къ туркуя его добрая воля.

У каракиргизовъ нѣтъ акынара, за то есть „складчина къ свадьбѣ" (никяга баскен мал), собранная между родною. Первый въ складчину вноситъ свекоръ. Это имущество остается у мужа при разводѣ.

По Умурбеку, дѣти разведенныхъ остаются у мужа, но можетъ быть устроено полюбовное соглашеніе и малолѣтнія уступлены матери. По Микебаю, часто родня не отпускаетъ малолѣтняго сына къ новому мужу вдовы. Взрослый сынъ имѣетъ свободу выбора. Изъ дочерей первая всегда уходитъ съ матерью, прочія остаются съ наслѣдниками. Нынѣ, впрочемъ, и дочерямъ даютъ право изъявлять согласіе или несогласіе.

У каракиргизовъ, по сообщенію Курпетая Даулеткулова, сыновья и дочери, по смерти отца, остаются въ родѣ его. Если есть нѣсколько дочерей, то біи могутъ присудить младшую матери. По сообщенію каракиргиза Даніяра, вдова, выходя за близкаго родственника мужа, беретъ съ собою имущество и малолѣтняго ребенка; но, уходя къ чужому мужу, она не получаетъ ни имущества, ни ребенка и слѣдуемый за нее калымъ идетъ въ пользу братьевъ покойнаго и отчасти въ пользу ея дѣтей. Разведенная тоже не получаетъ ни имущества, ни ребенка.

Если кто либо убьетъ отчима, то пасынокъ не имѣетъ права искать хунъ; точно также, если будетъ убитъ пасынокъ, то отчимъ не въ правѣ требовать хунъ. Хуна ищутъ ближайшіе родственники. Отчимъ или пасынокъ могутъ получить только вознагражденіе за понесенные ими расходы по погребенію. Требовать въ свою пользу хунъ за убитаго пасынка отчимъ имѣетъ право только въ томъ случаѣ, когда нѣтъ другихъ родственниковъ.

Жена исполняетъ тѣ работы, которыя указываетъ ей мужъ. Ей не даютъ разсуждать (эрк бермейди). Жена въ отсутствіе мужа прочитывается отъ его скота. Если долгое время нѣтъ средствъ къ жизни, то изъ за этого она еще не можетъ выдти за другаго.

Нѣтъ прецедентовъ къ тому, чтобы мужъ, уѣзжая надолго, поручилъ или переуступилъ жену другому. Только послѣдняя по въ обычаѣ (*).

Въ подарокъ (калымъ) мусаманъ даютъ не женъ, а только дочерей.

Обычай гостепріимнаго гетеризма существуетъ негласно на сѣверѣ и въ Сибири, на югѣ менѣе. Въ одномъ изъ выпусковъ матеріаловъ для статистики Туркестанскаго края былъ упоминаетъ обычай, по которому гость до трехъ разъ кладетъ руку на грудь спящей дѣвицы; и если она не оттолкнетъ ее, то это означаетъ ея согласіе. Отрицая такое право гостя, бій Султанъ Кенесаръ прибавилъ: „объ этомъ не можетъ быть и рѣчи“ (ол суз ниес).

Жена и невыдѣленныя дѣти не имѣютъ никакого имущества. Если жена живетъ съ мужемъ, то она вмѣстѣ съ нимъ участвуетъ въ пользованіи имуществомъ (малына сирия); но она не можетъ распоряжаться имуществомъ по своему усмотрѣнію (хатын бійлеб ивл бермейди). Въ отсутствіи мужа она управляетъ имуществомъ, напр., даетъ по требованію мужчина другу (тамыр), если онъ благонадежный (исенинди), вещи на подержаніе, или дарить ему ихъ. Вернувшійся мужъ можетъ заявить несогласіе и тогда подарокъ отбирается. Съ предметомъ, преданнымъ женою въ отсутствіе мужа, дѣлается тоже, согласно тому мнѣнію, что „у женщинъ умъ половинный“ (хатынныиг акылы ярымдын) и по пословицѣ: „женщина безъ ума, лягушка безъ хвоста“ (хатын акылсыз бака куйруксыз).

У каракиргизовъ супруги имѣютъ общее имущество (ничилес). Хунъ за жену получаетъ не мужъ, а родъ ея. Если она

(*) По Малиновскому, I, стр. 94, это бываетъ: „біи мужу въ всякій пропажной поеи отъѣзжаетъ“.

болѣе нѣмъ либо ранена, то штрафъ за раны, если онъ названъ былъ айбомъ, получаетъ ея мужъ; если же этотъ штрафъ былъ записанъ въ рѣшеніи подъ названіемъ хуна, то онъ достается родственникамъ жены.

Уходя отъ мужа, жена не беретъ съ собою ничего (по Айдрахману, Аулісатинскаго уѣзда). Майнутъ (Аулісат. уѣзда) передаетъ, что въ древности, какъ и у сибирскихъ инородцевъ, по Самоквасову, имущество бездѣтно умершей жены, состоящее въ ея платьѣ, шубѣ, коврѣ, одѣялѣ, саукеле и платкѣ, возвращалось ея отцу или выдавшему ее съ этимъ приданымъ.

Если жена жалуется на растрату или невыгодное эксплуатированіе имущества легкомысленнымъ мужемъ, то бій такой искъ не принимаетъ къ своему разбирательству, а отсылаетъ ее къ ближайшимъ аксакаламъ, родоначальникамъ и авторитетнымъ родственникамъ.

Жена можетъ торговать только съ согласія мужа. Вдовѣ (тулхатун) не возбраняется торговать.

Жена является на судъ: 1) по дѣламъ объ оскорбленіи мужемъ и т. д. 2) вмѣсто несовершеннолѣтнихъ дѣтей, въ отсутствіе мужа или опекуна. Дозволяется женщинамъ заявлять суду объ ихъ изнасилованіи (*); въ такомъ случаѣ женщина имѣетъ право лично защищать свои интересы на судѣ. Свидѣтельство женщинъ имѣетъ силу только по дѣламъ, касающимся ихъ лично. Въ дѣла мужчинъ никакое вмѣшательство женщинъ не допускается. А въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ жены, по дѣламъ мужей и родственниковъ, на судъ даже не вызываются.

Женщинъ, напримѣръ, жену отвѣтчика, привлекаютъ къ краткому допросу; но если она запрется, то ограничиваются этимъ.

Если жена въ ссорѣ съ мужемъ, то ея показаніямъ не придаютъ никакой вѣры. (Бійскія книги Перов. у.).

(*) Народный судъ, при заявленіи женщины объ ея изнасилованіи, основывался только на одномъ такомъ заявленіи, приговаривалъ съ оговореннаго или обвиненнаго женщиною лица матеріальное вознагражденіе обвинительницѣ.

Жены принадлежатъ чему своихъ мужей, но не отцу, чтобъ какъ, по объясненію біи Сагидыкова, киргизы, покупаемыя по калымъ, бывраемы (ихтіяр бек), какъ рабыни (чуре), какъ скотъ (мал), или вещальная собственность (мулк ер).

Женщина не допускается къ присягѣ (*); съ женской стороны, т. е. изъ ея общины, женщина присягу, но и этого избѣгаютъ. По параграфу Курпотаю Даулетмулову, женщинѣ нельзя дать присягу, но можно дать ее мужу и мужниной родней. Случаи, гдѣ за отсутствіемъ мужскихъ свидѣтелей, пришлось бы рѣшать на основаніи женской присяги, очень рѣдки. Бій Абдрахманъ не помнитъ, напр., случая убійства, совершеннаго женщиною безъ свидѣтелей изъ мужчинъ.

За убійство, совершенное женщиною, хунъ не взимается.

За убійство женщины взыскивается полновѣсный хунъ; но за обиду женщины взыскивается не меньше, а скорѣе больше, чѣмъ за обиду мужчины. За увѣчья, нанесенныя женщинѣ, хунъ платится въ полновѣсномъ размѣрѣ противъ хуна, установленнаго за тѣ же увѣчья, нанесенныя мужчинѣ.

Противъ сообщенія Н. Н. Ибрагимова (въ замѣткѣ о киргизскомъ судѣ, С.-Петербургъ 1878 г.) о рѣшеніи дѣлъ вдовами знатныхъ киргизовъ, Торгай полагаетъ, что по вдовамъ такихъ лицъ не обращаются за рѣшеніемъ. Да если бы и просили женщину, то она не можетъ рѣшить дѣло. Она можетъ только способствовать примиренію между мужемъ и женою, говоря каждому изъ супруговъ: перестань, не бранись, это стыдно (ней, ниан ешлемо, айб булады) (**). По сообщенію біи Султана Кайсова, хотя женщина не можетъ быть біемъ, но въ нѣкоторыхъ аулахъ можно встрѣтить женщинъ, рѣшающихъ дѣла женщинъ же (хатынды бійлей тугун).

(*) По Торгаю, шаріатомъ допускается женщины къ присягѣ. Онъ передаетъ, со словъ старшинъ, что въ крайнемъ случаѣ одѣвали жаркину за мужской костюмъ. Можетъ быть, это показаніе есть только попытка сблизить адатъ съ шаріатомъ.

(**) По Малоссеилову, I, стр. 31, между аулами управляетъ одна женщина, до совершеннолѣтія ея сыновей. О матріархатѣ, какъ древнѣйшемъ строѣ, предшествовавшемъ патріархальному, см. Первобытное право Максима Ковалевскаго, вып. I, гл. III: Матріархальный родъ.

На войнѣ женщины не дѣйствуютъ активно; онѣ, если хватитъ духу (гибрати палсо), защищаютъ свой аулъ отъ нападенія (Абдрахманъ). Въ одномъ народномъ эпосѣ жена, по имени Хаповей, сопровождаетъ мужа Зарлыкъ, въ набѣгъ для освобожденія своей золовки.

Женщина ухаживаетъ за раненымъ родными. Уходъ за передными предоставляется ея добродушію.

Е. А. Александровъ сообщаетъ, что женщинамъ вообще обычай воспрещаетъ рѣзать животныхъ; но, въ крайнемъ случаѣ, по отсутствію изъ аула мужчинъ и взрослыхъ мальчиковъ, женщина можетъ зарѣзать барана въ пищу, совершивъ всѣ требуемыя религіозныя обрядности.

Дѣти, рожденныя внѣ брака, могутъ быть не усыновлены: тогда они идутъ искать своего отца.

Дѣти дѣвицы, засватанной не за отца ихъ, идутъ также отыскивать отца. Женихъ не соглашается брать невѣсту съ чужими дѣтьми; онъ скорѣе сдѣлаетъ набѣгъ (барымта), чтобы убить отца этихъ дѣтей (Перов. уѣзд.).

Народъ не допускаетъ незаконнаго сожитія; но оно существуетъ, и въ такихъ случаяхъ мужчины называютъ живущихъ съ ними женщинъ служанками, якобы работающими за плату. Сами женщины, не поладивъ съ любовниками, требуютъ по суду уплаты денегъ за службу. Такая жалоба женщины, проживавшей съ мужчиной болѣе 10 лѣтъ, имѣла мѣсто въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ въ 1887 году. Біи въ всѣ ея съ сожителя отказали.

Если послѣ отъѣзда отца чрезъ 9 мѣсяцевъ и 10 дней или больше родится ребенокъ, то мужъ разводится съ женою, и она выходитъ за любовника, который платитъ прежнему мужу калымъ, или свою дочь, или родственницу. Если мужъ не желаетъ развода, то онъ получаетъ жену съ чужимъ ребенкомъ и штрафъ съ любовника въ 2—3 верблюда (въ прежнее время полный калымъ). Если же ребенокъ произошелъ хотя отъ любовника, но не въ отсутствіе отца, то онъ считается законнымъ ребенкомъ мужа. По Торгаю, незаконнорожденныя дѣти вдовъ остаются до

ея смерти съ нею. Передъ ея смертью они спрашиваютъ о своемъ отцѣ и отыскиваютъ его.

О незаконнорожденныхъ дѣтяхъ дѣвицъ нельзя ничего сказать, ибо въ степи, по Торгаю, всѣ дѣвицы выходятъ замужъ (или далада калмайды). Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ ихъ закапывали въ землю. По Александрову и Маповецкому, ребенокъ, принятый вдовою съ братомъ ея покойнаго мужа, считается законнорожденнымъ членомъ семьи (*).

По словамъ бансы (колдуна) Айно, Кураи. уѣзда, когда родильница не можетъ родить (баланы биттирмейди) или рожаетъ неправильно (эгри), то, для придачи ей силы, бансы призываетъ духа Нурпери и др. По свѣдѣніямъ Е. А. Александрова, при родахъ всегда посылаютъ за бансы, если есть таковой по близости.

Когда настаетъ минута разрѣшенія отъ бремени, то одна женщина обхватываетъ родильницу руками, приложивъ колѣна къ ея спинѣ, и давитъ ей животъ. Родильница говоритъ: дави, дави! (тарт, тарт). Если не хватитъ силъ женщины, то ея мѣсто заступаетъ джигитъ. По Левшину, всякій входящій при этомъ случаѣ въ кибитку долженъ ударить родильницу полою платья и сказать: выходи! (чык). По Торгаю, этого не дѣлаютъ.

(*) Объ отношеніи киргизовъ Ферганской области къ незаконнорожденнымъ штабсъ-капитанъ Громбчевскій сообщаетъ слѣдующее. Рожденіе на свѣтъ ребенка отъ прелюбодѣянія покрываетъ позоромъ не только семью дѣвушки, но и весь родъ ея. Чтобы избѣжать позора, при первыхъ признакахъ беременности, стараются видать дѣвушку замужъ. Когда же это не удается, то прибѣгаютъ къ изгнанію плода: это дѣлаютъ либо механическимъ путемъ, либо отваиваютъ больную настоемъ растенія „усна", либо наконецъ умерщвляютъ ребенка немедленно послѣ появленія его на свѣтъ. Незаконнорожденные не наслѣдуютъ отцу и обыкновенно изгоняются изъ аула, какъ только достигнутъ возраста, въ которомъ ребенокъ можетъ пасти скотъ или снискивать себѣ пропитаніе другимъ путемъ. Они называются: харам, харамзаде, залалжина, а въ Кетмень-тюбинской волости также: гартахун (рожденный разратницею). Есть, однако, случаи, когда рожденіе ребенка внѣ брака не считается позоромъ, а именно: 1) отъ жениха и невѣсты, если они впослѣдствіи женятся, 2) отъ вдовы и младшаго брата умершаго мужа, за котораго должна выдти вдова, 3) отъ господина съ служанкою или рабынею. Въ этихъ случаяхъ ребенокъ считается не харам, а ниязеки, т. е. принятый безъ вѣнчанія, внѣ брака, и остается членомъ семьи, не презирается и даже наслѣдуетъ наравнѣ съ прочими дѣтьми.

Когда, послѣ рожденія ребенка на свѣтъ, не скоро появляется его послѣдъ (уй или джолдас), то одна женщина, пестомъ отъ ступы (пестеб), принимается толочь землю на дворѣ. Она спрашиваетъ: вышелъ-ли? (тусти ю). Женщины, находящіяся внутри кибитки, отвѣчаютъ три раза: вышелъ! (тусти).

Сосѣди, знающіе о родахъ, не входятъ въ кибитку, а случайно вошедшій, мужчина или женщина, долженъ сказать: родитъ, родитъ (туар, туар) и разорвать полу платья (этегин йиртады), для облегченія родовъ. Когда родильница сильно мучается, то полагаютъ, что ребенокъ въ обратномъ положеніи (терс кельди). Тогда одна женщина поднимаетъ родильницу за ноги вверхъ, спрашивая у одной изъ старухъ: прямо или обратно? (онг бе теребе). Та отвѣчаетъ три раза: прямо (онг) Послѣ чего родильницу спускаютъ на землю.

Черезъ часъ послѣ родовъ, когда у родильницы течетъ кровь, ее иногда давитъ (басады) лѣшій (албасты) Марту (*). Марту смертеленъ для нея, если не пригласятъ умѣющаго ударить его (Мартуны уратугун) мужчину или же хорошаго шуллу. Со словъ умѣющаго ударить Марту, Торгай передаетъ, что Марту является въ видѣ маленькой желтой дѣвочки (сары кызгай). Марту заразителенъ (юкбалы); поэтому молодыя женщины не входятъ къ родильницѣ. Чтобы принести родильницѣ облегченіе, надо отогнать злого духа. Для этого стрѣляютъ изъ ружей и производятъ за кибиткою шумъ (**).

Женщина не рождаетъ въ домѣ матери, развѣ по случайному обстоятельству, проѣзду и т. д.

Послѣ родовъ родильница лежитъ 3—4 дня, принимая мясную пищу, чай и другія мягкія и возбуждающія (иссык) кушанья, но не прохладительныя (суук).

По рожденіи ребенка рѣжутъ скотину. Парнямъ даютъ козленка на кукбуре. Старики угощаются и поздравляютъ

(*) Марту никогда не пугаетъ мужчинъ.

(**) Ср. Малоемрзкаго, I, стр. 62.

ния. Когда дѣти одно за другимъ умираютъ, тогда умилостивляютъ судьбу слѣдующимъ образомъ: даютъ ребенку какое нибудь посредительное имя, связывая его съ представленіемъ о долговѣчности, напр., давая имя Кучукбай, говорятъ: не останется ли онъ въ живыхъ на подобіе щенка? (быр кучукдей тирі булуб юрерменсеи). Но въ рѣдкость имена: Кутебаръ, Бокнутъ, Майнутъ, Итанъ, Батка (верблюжья болѣзнь). Предназначеніемъ долговѣчности должны служить имена: Тохта (стой), Турсунъ (пусть останется!). Единственному ребенку мужскаго или женскаго пола, когда прочія дѣти померли, продѣваютъ серебряное кольцо черезъ носовой хрящъ. Часто имена происходятъ отъ словъ, которыя случайно произнесли пришедшія лица, напр., если кто нибудь сказалъ, что ребенокъ некрасивъ или бѣлокуръ, какъ русскій, то его прозвищемъ становится: Янанбай, Орусбай. По поводу проѣзда генерала, одинъ ребенокъ въ Чиинсентсонъ у. получилъ имя Джандаралъ. Многіе киргизы носятъ два имени.

Примѣры женскихъ именъ: Урюкъ (абрикосъ), Пистагуль (фисташковый цвѣтъ), Міизгуль (цвѣтокъ пшена), Альмагуль (цвѣтокъ яблони), Алва (халва), Хурозъ (пѣтухъ), Сарыкызъ (желтая дѣвица), Турсунгуль (останься, цвѣтокъ), Салтанатъ (царство); Батна Зауре, т. е. Фатима и Зухра—имена близнецовъ дѣвицъ. Въ аносахъ встрѣчаются женскія имена: Гульхаимъ, Карлыгачъ (ласточка), Гульбарчинъ, Бакъ, Дилбекъ (шелкъ).

Послѣ первыхъ родовъ молодая посѣщаетъ домъ своего отца (турмундейди), гдѣ получаетъ подарки, впрочемъ, необязательные; если послѣ первыхъ родовъ она не посѣтила его, то посѣщаетъ при послѣдующихъ, но всего только одинъ разъ.

Обрѣзаніе совершается между 1 и 12 годами возраста. Оно совершается муллою или ходжею. За обрѣзаніе платятъ по состоянію. Плата обязательна (*).

На праздникъ обрѣзанія (бала кистершек) богатые рѣжутъ

(*) О воспитаніи у киргизовъ см. статью Ниъ-Мухаммеда Бухаи: физическое и умственное воспитаніе у киргизовъ, Туркест. вѣд. 1893 г. № 17.

бараньъ, устраиваютъ скачки, для чего даютъ кумбуре (*). Праздникъ продолжается три дня. На него являются приглашенные и непригашенные. Для тѣхъ и другихъ необязательно приносить съ собою барашекъ, деньги и вещи.

Хорошая жена, даже въ бытность невѣстою, изъ стыдливости, не должна звать во имени мужниву родню (кайн) и все колѣно его, до того круга родства, въ которомъ браки разрѣшаются, а должна звать ихъ нарицательными именами, напр., свекоръ (ата), господинъ (кирса) и т. д. Менѣе застѣнчивая жена называетъ ихъ по именамъ, но только заочно. Неприлично также, хотя не столь предосудительно, произносить слова, въ составъ которыхъ входятъ имена мужниной родни. Есть анекдотъ (по Торгаю и у Будагова), какъ одинъ старикъ захотѣлъ испытать изобрѣтательность женщинъ въ описательныхъ выраженіяхъ и назвалъ сыновей именами самыхъ обыденныхъ предметовъ: Камышъ, Вода, Волкъ, Баранъ, Ножъ, Осколъ. Разъ, когда между водою и камышомъ, волкъ похитилъ овцу, то невѣстка закричала: „Тесть! тесть! За журчащимъ передъ колышущимся блещущаго ѣстъ воющій; иди съ тѣмъ, что трутъ о точащее" (ата! ата! салдырамаными арыгында, салдирамаными бере ягында кангрананы уульна эб ятыр ялыманы билемого билеб билеб алыб келе койынгыз).

Описанный обычай существуетъ у всѣхъ киргизовъ и еще не совсѣмъ исчезъ у чаллаказановъ, т. е. полуказановъ, осортившихся осѣдлыхъ киргизовъ.

Упомянемъ здѣсь кстати мнѣніе, слышанное въ русскомъ обществѣ, о томъ, что у киргизовъ существуетъ предразсудокъ не называть на обращенный вопросъ имя жены, равно какъ не называть точной цифры головъ своего скота. Справедливость этого опровергается Худайкуловъ, который однако допускаетъ, что рѣзкій тонъ вопроса и настоятельное требованіе могутъ вызвать скрытничанье (кулык). По этому поводу Е. А. Александровъ изъ Казалинска сообщаетъ: „не только богатые, но вообще

(*) Здѣсь кумбуре употребленъ въ смыслѣ самого состязанія.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

БІЙ СУЛТАНЪ КАНДЕВЪ
ЧИМКЕНТСКАГО УѢЗДА.

Рис. Ахматовъ.

4 100

картины, не говорятъ количество своего скота, изъ боязни навлечь гнѣвъ божій. Даже не прямо говорятъ числа дѣтей своихъ, изъ тѣхъ же побужденій".

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

ГЛАВА VII.

Возникновеніе общины и надѣла.—Котовьяніе.—Гостепріимство.—Общее имущество.—Почва.

До русскаго владычества земля не считалась личною собственностью. Она принадлежала лицу только до тѣхъ поръ, пока онъ на ней находился или ее обработывалъ. До сихъ поръ въ сѣверныхъ уѣздахъ земля не переходитъ по наслѣдству. Выдѣленный сынъ въ Аулиеатинскомъ уѣздѣ не получаетъ доли земли, какой еще много въ уѣздѣ. Земля остается за невыдѣленными. Въ южныхъ уѣздахъ пахотная земля и всякаго рода земельные участки переходятъ по наслѣдству.

Лѣтовки, зимовки, угодья и т. д. въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ болѣе и болѣе пріурочиваются къ извѣстнымъ общинамъ и раздѣляются среди нихъ. Арыки, со всею орошенною ими землею, принадлежатъ тѣмъ, кто ихъ провелъ и ихъ наслѣдникамъ.

У каракиргизовъ продаютъ только тѣ участки, на которыхъ есть насажденія и постройки. Пашни же бросаютъ при отъѣздѣ. Кто ихъ займетъ, того собственностью онѣ становятся.

Лѣтовки и зимовки занимаются киргизами на правахъ потомственнаго пользованія. Устройство арыковъ, усадьбъ, строеній и садовъ превращаетъ землю въ частную собственность. Земельныхъ надѣловъ не существуетъ. Зимовки бываютъ предпочтительно въ мѣстахъ, поросшихъ саксауломъ, кустарникомъ или камышемъ; лѣтовки же въ мѣстахъ болѣе прохладныхъ, т. е. сѣвернѣе или въ горахъ.

Поземельное пользованіе, при такомъ порядкѣ, распредѣлено неравномѣрно и находится въ рукахъ зажиточныхъ людей, у которыхъ бѣдные состоятъ работниками.

Чѣмъ меньше скота, тѣмъ больше хлѣбопашества. Кочев-

нии, со времени голода въ годъ зайца (*), сознавъ непрочность скотоводства на принятыхъ началахъ, обратились къ устройству запасовъ травы на зиму и къ земледѣлію.

За потраву сѣнокоса, по Торгаю, хозяину платятъ убытки только въ такомъ случаѣ, если онъ самъ не дерставадъ пользоваться этимъ сѣнокосомъ.

Если человѣкъ, приписанный къ другому уѣзду, желаетъ заняться хлѣбопашествомъ на чужомъ пастбищѣ или чужой лѣтовкѣ, то съ него требуютъ въ пользу общества, которому принадлежитъ земля, арендную плату, размѣръ которой зависитъ отъ условія. Упомянутому лицу запрещаютъ сажать деревья и строиться. Но какъ только оно переписалось въ тотъ уѣздъ и ту волость, гдѣ его пашня, то земля становится его собственностью и онъ платитъ обыкновенныя подати (чубаур) и повинности.

Мѣста болотистыя (тугай), поросшія камышемъ и т. п., еще не продаются, такъ какъ простору много. Тѣмъ не менѣе они болѣе и болѣе пріурочиваются къ тѣмъ, кто въ нихъ зимуетъ и имѣетъ склады сѣна, при которыхъ не рѣдко остаются люди на лѣто. На эти зимовки не пускаютъ людей чужихъ общинъ. Въ случаѣ недоразумѣній, послѣднія платятъ деньги за подножный кормъ—чубаур. (Перовск. уѣз).

Для проведенія новаго арыка, смотря по количеству работъ, выходятъ по одному или болѣе работниковъ изъ каждой кибитки того десятка, пятидесятка, аула и вообще той группы людей, которая между собою согласилась быть найщиками (кумалак). Изъ орошенной земли каждая участвовавшая кибитка получаетъ участокъ, соразмѣрный съ числомъ ея работниковъ,

(*) Голодная зима съ 1879 на 1880 годъ. Описаніе этой зимы см. №№ 17 и 18 Туркест. вѣдом. за 1885 г., въ статьѣ Александрова: „Изъ жизни степныхъ уѣздовъ Сиръ-Дарьинской Области".

Циклъ изъ 12 лѣтъ, по которому тюрки опредѣляютъ возрастъ и встѣчаемое время, состоитъ въ слѣдующихъ названіяхъ: 1) чичкан, мышь, 2) сіыр, корова, 3) барс, тигръ, 4) коян, заяцъ, 5) улу, крокодилъ, 6) дилкан, змѣя, 7) дилки, конь, 8) ой, баранъ, 9) мешин, обезьяна, 10) таук, курица, 11) ит, собака и 12) тонгуз, свинья.

дной работы и вообще потраченному труду (нихнат). Неучаствовавшему въ проведеніи арыка не дается участка.

Найщикъ можетъ, по случаю отъѣзда, отдавать свой участокъ въ аренду или переуступить его со всѣми правами и повинностями другому, отъ котораго онъ получаетъ вознагражденіе за потраченный трудъ. Участки съ клеверомъ не только арендуются, но и продаются за цѣну, независящую отъ потраченнаго найщикомъ труда. Въ Курманкисомъ уѣздѣ продаются участки не только съ клеверомъ, но всякаго рода. Не только у киргизовъ, но и у чеченцевъ, неизвѣстно с шеи, т. е. правѣ сосѣда, какъ наиболѣе благопріятствующаго покупателя. Покупатель участка присоединяется къ податной общинѣ, къ которой относится этотъ участокъ. (Перовск. и Курм. уѣзд.).

Проводящій арыкъ и орошаемый имъ извѣстное пространство земли получаетъ право на пользованіе этою землею. При этомъ обыкновенно арыкъ называется по его имени.

Если кто нибудь проведетъ новый арыкъ по руслу стараго арыка и черезъ нѣкоторое время явится хозяинъ послѣдняго, то ему отказываютъ въ удовлетвореніи, говоря: „почему ты раньше не заявилъ; мы тогда провели бы арыкъ по другому мѣсту".

Если извѣстный родъ вырылъ арыкъ или колодезь, съ заявленіемъ животнаго передъ началомъ работы, какъ принято, и если потомъ, на мѣсто этого рода, откочевавшаго оттуда, сѣлъ другой родъ, то первый родъ, явившись обратно, требуетъ свой арыкъ или колодезь. Такія требованія заявляются со стороны родни, даже въ седьмомъ колѣнѣ. „Тутъ потраченъ трудъ нашихъ дѣдовъ". (баба ыздыныг нихнети), говорятъ въ такомъ случаѣ. Если отвѣтчики откажутся, подъ предлогомъ незнанія о прежнихъ владѣльцахъ, то истцамъ предоставляется присяга въ томъ, что они или ихъ предки вырыли арыкъ или колодезь. Если же тотъ родъ, который занялъ готовый арыкъ или колодезь, употребилъ труды на расчистку и поправку его, то ему говорятъ: „вы за это пользовались водою". Если же еще не успѣли воспользоваться водою, то имъ дозволяютъ имѣть сѣять

(посылъ всевер) и участвовать въ платежѣ податей и повинностей, но съ тѣмъ, чтобы они подвижною отваивались отъ прозъ на арыкъ или колодезь. Въ такомъ случаѣ земля, занимаемая ими, считается только аманатомъ.

У киргизовъ арыки и колодцы принадлежатъ тѣмъ, кто впервые вырылъ ихъ, съ заглаженіемъ животнаго, хотя бы другіе углубили и поправили ихъ. Эти должны удалиться, когда первый хозяинъ представитъ свидѣтелей или же личную присягу; послѣднюю въ томъ случаѣ, если кромѣ него никто объ этомъ не знаетъ. Если же вторые хозяева посадили деревья или построились, то вода принадлежитъ первымъ, а деревья и постройки вторымъ. Первый хозяинъ можетъ ихъ откупить; можетъ также требовать и сноса ихъ.

Гдѣ подпочвенная вода близка, тамъ всякій самъ себѣ роетъ колодезь (кудук). При рытьи глубокаго колодца, глубиною въ 5—6 саженъ (чинграу), кочевники нанимаютъ знающихъ дѣло работниковъ за опредѣленную заранѣе плату, которая остается одинаковою, покажется ли вода на малой или большой глубинѣ. При этомъ ставятъ въ условіе, чтобы за работниковъ, которые могутъ быть засыпаны обвалами песчаного грунта, не требовать хуна.

По Умурбеку и др., хозяинъ колодца можетъ отказать чужому въ водѣ.

На право пользованія водою были хаасіе арыки, изъ которыхъ нѣкоторые существуютъ до сихъ поръ. Въ арыкахъ упоминается не земля, а арыки, зимовки и лѣтовки. Послѣднія упоминаются непремѣнно въ одномъ и томъ же арыкѣ, ибо киргизы не могутъ круглый годъ оставаться на одномъ мѣстѣ. Если зимовка, которою владѣютъ по арыку, остается не занятою ея хозяиномъ, а тѣмъ временемъ на ней поселятся другіе и если тамъ осталось строеніе, то во всякомъ случаѣ хозяинъ получаетъ его обратно. Сынъ прежняго владѣльца можетъ потребовать того же, но никакъ не чужой человѣкъ, которому право на землю было якобы завѣщано прежнимъ хозяиномъ. Пришельцы, уступая строеніе, остаются на окрестной землѣ.

Если на засѣваемую однимъ родомъ землю заявитъ претензію другой родъ, но опираясь на какіе документы, то разбирающіе этотъ споръ біи должны опросить непричастныхъ къ дѣлу лицъ и старѣйшихъ изъ народа. Если при этомъ никто не будетъ знать, засѣвалъ ли отецъ или дѣдъ истца эту землю и если даже окажется, что засѣвали лѣтъ 20—30 тому назадъ, въ теченіи двухъ или трехъ лѣтъ, то, въ случаѣ неимѣнія у настоящихъ владѣльцевъ земли документовъ, отъ нихъ требуется присяга.

Если отцы и дѣды истца въ древнія времена засѣвали оспаченную землю, затѣмъ ее бросили и ушли лѣтъ 20—30 тому назадъ, а дѣти или потомки ихъ, не имѣя документовъ и доказательствъ, кромѣ слѣдовъ курганчей или зимовокъ, устроенныхъ ими или ихъ предками, предъявили искъ, то, въ случаѣ неимѣнія документовъ противною стороною, т. е. фактическими владѣльцами, съ послѣднихъ, по количеству спорной земли, слѣдуетъ присяга.

Если на засѣваемую двумя родами землю одна изъ сторонъ заявитъ претензію къ другой и во время разслѣдованія окажется, что одна сторона имѣетъ документъ, а другая его не имѣетъ, также не имѣетъ ханскихъ, кизійскихъ или бекскихъ документовъ о томъ, что земля эта между обоими родами общая, то сторона, имѣющая документы, можетъ отказать другой въ пользованіи землею.

Если обѣ стороны на спорную землю имѣютъ документы, то необходимо, чтобы они были тщательно осмотрѣны свѣдущими муллами, которые должны рѣшить, которой стороны документы поддѣланы и которой подложны или не заслуживаютъ вниманія; но все таки, для подкрѣпленія иска, со стороны, представившей настоящіе, вѣскіе документы, слѣдуетъ, по количеству спорной земли, присяга.

Если возникнетъ споръ между двумя родами, пользовавшимися одною общею землею, на которой обѣ стороны имѣютъ постройки, мельницы и насажденія; и если одна сторона имѣетъ отъ хановъ или бековъ именные документы, имени же другой

стороны въ томъ документѣ не значится, то дѣло рѣшается въ пользу имѣющихъ документы; при чемъ неимѣющіе документовъ должны быть удовлетворены по стоимости ихъ построекъ и затѣмъ выдворены съ земли.

Если у одной изъ спорныхъ сторонъ окажется документъ, выданный другою стороною во время мирнолюбиваго пользованія ими землею и въ немъ будетъ сказано, что сторона, дающая его, уступаетъ противнику извѣстную мѣстность, или извѣстное количество кошей (*) земли, или же, что ей принадлежитъ извѣстная мѣстность или извѣстное количество кошей земли, то сторонѣ, имѣющей подобный документъ, слѣдуетъ отвести землю на основаніи документа; претензію же ея на большее количество земли и воды, въ сравненіи съ документомъ, оставить безъ вниманія.

Если невозможно ни по распросамъ неприкосновенныхъ къ дѣлу лицъ, ни по документамъ, разъяснить поземельный споръ двухъ родовъ, пользовавшихся общею землею, то слѣдуетъ узнать, которая сторона раньше воздвигла на спорной землѣ постройки и той сторонѣ дать присягу.

Законъ 1867 года вовсе не коснулся поземельнаго устройства туземцевъ. Нынѣ дѣйствующее положеніе объ управленіи Туркестанскаго края (законъ 12 іюня 1886 года) установляетъ поземельное устройство кочеваго населенія такимъ образомъ.

Государственныя земли, занимаемыя кочевьями, предоставляются въ безсрочное общественное пользованіе кочевниковъ, на основаніи обычаевъ и правилъ, установленныхъ положеніемъ 12 іюня 1886 года.

Находящіяся въ пользованіи кочевниковъ земли дѣлятся на зимовья стойбища (зимовки), лѣтнія кочевья (лѣтовки) и обработываемыя земли.

Зимовья стойбища предоставляются въ безсрочное обще-

(*) Одинъ конъ—пара воловъ в количеству вспахиваемой ими земли.

отдѣльное пользованіе каждой волости отдѣльно, по дѣйствительному пользованію и согласно обычаямъ, а въ случаѣ споровъ — по количеству имѣющагося скота и размѣрамъ хозяйства.

Для распредѣленія зимовыхъ стойбищъ и разбора споровъ по поводу этого распредѣленія между волостями уѣзда, назначаются, съ разрѣшенія губернатора, особые съѣзды. При спорахъ между волостями разныхъ уѣздовъ, съѣзды собираются по соглашенію подлежащихъ властей. Съѣзды, подъ предсѣдательствомъ особо назначеннаго губернаторомъ лица, составляются изъ трехъ выборныхъ отъ каждой волости. Приговоры съѣздовъ представляются уѣзднымъ начальникомъ на утвержденіе губернатора и вносятся въ особыя книги, которыя хранятся въ областномъ правленіи.

Распредѣленіе зимовыхъ стойбищъ производится между хозяевами кибитокъ аульными сходами. Основаніемъ этого распредѣленія принимается количество скота и размѣръ хозяйства.

Каждый кочевникъ имѣетъ право возводить на отведенномъ въ пользованіе его для зимовкаго стойбища участкѣ жилыя и хозяйственныя постройки, и общества не могутъ требовать сноса ихъ. Означенныя постройки составляютъ собственность ихъ владѣльцевъ. Земли, занятыя постройками, переходятъ по наслѣдству, пока существуютъ строенія. Съ уничтоженіемъ построекъ земли возвращаются обществу.

Лѣтнія кочевки предоставляются въ общественное пользованіе волостей цѣлаго уѣзда и самое пользованіе ими опредѣляется обычаями. Киргизы Сыръ-Дарьинской области сохраняютъ право переходъ для лѣтняго кочеванія въ сосѣднія степныя области, но пользуются имъ съ разрѣшенія туркестанскаго генералъ-губернатора, который входитъ въ предварительное о томъ сношеніе съ степнымъ генералъ-губернаторомъ.

По взаимному соглашенію обществъ, въ мѣстахъ удобныхъ, какъ на зимовкахъ, такъ и на лѣтовкахъ, отводятся особые участки для желающихъ заниматься хлѣбопашествомъ и сѣнокошеніемъ. Распредѣленіе участковъ между хлѣбопашцами пре-

доставляется добровольному соглашенію ихъ между собою по обычаямъ.

Постройки, возведенныя на пашняхъ кочевниковъ, составляютъ ихъ собственность, на основаніяхъ, установленныхъ для построекъ на зиновыхъ стойбищахъ.

Земли, состоящія подъ почевьями и скотопрегонными дорогами, предоставляются во всеобщее пользованіе края (*).

Кочеваніе (кушиек) есть одна изъ древнѣйшихъ формъ жизни, присущая скотоводамъ, вслѣдствіе того, что многочисленныя ихъ стада, оставаясь на одномъ мѣстѣ, быстро истребляютъ весь наличный подножный кормъ.

При кочеваніи киргизы и до настоящаго времени слѣдуютъ древнему обычаю. Кочуютъ обществами одного рода, допуская въ свои аулы изъ другихъ родовъ лишь родственниковъ по женской линіи или бѣдняковъ, нанимающихся къ работнику. Пути кочевокъ опредѣлены для каждаго рода. Каждый родъ имѣетъ свои опредѣленныя мѣста лѣтнихъ (джайлау) и осеннихъ (кузду) кочевокъ.

Наканунѣ выхода съ зимовокъ дѣлается угощеніе. Послѣ угощенія, между столбами воротъ, а гдѣ ихъ нѣтъ, то на устроенномъ подобіи ихъ, зажигаются два костра. Старшая женщина, ставъ между ними, беретъ посуду изъ тыквы (кабак) и, разбивая ее, приговариваетъ: „съ разбитіемъ этой посуды разлетѣлись всѣ печали“ (кабак сынды кайгы китты). Затѣмъ та же женщина беретъ уже навьюченныхъ верблюдовъ и выводитъ ихъ изъ ограды. Въ тоже время мужчины, женщины и дѣти, перепрыгивая чрезъ костры, приговариваютъ: прочь, прочь! (алас, алас). Отойдя верстъ 5—6 отъ зимовки, останавливаются, разбиваютъ юрты, рѣжутъ лошадей и барановъ и устраиваютъ кудаи, т. е. жертвоприношеніе богу. При закланіи животныхъ произносятъ: „да будемъ такъ же счастливы на по-

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(*) §§ 270—279 Положенія объ управленіи Туркестанскаго края.

вемъ мѣстѣ, какъ были счастливы на сторонѣ" (ноги джуртти всерне джанга джуртти джарлыка).

Кочуютъ группами (тан тан) изъ большаго или меньшаго числа кибитокъ. Отправленіе въ путь не опредѣляется властями: хозяинъ каждой кибитки волонъ тронуться и остановиться, когда хочетъ. Аксакалы, а по киргизу Курстаю Даулетгулову, богачи, указываютъ, но не принуждаютъ. Тоже самое относится къ выбору мѣста остановки и группированію остановившихся кибитокъ. Лѣтомъ живутъ болѣе въ разбросу (терау), зимою болѣе скученно. Близко не сходятся потому, что явился бы недостатокъ въ травѣ и водѣ и скотъ сталъ бы смѣшиваться. Дойный скотъ (сауаки) пасется около своего аула, въ которомъ его доятъ каждый день два раза. Остальной скотъ пасется подальше, гдѣ больше травы. Избѣгаютъ располагаться у дорогъ, даже малыхъ. Если же приходится расположиться у дороги, то скрываются за холмомъ, съ цѣлью не имѣть гостей. Тѣ, кто живетъ по дорогамъ, это бузагеры (*) и самый отчаянный народъ.

Въ прежнее время переночевка на новое мѣсто происходила (по Мингебаю, Перовск. уѣзда) безъ предварительнаго испрашиванія согласія у тѣхъ, кто находится близъ этого мѣста. Нынѣ обязательно, по крайней мѣрѣ для тѣхъ, у кого есть скотъ, посылать за день развѣдчика (конис караб питвек). Если прикочевавшій безъ спроса отказывается удалиться, то его подвергаютъ побоямъ, на которые онъ не можетъ жаловаться біи. Впрочемъ, въ согласіи на прикочевку не отказываютъ, безъ особенно важныхъ причинъ. Отказываютъ тамъ, гдѣ пастбища подѣлены. По Абдрахману (Аулієатинскаго уѣзда), прикочевка со скотомъ безъ спроса возможна у кочевыхъ киргизовъ (албай казак) въ степи, не раздѣленной на сѣнокосы и другіе участки.

Развѣдчикъ, находя новое мѣсто, напр. колодезь, незанятымъ, ставитъ около него знакъ (бельги), копье или вещь, или чертитъ на землѣ тамгу или связываетъ пучкомъ высокую траву,

(*) Продавцы бузы, опьяняющаго напитка изъ проса.

выросшую у колодца или родника. Видя знакъ, другіе уже не выбираютъ это мѣсто своимъ становищемъ.

Если вожакъ кочующаго общества выбралъ для него мѣсто и не отмѣтивъ его ни однимъ изъ перечисленныхъ знаковъ, отправится для осмотра окрестныхъ пастбищъ, а по возвращеніи найдетъ, что вожакъ другаго аула успѣлъ занять его мѣсто, то заявленіе перваго вожака не принимается въ уваженіе. Когда объ одномъ и томъ же мѣстѣ заспорятъ два вожака, пришедшіе въ одно время съ двухъ противоположныхъ сторонъ, то споръ рѣшается слѣдующимъ образомъ. Если одинъ изъ спорящихъ бій, а другой—извѣстный въ цѣломъ родѣ аксакалъ, старѣйшина, то уступка дѣлается въ пользу послѣдняго. Если споръ происходитъ между біемъ и простымъ киргизомъ, то спорное мѣсто остается за первымъ. Если спорящіе простые люди, то уступка дѣлается старшему лѣтами. Этому же слѣдуютъ при столкновеніяхъ двухъ біевъ, двухъ аксакаловъ. При равенствѣ спорящихъ принимается въ соображеніе старшинство рода или отдѣленія.

У каракиргизовъ никто не можетъ занять лѣтовку, гдѣ издавна кочуетъ извѣстный родъ. Можно просить: „У меня нѣтъ лѣтовки; позвольте быть вашимъ сосѣдомъ“ (конгсылаш). Но при отказѣ нельзя ничего сдѣлать, ибо какое право можно имѣть на чужую лѣтовку? (браунинг яйлауинда несе бар).

Если одинъ родъ заходитъ въ пастбища другаго, то представители послѣдняго получаютъ съ пришедшихъ курабаши, т. е. съ каждаго табуна (*) по одному барану.

Если аулъ приочуетъ на мѣстность, вблизи которой уже расположенъ другой аулъ, и скотъ его загрызетъ или убьетъ какое либо животное, принадлежащее прежде кочевавшему на этой мѣстности аулу, то первый уплачиваетъ пострадавшему все, чего тотъ лишился. *Если же скотъ прежде* кочевавшаго на извѣстной мѣстности аула загрызетъ или убьетъ животное, принадлежащее вновь приочевавшему аулу, то послѣдній никакого вознагражденія не получаетъ.

(*) Кура—табунъ до 600 головъ.

Древній обычай безвозмездной подачи пищи (пунакесы беру) гостю (*) и его лошади и нѣста почлега основывается: 1) на общности имущества, ибо киргизы называютъ это пунакесы невыдѣленнымъ имуществомъ Алаша (Алаштынг улесиогеи ничеси) (**); 2) на сознаніи, что если гость умретъ съ голоду, то въ него потребуютъ хунъ.

Установленіе пунакесы преданіе приписываетъ киргизскому родоначальнику Алаша. Подъ старость, Алаша, оставивъ часть имѣвшагося у него скота себѣ, раздѣлилъ остальной скотъ между тремя своими сыновьями, отъ которыхъ происходятъ нынѣ существующія три орды; и назвалъ доставшуюся каждому изъ нихъ долю имущества ничею, т. е. неотъемлемою и неприкосновенною собственностью каждаго изъ нихъ. „Но, прибавилъ онъ, по условіямъ вашей кочевой жизни, по роду занятій вашихъ, скотоводствомъ и по отчужденности вашей отъ осѣдлой жизни, съ ея торговлею и базаромъ, гдѣ всякій путникъ, куда бы ни пріѣхалъ, находитъ себѣ, за плату, пріютъ и жизненные припасы, трудно будетъ вамъ, а въ особенности имѣющему размножаться отъ васъ потомству, ѣздить отъ одного къ другому съ своими съѣстными припасами. Не повезете же вы на денной путь собственнаго барана, а еще болѣе не повезете скотину на путь дальній, особенно при вашемъ способѣ ѣзды верхомъ. И потому вотъ вамъ мой вѣчный завѣтъ: не берите при взаимномъ посѣщеніи вашемъ другъ съ друга платы за съѣстные припасы; будьте другъ къ другу постоянно какъ бы приглашенные гости; пользуйтесь такимъ образомъ другъ у друга правомъ пунакесы или даровымъ безплатнымъ пріютомъ и угощеніемъ. Для этого примите отъ меня еще оставшуюся у меня ¼ часть моего имущества и считайте ее уже не своею собственностью, а общимъ достояніемъ и какъ бы не раздѣленною между вами на вѣки вѣковъ ничею“.—„Да будетъ такъ; мы не забудемъ твоего

(*) Названіе гостя бокьмъ (худай нуна) есть, вѣроятно, переложеніе сартовской пословицы: „гость есть подарокъ Бога“ (кичиня атая худа).

(**) Хотя по смыслу приведеннаго изреченія не киргизы не имѣютъ права на пунакесы, но и имъ не отказываютъ.

зайта", отвѣчали съ покорностію дѣти благороднаго родоначальника Алаша.

По сообщенію біи Мишебая (Перовск. уѣзда), хозяинъ кибитки платитъ за умершаго съ голоду гостя хунъ, а за его лошадь, околѣвшую съ голода, другую лошадь. Нынѣ этого не бываетъ (по Кунанбаю, Аулієатин. уѣзда). По крайней мѣрѣ, въ годъ зайца многіе померли съ голоду, а кумыса на народу кунанасы не было. У каракиргизовъ также не платятъ хуна и не платятъ за околѣвшую отъ голода лошадь.

Услышавъ о пріѣздѣ гостя, ближайшія кибитки, по собственному почину, приносятъ свою долю кунанасы. Городскіе киргизы (аулієатинскіе и ташкентскіе) даютъ своимъ гостямъ только помѣщеніе: за пищею гости ходятъ сами на базаръ. Каракиргизы оставляютъ дорогого гостя наедалѣ съ угощеніемъ. Дѣло гостя пригласить хозяина или подать ему остатки (сарыт).

О взглядѣ киргизовъ на гостепріимство свидѣтельствуютъ пословицы: „если гость разъ остановится, то это счастіе, если два раза—бѣдствіе" (кунак бр конса куттыны конса джут).

Хозяинъ отвѣчаетъ только тогда за безопасность гостя и сохранность его имущества, если они не состоятъ въ войнѣ, барантѣ или личной враждѣ. Тѣмъ не менѣе бываетъ (по Тергаю), что когда тяжущійся является въ кибитку противника, то находятся люди, увѣщевающіе хозяина простить обиду, такъ какъ-де явка въ кибитку есть знакъ изъявленія покорности, и честь теперь удовлетворена (алдынга кельгени камусынгныг битвеи). Совѣтуютъ простить противника, напоминая пословицу: „если кто зайдетъ къ тебѣ, то прости ему даже и хунъ за отца" (алдынга колгенде атангныг хуны китсе де кеш).

За обиду гостя взыскиваютъ на общемъ основаніи, хотя совѣтуютъ не ссориться съ нимъ и не обижать его (азар бермек), согласно пословицѣ: „когда придутъ въ твою кибитку, то не высказывай своей претензіи, хотя бы она была величиною съ кибитку" (уинге келгенде уйдей даулыг булса да айтма). Назвать, безъ причины, гостя или человѣка, укрывшагося отъ преслѣдованія злодѣевъ, воромъ или преступникомъ и вести его

къ властямъ — непредосудительно, если гость не ближній родичъ. Право убѣжища киргизъ (*) киргизовъ и киргизъ. Воръ и оговоренный въ воровствѣ не принимается въ гости и выдается тѣмъ, кто требуетъ ихъ выдачи. Если (по Абдрахману) человѣкъ, преслѣдуемый врагомъ, проситъ защиты въ какой нибудь юртѣ и туда не входитъ его врагъ, то обоихъ выгоняютъ, предоставляя имъ рѣшать другъ другъ въ степи. Впрочемъ, это зависитъ отъ личныхъ качествъ хозяина юртки.

Отвѣтственность хозяина за украденное у гостя нынѣ болѣе въ ходу, чѣмъ прежде.

Когда пріѣзжій, знакомый или незнакомый, остановится передъ закатомъ солнца у какой нибудь юрты, то хозяинъ ея или колетъ барана для его угощенія, или удовлетворяетъ пріѣзжаго добрыми, привѣтливыми словами. Если послѣдняго гостя мало и онъ самъ заколетъ барана изъ стада юртовладѣльца и съѣстъ, и если по этому поводу возникнетъ споръ, то гость будетъ правъ, а хозяинъ виноватъ. (Сообщеніе біи Аулісатинскаго уѣзда Шанчи Чиньбенова).

Общность имущества киргизовъ основывается на родовомъ началѣ. Чѣмъ тѣснѣе кругъ родства, тѣмъ безконтрольнѣе члены его пользуются имуществомъ другъ у друга. Дѣти берутъ у родителей, что имъ нужно или что имъ угодно. Воровство въ семейномъ кругу называется только „тайнымъ отнятіемъ“ (ысырыб алган). Племянники съ женской стороны (джіен), по поговоркѣ, всегда воруютъ у дядей (тага). Зять (нужъ сестры — сына) и дядя, по мѣрѣ силъ, прибавляютъ (косады) свою долю къ калыму. Взаимные иски между сватами крайне неохотно разбираются біями: ихъ примиряютъ прямо на основаніи родства (бійскія книги Перовскаго уѣзда). Между двоюродными братьями (немере), по совѣту аксакаловъ (яхсы ксилер), бываетъ поддержка скотомъ не въ долгъ (Кунакбай). Въ болѣе дальнемъ родствѣ, если не даютъ скота, то лишъ что нужно, лишнее или пищу. Въ пользу бѣдныхъ дѣлается сборъ съ народа (орт-

(*) Тоже описываетъ и Левшинъ, часть III, стр. 92.

чили) аманатомъ, даже противъ воли лица. Также дѣлается сборъ съ народа въ пользу лицъ вліятельныхъ, для уплаты ихъ частныхъ долговъ (*). Бѣдные, прося у богатой родни поддержки, и не получая ея, продутъ у нихъ или отнимаютъ пользоное на время или навсегда. Призы на скачкахъ дѣлятся родомъ выигравшаго. Если хунъ между родственниками оканчивается „родственнымъ", т. е. небольшимъ хунемъ (кырындаа хун).

По біи Султану Кенесу, Чиинскаго уѣзда, просятъ пособія у родни, подъ названіемъ кенсурин или джылуаскин, въ слѣдующихъ случаяхъ: 1) кто сильно задолжалъ; 2) кто разорился по ложному противъ него иску; 3) кто присужденъ къ хуну (**). Однако, помощь на уплату долговъ, какъ должны были сознаться біи Султанъ и Халиахмедъ, оказывается всегда сорезмѣрна вліянію (кадрыны краса) въ обществѣ того человѣка, который задолжалъ. Такъ что если бы не вліятельный, но хорошій человѣкъ задолжалъ крупную сумму и обратился къ родичамъ, то ихъ пожертвованія покрыли бы только малую часть долга.

(*) Изъ дѣлъ Сыръ-Дарьинскаго Областнаго Правленія видно, что и при русскомъ владычествѣ, съ разрѣшенія русскихъ властей, производились сборы съ населенія въ пользу лицъ вліятельныхъ. Такъ, однимъ изъ уѣздныхъ начальниковъ представленъ былъ на утвержденіе военнаго губернатора приговоръ волостныхъ выборныхъ Джуманской волости о пожертвованіи по одному руб. съ кибитки, для покрытія долговъ волостнаго управителя Алаш Бендиарова. На это получилъ отъ военнаго губернатора отвѣтъ, что онъ не находитъ „удобнымъ разрѣшить официально сборъ по 1 руб. съ кибитки въ пользу волостнаго управителя Бендиарова". (Предписаніе 17 Марта 1878 г., № 2727). Въ 1878 г. было разрѣшено, на уплату частныхъ долговъ того же Алаш Бендиарова, по мнѣнію примѣрнаго исполненія имъ служебныхъ обязанностей въ теченіе семнадцати 10 лѣтъ и крайне бѣднаго положенія оставшагося послѣ него семейства, не въ примѣръ прочимъ, принять добровольное пожертвованіе со стороны киргизовъ Джуманской волости, въ количествѣ не болѣе семи тысячъ рублей. (Предложеніе военнаго губернатора начальнику Перовскаго уѣзда 21 Августа 1878 г., № 4127).

(**) Желающій обратиться за общею помощью къ народу, приглашаетъ представителей отдѣльной рода къ себѣ, дѣлаетъ имъ угощеніе, а затѣмъ держитъ къ нимъ рѣчь, въ которой высказываетъ свои неудачи, или стѣсненное положеніе, заключая указаніемъ на [illegible] ихъ обязанности [illegible] [illegible] люди помогали другъ другу. Не обходится безъ того, чтобы просвѣтленный не привелъ пословицу: „если изъ озера черпать воду ложками, то воды не убавится; такъ точно не обѣднѣетъ и общество оказывая помощь" (кисик тан алган менен куп тарсы нас бергек мен мусаларго кыз тарсуп кес). На это отвѣчаетъ „если плюнетъ одинъ человѣкъ, то ничего не выйдетъ; если плюнетъ цѣлое общество то образуется озеро" (бер ту курсе бер булар как тукурсе куп булар). В такимъ образомъ рѣшается вопросъ объ оказаніи общей народной помощи.

По Торгаю, нужно отличать джилу и юртчилик. Джилу есть посильныя пожертвованія друзей, родственниковъ и свойственниковъ, по случаю: пожара, разграбленія аула непріятелями, уплаты хуна и голода. Юртчилик есть разложеніе долговъ на народъ. Какъ при джилу, такъ и при юртчиликѣ, взаимность есть условіе этого пожертвованія. Но при юртчиликѣ почти принуждаютъ къ уплатѣ, подъ предлогомъ, что при отцахъ и дѣдахъ были случаи взаимнаго юртчилика, или же посредствомъ угрозы отсѣчь подолъ и тѣмъ превратить взаимное оказываніе юртчилика (юртчилик кылмаска итек кести кылалы). Подолъ, впрочемъ, не отсѣкаютъ. Это только метафора.

Требуя поддержки, бѣдный говоритъ богатому: „дай мнѣ траву твоего скота" (малмигмыг шубин бер маган), т. е. вознагради меня за мое общее съ тобою право на ту траву, на которой пасется твой скотъ. Такая поддержка, въ видѣ сбора съ народа, подъ руководствомъ аксакала, устраивается тогда, когда у бѣднаго околѣваетъ весь скотъ. Кто откажется отъ взноса, тотъ лишается права на поддержку въ свою очередь, когда съ нимъ случится подобное же несчастье.

Эта поддержка распространяется и на услуги случныхъ самцовъ. Если хозяева этихъ животныхъ бѣдняки, то они требуютъ за одолженіе самцовъ плату, со словами: дай его хочу (сидигин бер). Имъ даютъ платокъ или другую вещь, подъ названіемъ актыгы, т. е. „за его безупречность", или же одолжаютъ рабочую скотину.

Въ настоящее время, юртчилик уже выходитъ изъ обычая, что особенно замѣтно въ южныхъ уѣздахъ Сыръ-Дарьинской области.

Весьма мало извѣстенъ обычай отдавать поочередно (кезек) все молоко или масло даннаго аула, сегодня въ одну кибитку, завтра въ другую и т. д. Это зависитъ отъ общаго согласія и дѣлается хорошими людьми, съ цѣлью поддержать тѣхъ, у кого нѣтъ скота или его мало (Перовскій уѣздъ). Въ Чимкентскомъ и Аулієатинскомъ уѣздахъ говорятъ, что это обычай бѣдныхъ сартовъ, имѣющихъ по одной или по двѣ дойныхъ скотины

(саун или сауаман). Кезек между киргизами и каракиргизами имѣетъ цѣлью приготовленіе сыра (курут и примиши (*)), гдѣ требуется сразу много молока. Эта отдача, по причинѣ взаимности, равняется продажѣ, сатулу.

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ извѣстенъ обычай помочи (хашар) при постройкахъ, полевыхъ работахъ и т. д. Зовущій предлагаетъ пищу, но являться не обязательно. У каракиргизовъ тоже есть обычай помочи. Помочь продолжается не дольше одного дня, иначе никто не придетъ. Къ бѣднымъ, которые плохо угощаютъ, не идутъ.

Въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ подвергшійся барантѣ имѣетъ право требовать, чтобы сосѣдніе родичи отправились вмѣстѣ съ ними въ погоню за барантачами. Эти пособники называются кумек. Если кумек будетъ убитъ, то пригласившій его пуститься въ погоню, не несетъ никакой отвѣтственности. (Сообщено біемъ Султаномъ Кавеевымъ).

По Торгаю, какъ скоро предстоитъ одному человѣку работа, которая ему не подъ силу, то онъ приглашаетъ на помочь (кумек чакырады, асар кылады, кубдесиб кылады), напр., въ барантѣ, на постройку надмогильнаго памятника, на полевыя работы, даже на расчистку арыка, если онъ самъ боленъ или старъ.

Для катанія кошемъ и другихъ женскихъ работъ сзываютъ дѣвицъ и женщинъ на помочь (кумек), по сообщенію Александрова изъ Казалинска.

(*) Примишъ получается отъ долгаго кипяченія молока, съ прибавкою «ашадыл» или «мутхучак» (мѣднаго хрена) отъ болѣзнаго желудка.

ГЛАВА VIII.

Наемъ.—Найдиа.—Дилмачъ.—Пеперин.—Торгоиа.—Долгъ.—Цѣна имущества по аукциону.—Кулаки идут на сходбищахъ.

У земледѣльцевъ существуютъ видъ найма рабочихъ на полахъ: состоятельные даютъ работнику пропитаніе и сѣмена и оплачиваютъ свой скотъ, землю и орудія на время полевыхъ работъ. Рабочій получаетъ вознагражденіе изъ урожая, смотря по условію, отъ $^1/_6$ до $^1/_4$ его. Нѣтъ урожая, нѣтъ и вознагражденія.

Кромѣ того существуютъ иные слуги (ялчи) для: 1) пастьбы скота (пастухъ называется ялчи, а въ частности: овецъ — койчы, табуна — дилкычи, верблюдъ — колахтачи), 2) полевыхъ работъ (эгинчи), 3) домашнихъ услугъ (джигит, хызметтер) и 4) оффиціальныхъ порученій (всаул) у волостного, біи и т. п. Эти слуги или работники нанимаются на годъ, рѣдко помѣсячно и поденно. Слуги получаютъ плату или впередъ сполна, или половину, а остальную половину въ извѣстный срокъ. Въ случаѣ отказа одной стороны, производится разсчетъ по днямъ и работникъ возвращаетъ хозяину излишне полученное. Присутствіе свидѣтелей при заключеніи условія не обязательно.

Хозяинъ называетъ слугу „балам" (сынъ мой), „адамы" (мой человѣкъ), „кузим" (мой глазъ). Согласно послѣднему названію, слуга долженъ предотвращать убытки, хотя бы они не касались его специальности.

Прислуга отвѣчаетъ за умышленное (каздан) нанесеніе ущерба. За воровство у хозяина она отвѣчаетъ на общемъ основаніи.

За ущербъ и потери, происшедшіе по нерадѣнію (бигандиктан) и недосмотру (хатадан), напр., разбитіе вещи, пропажу овцы, слуга не платитъ, за исключеніемъ того случая, когда было условіе платить.

Хозяинъ можетъ бранить и даже бить наемнаго слугу до трехъ ударовъ нагайкою, безнаказанно. Съ четвертаго удара хозяинъ уже считается провинившимся (айбдар), и послѣ этого слуга можетъ жаловаться. Слуга не смѣетъ ни бранить, ни бить хозяина, подъ страхомъ присужденія къ уплатѣ аттона и непрощенія прощенія. Хозяинъ, тронутый просьбою слуги, припавшаго къ его ногамъ и держащаго его за руки, прощаетъ иногда самое взысканіе. Въ случаѣ взаимныхъ побоевъ дѣло оставляется безъ вниманія.

За нерадивую службу слугѣ не полагается штрафа; его только отпускаютъ съ разсчетомъ. Въ настоящее время нѣкоторые заставляютъ слугу платить за происшедшій по нерадѣнію его ущербъ. Напримѣръ, если овца пропала днемъ, то нѣкоторые взыскиваютъ $^1/_3$ или $^1/_2$ часть стоимости ея; если же она пропала ночью, то пастухъ не виноватъ, потому что ночью спитъ. Иногда войчы даритъ своему тамыру хозяйскую овцу, которой хозяинъ и не досчитывается. Пастухъ оправдывается, говоритъ, что она сбѣжала. Если обманъ будетъ открытъ, то пастухъ платитъ стоимость овцы и еще штрафъ въ количествѣ одной овцы. Если хозяинъ припомнитъ, что у этого пастуха и раньше случались потери овецъ, то объ этихъ потеряхъ теперь налагается присяга на самаго пастуха, а если пастухъ жилъ въ своей семьѣ, или у родныхъ, то на нихъ. Хозяинъ можетъ счесть за позоръ для себя, брать присягу съ пастуха, какъ человѣка неравнаго ему (войчиным джаным алмайным, дурус кся инес). Тогда біи налагаютъ присягу на самого хозяина.

За съѣденныхъ волками овецъ пастухъ не отвѣчаетъ и въ томъ случаѣ, если было вообще условіе о вознагражденіи убытковъ. За надежъ и естественную смерть (аджаль) скота пастухъ вовсе не отвѣчаетъ.

За стрижку шерсти ножницами (кыркыс) у хозяйскихъ барановъ чужимъ человѣкомъ или самимъ пастухомъ полагается не взысканіе, а только выговоръ, ибо шерсть, молоко и рабочая сила животныхъ считаются „благотворительностью животныхъ“ (малыныг хайры) и за пользованіе ими не платятъ. Чело-

вѣр, требующего за нихъ плату, передаетъ словами: „пусть онъ, не разбосившись, погибнетъ“ (бай болмай ушсин).

Пригульный скотъ (буралы, пуватыи) достается вообще пастуху. Жадный хозяинъ можетъ требовать его себѣ, на томъ основаніи, что его скотъ привелъ пригульную скотину. У киргизовъ пригульная скотина достается пастуху, если онъ не заявитъ о ней хозяину; если же хозяинъ узнаетъ о ней, то онъ потребуетъ ее къ себѣ, потому что она пристала (сингиб кетти) къ его скоту. Нѣкоторые держатъ пригульный скотъ (булары по киргизски) у себя, другіе рѣшутъ ее на кудан, угощеніе народа. При русскомъ владычествѣ установлено: бѣжавшій или пригульный скотъ представляетъ начальству. Потерявшій скотину хозяинъ обращается къ начальству, которое производитъ справки о мѣстонахожденіи потерянного.

По Мановецкому (I, стр. 43), размѣръ сюнчи за представленіе потерянного простирается до $^1/_5$ стоимости его. Исключеніе составляетъ овца: нашедшій ее оставляетъ у себя ея потомство, а хозяину возвращаетъ потерянную штуку. Если же онъ испортитъ на овцѣ знакъ ея хозяина, то возвращаетъ овцу вмѣстѣ съ приплодомъ. Торгай же говоритъ, что нашедшій беременную овцу отдаетъ хозяину овцу и ягненка, для того чтобы и онъ, нашедшій, если когда нибудь потеряетъ беременную овцу, получалъ ее тоже съ ягненкомъ; если же хозяинъ найденной овцы явится только черезъ 2—3 года, то ему отдаютъ одну овцу, „согласно адату и шаріату“, говоря: „если ты узнаешь ягненка, то возьми его“ (возысын танысанг алинай). Торгай знаетъ и другое мнѣніе, по которому хозяину, явившемуся черезъ 2—3 года, присуждаютъ только половину барана, имѣя въ виду уходъ и труды по его содержанію (багыб кагыб). Если нашедшій барана запрется, то присяга налагается на самого хозяина. Для полученія своей потерянной лошади, коровы или верблюда, хозяинъ долженъ представить семь свидѣтелей (исбат), изъ которыхъ двое должны присягнуть. Если нашедшій объявилъ всѣмъ о находкѣ, то наложеніе на ней своей тамги не есть воровство.

Скотъ держатъ до 2—3 недѣль. Послѣ этого заявляютъ волостному управителю о пропажѣ хозяина.

Если найденная скотина отелится, то теленокъ не отдѣляется отъ матки, онъ тоже принадлежитъ хозяину ея; а если нѣтъ хозяина, то нашедшему. Если пропало много скота, а найдено меньше, то обвиняютъ нашедшаго въ сокрытіи остальнаго. Въ этомъ случаѣ рѣшаютъ на основаніи показаній безпристрастныхъ людей, безъ присяги.

Найденныя вещи (персо, буюм) идутъ въ пользу нашедшаго, если никто не былъ свидѣтелемъ находки. Если были свидѣтели, то находка сохраняется нашедшимъ отъ одного до двухъ мѣсяцевъ, до явки хозяина, который получаетъ свою вещь за плату сюунчи.

Размѣръ сюунчи тѣмъ больше, чѣмъ дольше хранилась вещь. Примѣрно за вещь въ 1 руб. сюунчи простирается до 20 коп., за вещь въ 10 руб.—2 руб., за 20 руб.—5 руб., за лошадь—1 тилля, за верблюда—$1^1/_2$ или 2 тилля. Если хозяинъ вещи не явится, то она переходитъ во владѣніе нашедшаго.

Для тѣхъ, кто присутствовалъ при находкѣ денегъ, раздѣляютъ найденное между всѣми, съ обязательствомъ отдать, если явится хозяинъ.

Если младшій изъ спутниковъ нашелъ халатъ, тюбетейку или другія части одежды, то онъ, по требованію другихъ, отдаетъ найденное старшему. Если всѣ одинаковаго возраста, то найденное даютъ лицу бѣлой кости; если нѣтъ между ними бѣлой кости, то даютъ гостю, т. е. человѣку изъ чужаго рода; если нѣтъ гостя, то даютъ муллѣ; если нѣтъ муллы, то тому, кто женатъ, потому что женатые вообще старше холостыхъ; если всѣ женаты, то тому, кто раньше женился. Эта отдача платья называется байлаган.

Когда видятъ лису въ чужомъ капканѣ (какпан), то нашедшій беретъ ее себѣ, оставляя капканъ. Взять капканъ, значитъ учинить кражу; взятіе лисы не есть кража (*). Даже на

(*) Если хозяинъ капкана или охотникъ съ соблазомъ выгонятъ первую лису и если случайно проѣзжающій киргизъ, даже незнакомый, предъявитъ требованіе на нее,

судѣ, когда принуждаютъ къ отдачѣ пищаля, нельзя требовать выѣстѣ съ нихъ и выдачи лисицы.

Если охотникъ (киргоз) застрѣлилъ кулана при другихъ, то онъ отдаетъ спину его (саура) старшему изъ нихъ, или мулла и вообще какъ выше сказано. Отдача части застрѣленнаго называется сыралыга. (Цѣлиномъ по Торгаю).

Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ находки, состоящія въ деньгахъ, одеждѣ, прагульномъ скотѣ и проч., остаются у нашедшаго, о чемъ доводится до свѣдѣнія или предполагаемыхъ хозяевъ, или властей, и выдаются хозяевамъ за сююнчи, равняющееся $^1/_{10}$ или $^1/_{20}$ части стоимости ихъ, т. е. приблизительно въ 4 раза меньше чѣмъ при отнятіи отъ вора. Родственникамъ отдаютъ безъ платы. Если хозяинъ вещи не явится въ теченіи одного—двухъ лѣтъ, то найденное становится собственностью нашедшаго. Если находка не была объявлена обществу (джиу него шыгарган), съ намѣреніемъ присвоенія, а затѣмъ явится хозяинъ ея, то она, а если уже нѣтъ ея, то стоимость ея, возвращается хозяину со всѣми судебными его издержками, но безъ штрафа. Сокрытіе же находки отъ розысковъ хозяина считается за воровство.

У каракиргизовъ находка принадлежитъ нашедшему, съ отдѣленіемъ части ея для свидѣтелей находки.

Добросовѣстность по отношенію къ вещамъ, принятымъ на сохраненіе (аманат), есть обязанность нравственная, не юридическая, какъ видно изъ названія: божій аманат (кудаи аманат). Поэтому вещи поручаютъ на сохраненіе только лицамъ, хорошо извѣстнымъ, или родственникамъ.

Вещи, находящіяся на сохраненіи, возвращаются хозяину при первомъ требованіи. За злостную растрату и продажу ихъ хозяинъ бьетъ виновнаго и привлекаетъ его къ отвѣтственности, какъ за воровство; за случайную потерю, тотчасъ заявленную старшинѣ или властямъ, не отвѣчаютъ. У каракиргизовъ тотъ

въ видѣ подарка и для успѣха будущей охоты, то охотникъ отдаетъ ее. Въ случаѣ отказа онъ платитъ штрафъ.

ше обычай. За незаявленную потерю вещи, данной безъ свидѣтелей, назначаютъ присягу отвѣтчику или истцу, если они хорошіе люди. На основаніи присяги, обязываютъ къ возврату или невозврату самой вещи и къ уплатѣ судебныхъ расходовъ, но безъ штрафа и иного взысканія. Если вещь дана при свидѣтеляхъ, то постановляютъ рѣшеніе безъ присяги. Если съ принятіемъ вещей на сохраненіе были сопряжены издержки, то ихъ платитъ хозяинъ.

Если принявшій вещь самъ выпросилъ ее для временнаго пользованія, то онъ платитъ расходы, сопряженные съ передачею, платитъ также за порчу вещи отъ употребленія, за случайныя повреждения и потерю (наприм., утерю скота во время бурана).

Кладь у возчиковъ также считается аманатомъ. Утеря клади возчикомъ, обязавшимся доставить ее къ мѣсту назначенія, одинакова съ преднамѣреннымъ воровствомъ, т. е. возвращается стоимость клади, съ штрафомъ въ двойную стоимость ея. Въ случаѣ, если возчикъ былъ вынужденъ необходимостью передать кладь другому лицу для перевозки, то онъ освобождается отъ отвѣтственности, предъявленіемъ росписки этого лица.

Если во время пожара или другаго общаго бѣдствія (тенгри казасы) погибъ только аманатъ, а не другое имущество, то присуждаютъ къ уплатѣ стоимости его сполна. Если же аманатъ и имущество хранителя его погибло, то послѣдній платитъ или половину стоимости его, или же ничего не платитъ (Перов. и Аулієат. уѣзды). О степени отвѣтственности за аманатъ заключаютъ условіе предъ принятіемъ его (каракиргизъ Курпетай Даулеткуловъ).

Кто прикочуетъ со стадами къ чужой зимовкѣ, тотъ обыкновенно проситъ хозяевъ ея дать ему мѣсто на условіяхъ аманата. Ему сначала отказываютъ. Тогда онъ обѣщаетъ имъ заплатить. Послѣ этого, отчасти ради добраго дѣла (сауаб), отчасти [illegible] изъ-за барыша, даютъ ему мѣсто, но не больше какъ на одинъ годъ.

По Торгаю, противъ Маковецкаго, не въ обычаѣ ссужать дойный скотъ за деньги. Для земледѣлія на паяхъ (серикликке) ссужаютъ воловъ, лошадей и верблюдовъ.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

ДѢВИЦА
ПЕРОВСКАГО УѢЗДА.

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Если взятая, какъ аманатъ, скотина возвращается въ столь захудалом видѣ, что хозяину ея кажется, что она не переживетъ зиму, тогда державшій ее аманатомъ обѣщаетъ прокормить ее до весны.

Подаренное или пожертвованное съ богоугодною (назр) или благотворительною (нудан) цѣлью не возвращается, какъ и подарокъ, съ цѣлью чествованія высшаго (иззат) или низшаго (инан).

Подаренную высокопоставленными лицами одежду приличествуетъ носить при представленіяхъ этимъ лицамъ.

Возвращенію подлежатъ подарки по дружбѣ, называемые колка, если на нихъ не отвѣтили такими же подарками по прошествіи нѣкоторого времени (Аулісатанск. уѣздъ). У каракиргизовъ воровство подаренного наказывается какъ обыкновенное воровство. По Торгаю, бій говоритъ вору: „зачѣмъ ты дарилъ? теперь это уже его собственность". Отвѣтчикъ говоритъ: „моя родня не согласилась на сдѣланный мною подарокъ; мнѣ было стыдно требовать его назадъ, поэтому я укралъ". Бій присуждаетъ либо къ возврату украденной вещи тому, кому она была подарена, безъ штрафа за воровство, либо къ штрафу, безъ возврата самой вещи, такъ какъ воръ былъ ея хозяиномъ.

Если кто либо гонитъ военную добычу, то встрѣчные говорятъ: „эй богатыри, дайте саугa!" (*). Тогда обязательно уступаютъ лошадь, овцу или какую либо вещь.

Когда земледѣльцы молотятъ, собираютъ съ гумна хлѣбъ или измѣряютъ его, то бѣдняки, не имѣющіе своей пашни, ходятъ по гумнамъ своего рода или общества и собираютъ подаяніе, коусен. Имъ обыкновенно даютъ деревянную чашку, вмѣщающую отъ 2 до 6 фунтовъ зерна, или же одну—двѣ горсти.

(*) Саугa у киргизовъ означаетъ подарокъ, просимый у возвращающихся съ войны (во бію Хаджаханнову). У сартовъ же саугa или саугати означаетъ то, что у киргизовъ называется базарлыкъ.

Кто пріѣхалъ съ базара, у того просятъ „базарлык“.

Если бій успѣшно окончилъ дѣло, то близкіе просятъ изъ полученнаго бійлыка „сатал“ (*).

Если богачъ далъ сыну небольшой ничи, то послѣдній обращается къ сестрамъ, свояченицамъ и чужимъ уважаемымъ людямъ, съ просьбою объ „ничибасы“ (Торгай). Даютъ что нибудь, напр., самку овцу, съ пожеланіемъ размноженія отсюда (**).

Если отецъ засваталъ (айттырса) невѣсту для сына, то послѣдній проситъ сверстника о поздравительномъ подаркѣ „неменурин“. Тотъ даетъ что нибудь, получая чрезъ это право требовать подобный подарокъ, когда онъ будетъ въ томъ же положеніи (Торгай). По бію Султану, неменурин бываетъ какъ при ничи, такъ и при калымѣ. Въ первомъ случаѣ родственники даютъ мѣшки, арканы, посуду и скотъ, а во второмъ только скотъ или деньги.

Купившаго обнову, поздравляютъ словами: кутты булсын, т. е. на счастье! Хозяинъ вещи благодаритъ: айтсын, или: кутттуктамак сизден булсын. Въ первомъ случаѣ съ него требуютъ подарка „байгазы“, подъ угрозою отрѣзать кусокъ отъ обновы, напр., носокъ у сапога; во второмъ случаѣ онъ самъ требуетъ съ поздравителя подарокъ. Если обнова халатъ, то женщины просятъ (безъ поздравленія) подарокъ за пришиваніе завязокъ, „тонбау“, хотя бы онѣ ихъ и не пришивали, или втекнести, „за отрѣзываніе подола“, грозя отрѣзать подолъ.

Если у друга родитъ жена, то нужно послать черезъ третье лицо вареной баранины, съ кускомъ матеріи на рубашку младенцу. Мужъ родильницы спрашиваетъ: „зачѣмъ ты пріѣхалъ?“ (неге кельдинг). Посланный отвѣчаетъ: „я пріѣхалъ съ поздра-

(*) Сатал даетъ [illegible] (*) Сатал даетъ вообще всякій, кто имѣлъ баранъ или скѣдалъ находку. (Бій [illegible]ханиведъ).

(**) По сообщенію киргиза Катва, Курамин. уѣзда, ничибаси передъ семейнымъ раздѣ[illegible] отдѣляется на пропорціяніе матери въ старости. По бію Султану, ничибаси называетъ[illegible] вообще та скотина, хорошая лошадь или другая хорошая скотина, которая выби[illegible]ся (таилаб алады) самими выдѣленными, или ихъ отцемъ или матерью, какъ [illegible]лаль» (бас) своего ничи.

ьленіемъ" (кутунизаб цольдин). Тотъ отвѣчаетъ: „выбери чего хочешь" (калагандыйрды айт). Посланный выбираетъ скотину или ловчую птицу, говоря: „я пріѣхалъ просить этого" (осны тилеге вольдым); послѣ чего и получаетъ ее.

Когда имѣютъ въ виду свататься за красивую дѣвицу и она даетъ понять, что на нее уже многіе мѣтятъ, а потому нужно оставить какое нибудь вещественное доказательство словъ (быр нишане кылсанг инсн, быр бильги куростиб койсанг инсн), тогда даритъ одну скотину, обѣщая явиться на сватовство. Этотъ подарокъ называется „каргыбау" или „батан".

На новосельѣ или привалѣ сосѣди поздравляютъ: „коныс кутты булсын", или: „коныс джайлы булсын". Подарокъ гостямъ на новосельѣ называется „эрулик".

Если кто зайдетъ случайно къ женщинамъ, занятымъ тканьемъ или катаньемъ кошемъ, то онѣ вручаютъ ему кусочекъ шерсти, принятіе котораго обязываетъ къ подарку, въ родѣ дыни и т. п. Этотъ обычай называется „юнг салу". Работницы на табачныхъ плантаціяхъ вмѣсто шерсти даютъ табакъ—„темеке салу".

У охотника встрѣченные просятъ удѣленія части дичи, подъ названіемъ „чыралга".

Время и мѣсто торговли не ограничено никакими правилами. Въ степи сарты, киргизы и татары мѣняютъ мануфактурные товары, сухіе плоды, лекарства и прочіе предметы, на шерсть, шкуры и другіе продукты скотоводства.

Между собою кочевники продаютъ и покупаютъ въ долгъ, съ разными условіями уплаты. Свидѣтели при торгѣ не обязательны; но когда продавецъ и покупатель не знаютъ другъ друга, то бываютъ поручители.

Можно продавать имущество въ отсутствіи хозяина только въ слѣдующихъ случаяхъ: по близкому родству, по довѣренности и по распоряженію начальства (*).

(*) Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ отбирается только та скотина, которая не въ работѣ, не въ караванѣ, вообще занимаемо нужна.

Купленное у несовершеннолѣтнихъ, по требованію отца, возвращается безъ штрафа.

Купившій завѣдомо краденое считается воромъ.

Избѣгаютъ покупать скотъ или вещи заглазно. Но если покупаютъ заглазно, то подъ лошадью разумѣется пятилѣтній жеребецъ или трехлѣтняя кобыла, а подъ верблюдомъ—пятилѣтній самецъ или трехлѣтняя верблюдица. (Перовск. уѣзд.).

Задатокъ неизвѣстенъ киргизамъ.

На базарахъ всегда находится особый для каждаго рода скота маклеръ (дельдель), киргизъ или сартъ, который всячески старается привести стороны къ соглашенію, вкладывая насильно руку продавца въ руку покупателя.

Актъ продажи, кромѣ подачи руки, освящается со стороны продавца словами: пользуйся на счастье и проч. (береке тап, хайрли нур, ійглигинга тутуп и пр.), а со стороны покупателя: „пусть одно у тебя превратится въ тысячу; ты также будь въ прибыли" (бирнг мынг булсун, сен де береке тап).

До уплаты денегъ обѣ стороны еще могутъ отказаться; послѣ же уплаты не могутъ. Впрочемъ, въ случаѣ согласія покупателя, продавецъ, за извѣстную сумму отступного (пшайман, пшаймана), можетъ взять проданное обратно. Покупатель также можетъ просить, но не требовать, у продавца расторженія купли, если скотина въ томъ еще видѣ, какъ при покупкѣ.

Если въ недѣльный, приблизительно, срокъ у животнаго окажутся недостатки, не объявленные при продажѣ, но о существованіи которыхъ знаютъ посторонніе люди, то купившій можетъ отказаться отъ него, или потребовать возврата переплаченныхъ денегъ. Въ предупрежденіе этого вошло въ обычай, чтобы маклеръ, при самой продажѣ, говорилъ покупателю: „посмотри самъ, совершенно ли здорова скотина; но разъ ты купилъ ее, она будетъ твоя, хотя бы околѣла сегодня же". (Собрано въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ).

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ, по сообщенію біи Умурбека, продажа скотины, безъ объявленія хозяиномъ извѣстныхъ ему

недостатковъ ея, расторгается (ауданы пайтады) безъ штрафа, но не менѣе 2—3 дней, смотря по роду скота, такъ какъ смертельная болѣзнь животныхъ узнается въ скорѣе времени (*). Если проданное животное околѣетъ, то деньги не возвращаются купившему, потому что онъ могъ раньше смерти заявить претензію. Часто при продажѣ назначаютъ срокъ, въ который еще можно будетъ возвратить животное за ту сумму, которая была за него заплачена.

По сообщенію Тортая, уговоръ о недостаткахъ скотины бываетъ троякаго рода:

1) При покупкѣ спрашиваютъ: есть ли у животнаго недостатки? Когда отвѣчаютъ отрицательно, то покупатель предлагаетъ назначить срокъ въ 3—4 дня, въ который онъ можетъ возвратить скотину, если у нея окажутся недостатки.

2) Продавецъ, скрывая недостатки скотины, которую онъ уступаетъ дешево, говоритъ: „посмотри самъ; хочешь бери, хочешь не бери! если ты перейдешь эту черту (проводимую имъ при этихъ словахъ по землѣ), то скотина твоя".

3) Продавецъ заявляетъ: „если у нея есть законный недостатокъ (айби шаръы) (**), то я ее возьму обратно; если же она больная, то останется за тобою". Если потомъ открывается одинъ изъ айби шаръы, то на другой день заявляется объ этомъ. Если при этомъ продавецъ говоритъ: «этого недостатка вчера не было, вѣдь ты видѣлъ вчера», то назначаютъ присягу, а именно: даютъ одному изъ нихъ (преимущественно покупателю) выборъ между полученіемъ съ самаго продавца присяги о томъ, что недостатка вчера не было и собственною присягою о томъ, что недостатокъ былъ. Если обѣ стороны несклонны къ присягѣ, то отдаютъ скотину обратно продавцу за отступную плату съ покупателя, или же скотина остается проданною и отступныя деньги платитъ продавецъ. Если же продавецъ уѣхалъ и на лицо только поручитель, т. е. маклеръ, получившій маклерскія

(*) Напр. лихорадка или лихорадка у лошадей узнается въ теченіе одного дня.

(**) Напр., сапъ (шанка) или хромота.

деньги (ширинкамо) или другой поручитель, то спрашивают съ него. Но поручитель отказывается отъ уплаты шшайнана; онъ ручался только за то, что скотина не краденая, а не за ея качества. Бій обязываетъ поручителя найти продавца, но не присуждаетъ къ шшайнану. Если продавецъ не найдется, то дѣло остается безъ послѣдствій.

Прежде можно было отказываться отъ совершенной уже покупки или продажи, на томъ основаніи, что куплено слишкомъ дорого, или продано слишкомъ дешево. Даже существуетъ пословица: „продану лошади можно расторгнуть въ продолженіи мѣсяца, продану верблюда—въ продолженіи года" (ат саудасы айында кайтады, тюя саудасы йылында кайтады). Теперь этого дѣлать нельзя. Если покупатель или продавецъ претендуетъ на обманъ при продажѣ скота или другаго товара, говоря, что его ложно увѣряли въ дороговизнѣ этого товара, новизнѣ его, въ общемъ безденежьи базара и т. п., то продажа не расторгается, потому что претендателю не повѣрятъ, а подумаютъ, что онъ просто отказывается (айныды).

У киргизовъ заключается условіе о срокѣ возврата скотины въ случаѣ, если будутъ найдены у нея недостатки. Если такого условія заключено не было, то возвращать скотину не полагается. Заявленіе о томъ, что скотина, хотя и безъ недостатковъ, но дорого куплена, у киргизовъ также не принимается.

Присутствіе свидѣтелей и поручителей при займѣ въ долгъ (кара бересен) необязательно; но вообще стараются имѣть свидѣтелей.

Если отвѣтчикъ отрицаетъ существованіе долга, то присяга налагается на общемъ основаніи, какъ при преступленіяхъ; но долгъ (*) взыскивается безъ штрафа. Бійлыкъ и судебные рас-

взыскиваются съ должника.

(*) Взыскивать проценты (усуи, пайда, ыдыара) необязательно. Даютъ въ долгъ ...ентами и безъ нихъ. По сообщенію Абулфайза, Чиликтинскаго уѣзда, частные

Когда берутъ въ долгъ скотъ, съ цѣлью продажи, то при уплатѣ отдаютъ животныхъ той же породы. Если это были овцы, то чрезъ годъ отдаютъ овецъ съ приплодомъ или безъ него, иногда съ прибавкою, вмѣсто приплода, другихъ скотинъ или денегъ, смотря по условію.

Долговыя росписки входятъ все болѣе и болѣе въ употребленіе. Въ нихъ обозначаютъ обыкновенно сумму долга съ имѣющими расти къ сроку уплаты процентами. При уплатѣ части долга помѣчаютъ объ этомъ на росписке.

Если кто нибудь состоитъ должнымъ другому по роспискѣ, то по ней взыскиваются деньги, хотя бы онъ иска не признавъ дѣйствительнымъ. Если же искъ предъявленъ безъ росписки и отвѣтчикъ его не признаетъ, то ему назначается личная присяга. Если отвѣтчикъ показываетъ, что онъ дѣйствительно былъ долженъ истцу, но деньги ему заплатилъ, то присяга назначается лично истцу, который присягаетъ только тогда, когда отвѣтчикъ всю исковую сумму представитъ въ судъ.

Залогъ (гирау, шаргы) вещей неизвѣстенъ въ степи (*). Не закладываютъ зимовья стойбища съ находящимися на нихъ постройками. Это дѣлаютъ тѣ, которые должны деньги, а между тѣмъ скота не имѣютъ. Зимовку стоющую 15—20 тиллей, закладываютъ за 8—10 тиллей, смотря по условію на 1 или на $1^1/_2$ года. Если заложили на $^1/_2$ года, то ждутъ (кутади) выкупа въ продолженіи года. Если заложили на 1 годъ, то ждутъ 2 года. Потомъ требуютъ, чтобы заложенное имущество было продано или уступлено лицу, взявшему его въ залогъ. Производятъ оцѣнку и возвращаютъ лишнюю сумму. (Торгай).

киргизы берутъ 20% въ годъ, называемое дедуцда, т. е. 12 за 10; дурные же люди берутъ съ тиллы по 20 к. въ мѣсяцъ. По сообщенію изъ Перовскаго уѣзда, киргизы берутъ 90 к. въ мѣсяцъ съ рубля или же ничего. У каракиргизовъ съ 4 рублей платятъ въ мѣсяцъ 20 коп. лихвы (туна).

(*) Въ городахъ залогъ между киргизами считается за одинъ изъ видовъ лихвы.

Цѣна животныхъ по адату.

Названія скота.	Лѣта.	Названія.		Стоимость на день	
		Сакцевъ.	Самокъ.	По Карамулдѣ, Перовскаго уѣзда.	По Умурбеку, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда.
Верблюдъ, тая . .	1	бота		10 руб.	1 байтал
	2	тай	лак	15—20 р.	1 бисти ат, съ придачею небольшихъ денегъ.
	3	кушматан	ковадженн	25 р.	1 бисти, 1 тай
	4	душаматан	дунадженн	30—35 р.	1 бисти, 1 кунан
	5	бисти атан	бисти ни-тен	30—35 р.	2 бисти
Лошадь верховая, ат, табунная-дилы-ны . .	1	кулун, екъ	зинѣ дна-багы	4 р.	1 кой, 1 серкеш
	2	тай		8—10 р.	2 кой, 1 новы, или: 2 кой, 1 серкеш

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

гя или на другой скотъ.			
По Умурбеку, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда.	По другимъ сообщеніямъ.	По нарарг. Курпетаю Даулетмулову, Аул. у.	Примѣчанія.
10 р.		1 тай	
15 р.		1 ялны	
20 р.	По біи Султану, Чиликентскаго уѣзда, 40 р.; по Торгаю, прежде 40 р.; по книгамъ біевъ Перовскаго уѣзда, 40 руб.	2 ялны	Время случки и зачатія — 4-й годъ, когда подниматъ до 12 пудовъ. Случный самецъ двугорбый называется бура, одногорбый — улакъ.
25 р.		3 ялны	4-хъ лѣтній самецъ равняется 3-хъ лѣтней самкѣ (Аулієатинскій уѣздъ).
30 р.		3 ялны = 25—30 р., смотря по базару; прежде были дороже.	5-ти лѣтній самецъ равняется 4-хъ лѣтней самкѣ. Цѣна верблюда начинаетъ падать съ 13—14 лѣтъ.
4 р.		1 ной	
8 р.		2 ной	

	3	кунах	кунадиннабайтал	13—14 р.	3 кой
	4	дунах	дунадиннабайтал	16—18 р.	4 кой
	5	бисти ат	бисти байтал	20 р.	5 кой
Корова, бычъ, сіяр, ужуз . .	1	бу ат у каранкр	гизовъ — кунах	3 р.	1 буйдак
	2	та на у каранкр	гизовъ — тайтурнах	5 р.	1 кой, 1 сорвах
	3	кунанужуз или кунах	кунансіяр	8 р.	2 кой, 1 сорвах
	4	дунанужуз	дунансіяр	12 р.	4 кой
	5	бисти ужуз (нах)	бистисіяр	20 р.	5 кой
Овца, кой	До 3 нѣсящихъ .	ко	ны	1 р.	—

10 р.		7 р.	Время случки и легченія на третьемъ году. Самецъ случный—эйгыр.
13 р.	Жеребцы и кобылы, по книгамъ біевъ Перовскаго уѣзда, 20 руб.	8 р	Киргизы вмѣсто нуцаи и дуцаи говорятъ такие бишти; вмѣсто бисти-аи, эсн; животное 6 лѣтъ называется сеевсій, 7 лѣтъ—ушаси и т. д.
15 р.		9 р. (теперь 12 руб.).	Цѣна лошадей падаетъ съ 10—11 лѣтъ.
2 р.		2 р.	
4 р.		3 р.	Время случки—второй и третій годъ. Случный самецъ—бука.
8 р.		4 р.	
10 р.		5 р.	
15 р.	По книгамъ біевъ Перовскаго уѣзда 20 руб.	7 р. (теперь 9 руб.).	Цѣна падаетъ съ 8—9 лѣтъ.
1½ р.	—	1 р. Если лѣтомъ занимаютъ 1 р., то осенью отдаютъ 1 пары.	Время случки—1½ года. Самецъ—кошкар.

	Съ 4-хъ мѣсяцевъ, когда начинаютъ стричь	тоя	ты	2 р.	2 удак
	Съ 8 мѣсяцевъ	буй	дак	2½—3 р.	
	2	ноек	тусак	3 р.	тусак=1 буйдак 1 ноек
	3	купанкой	—	3¼—4 р	3 ковы
			купан сауды	3 р.	
	4	дуная ной	—	4—4½ р.	3 ковы
			дуная сауды	3½—4 р.	
	5	бисти ной	—	4 р.	3—4 ковы
			бисти сауды	3½—4 р.	
Коза, ешки	1	удак		60 коп.	—
	2	тобин	туше	1 р. 50 к.	—
	3	купан серке	купанчике	2 р.	—
	4	дуная серке	дуданчике	2½—3 р.	—
	5	бисти серке	бисти ичке	2 р.	—
Ишак, осел, остен	1	гуре		2 р.	
	2	тай дак		4 р.	
	3	куна ноек		5 р.	
	4	дуна ноек		6—7 р.	

Примѣчаніе: Къ удакамъ означенныхъ кіиъ бін присуждаютъ, когда помѣщаютъ на по дольи, а скотъ. Допускается отступленія отъ этихъ среднихъ

2½—3 р.			
4 р.			
5 р.			
6 р.			Послѣ 5 лѣтъ цѣна падаетъ.
40 коп. 1 р. 40 к.	1 руб.		
2 р.			
3 р.			
4 р.			Время случки на третьемъ году. Самецъ — англ., самка — наши. Послѣ 10 лѣтъ цѣна начинаетъ понижаться.

стоящая бывшая цѣна прошлой лошади или когда въ обязательствахъ упомянутъ цѣнъ. Вероятнѣе лишнее считается дорого.

Возчики (перекеш, тюкеш) зависятъ отъ караванбашей (керуанбасы). Послѣдніе бываютъ двухъ родовъ: 1) извѣстные (бельгили) и вліятельные (улкун) люди, живущіе въ городахъ, гдѣ они представляютъ купцамъ ручательство въ добросовѣстности возчиковъ; 2) люди менѣе вліятельные (кши, кси), поставленные первыми во главѣ каравановъ, получивъ отъ нихъ накладныя. Кромѣ такихъ назначенныхъ караванбашей, предводителями каравановъ бываютъ и вообще лучшіе люди изъ возчиковъ.

Возчики могутъ передавать предводителю каравана свои билеты, хотя бы имѣли каждый своихъ верблюдовъ и особую кладь.

Караванбаши идутъ впереди.

Обычай городскихъ караванбашей пособлять одолженіями (ягалсыб салу) возчикамъ до тѣхъ поръ, пока они не найдутъ заработка, существуетъ и у киргизовъ. (Торгай и Умурбекъ).

Купцы могутъ отправлять свою кладь, безъ посредства караванбаша, съ возчиками, имѣющими поручителей. Предъ отправкою клади купцы и возчики, или вмѣсто нихъ караванбаши, обмѣниваются письменными обязательствами о количествѣ клади, провозной платѣ и срокѣ доставки.

Караванбашъ не можетъ отмѣнить назначенную однимъ изъ возчиковъ, въ ущербъ другимъ, низкую плату.

Караванбашъ выбираетъ время и мѣсто привала и ночлега; рѣшаетъ споры между возчиками въ дорогѣ; принуждаетъ ихъ къ платежу долговъ и налагаетъ штрафы за кражи; изрѣдка распоряжается не тяжкимъ тѣлеснымъ наказаніемъ, переносимымъ не лежа, а стоя, на что нельзя жаловаться. Умурбекъ допускаетъ даже, что въ случаѣ несогласія караванбаша съ совокупнымъ мнѣніемъ возчиковъ, слѣдуетъ повиноваться ему; хотя въ подобныхъ случаяхъ ему трудно поставить на своемъ.

По старому адату, возчики должны платить убытки даже безъ предварительнаго условія, на основаніи правилъ объ аманатѣ; по новому же адату, необязавшіеся подпискою, приложеніемъ печати и тамги, не платятъ. Изнуреніе и падежъ верблю-

довъ отправителевъ клади не принимаются во вниманіе. Убытки несетъ возчикъ: онъ промѣниваетъ усталыхъ верблюдовъ на свѣжихъ или покупаетъ другихъ; раскладываетъ тяжесть павшихъ на другихъ верблюдовъ и проч.

За верблюда, нанятаго возчикомъ за деньги (коре) у постороннаго лица и павшаго не по причинѣ наложенія чрезмѣрной тяжести, возчикъ, по Торгаю и Уиурбеку, не отвѣчаетъ предъ хозяиномъ верблюда; за верблюда же, взятаго въ пользованіе безъ платы, отвѣчаетъ. Впрочемъ, рѣдко платятъ сполна (тутас), ибо біи принимаютъ во вниманіе, что верблюдъ былъ данъ по знакомству и устраиваютъ сдѣлку на $^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, $^1/_5$ стоимости животнаго. Требованіе по суду полной стоимости верблюда означало бы явный разрывъ упомянутыхъ отношеній.

Если вмѣсто размѣра тяжести, дозволеннаго хозяиномъ павшаго верблюда, напр. 16 пуд. (*), возчики накладывали большую, напр., 18 пуд., то стоимость павшаго верблюда раздѣляется на столько частей, сколько было наложено пудовъ и присуждаютъ возчика къ уплатѣ стольких изъ нихъ, сколько было наложено лишнихъ пудовъ; въ данномъ примѣрѣ двухъ частей.

Хозяинъ родника и колодца можетъ отказать каравану въ мѣстѣ для привала и въ водѣ, по недостатку ея для собственныхъ нуждъ и по другимъ причинамъ. За это нельзя жаловаться въ судъ. Но если зимою, въ сильный холодъ, хозяинъ дома, располагающій лишнимъ мѣстомъ, не пустилъ къ себѣ караванъ, чрезъ что люди или скотъ замерзли, то адатъ полагаетъ за первыхъ хунъ, а за вторыхъ уплату стоимости.

Нынѣ неохотно дозволяютъ возчикамъ останавливаться около аула, ибо въ караванѣ можетъ случиться пропажа, въ которой возчики будутъ винить ближайшій аулъ.

Въ случаѣ жалобы на судѣ о пропажѣ, случившейся между двумя аулами, біи производитъ осмотръ мѣста и посредствомъ

(*) Каждый верблюдъ имѣетъ свою извѣстную подъемную силу: нѣкоторые поднимаютъ только до 12 пуд., другіе до 16 и даже до 20 пуд. Средняя тяжесть безъ натуги 14 пудовъ.

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веревки измѣряютъ разстояніе каждаго сосѣдняго аула отъ мѣста продажи. Потомъ обязываютъ въ краже тотъ аулъ, который оказался ближе (Торгай). По другимъ источникамъ, біи не измѣряютъ разстоянія, а обвиняютъ тотъ аулъ, который считается менѣе благонадежнымъ. (Сообщенія начальника Чиликтскаго уѣзда, біевъ Сагындыкова и Султана Канаева и другихъ лицъ Чиликт. и Кураминск. уѣздовъ).

Между каракиргизами нѣтъ возчиковъ, такъ какъ аулеатинскіе каракиргизы имѣютъ мало верблюдовъ.

ГЛАВА IX.

Преступленія:—Воровство.—Барымта.—Сальмакъ и давность.—Сонгчи.

Слова „преступленіе“ нѣтъ въ киргизскомъ языкѣ. Джаман не значитъ дурной поступокъ. Всѣ преступленія суть не болѣе какъ дурные поступки, конечно, только въ глазахъ обиженныхъ. Когда послѣдніе говорятъ про насиліе (зорлык) и мученіе (джабр), то нарушители ихъ интересовъ похваляются своимъ геройствомъ (батырлык).

Слово гуна (грѣхъ, вина) не подходитъ къ нашему понятію о преступленіи. Въ любимомъ киргизами эпосѣ Гурулы, между прочимъ, Аваз-ханъ называется гунакар, потому что уронилъ чашу. Онъ долженъ за это настрѣлять извѣстное число утокъ.

Народъ отличаетъ дурной поступокъ отъ грѣха. Зло, учиненное во вредъ ближнему, есть дурной поступокъ, преступленіе; неисполненіе религіозныхъ обрядовъ и нѣкоторые виды кровосмѣшенія есть грѣхъ. Грѣхъ считается важнѣе преступленія; но, по понятіямъ большинства, убійство считается преступнѣе маловажнаго грѣха.

Преступникъ, подвергаемый взысканію, называется айбди, айбдар. Слово „преступникъ“ ближе всего перевести по киргизски словомъ уры, воръ.

Взглядъ занга на преступленіе чрезвычайно простъ: нѣтъ уголовныхъ дѣлъ, разбирательство которыхъ возбуждалось бы или продолжалось, когда нѣтъ истца, или когда истецъ взялъ назадъ свой искъ. Поэтому, по всѣмъ безъ исключенія искамъ, возможно примиреніе и прекращеніе дѣла истцемъ. Преступленія, о которыхъ знаютъ аксакалы, біи и весь народъ, но о кото-

рыхъ не предъявлено никакого иска (*), не наказываются. Очевидно, что судьями руководитъ не чувство справедливости, не религіозное чувство, а желаніе привести стороны къ соглашенію по избѣжаніе междуусобицы, отчасти опасеніе обидѣть слабые роды, которые могутъ сплотиться противъ сильныхъ; наконецъ нежеланіе разрушить основы семейной жизни, родовое начало и тѣ выработанные временемъ немногіе обычаи и правила кочеваго быта (занг, адат, раси), при которыхъ народу жилось хорошо.

Народный обычай не только допускаетъ, но и обязываетъ потерпѣвшихъ мстить за совершенныя противъ нихъ преступленія. Мстителемъ является обыкновенно потерпѣвшій, при чемъ отдѣленіе или даже цѣлый родъ въ правѣ принимать участіе въ мщеніи. Весь родъ считаетъ себя обязаннымъ мстить, въ случаѣ тайнаго увоза дѣвицы киргизомъ другого рода или при угонѣ значительнаго количества скота, хотя бы принадлежащаго одному только лицу, но пользующемуся почетомъ между сородичами. Также точно оскорбленія не только почетнаго члена, но всякаго киргиза, учиненныя толпою, вызываютъ вооруженную защиту и месть всего народа.

Предѣломъ мщенія считается причиненное противнику зло на равную степень понесеннаго вреда; тогда уже враждующія отдѣленія или роды принимаютъ участіе въ примиреніи своихъ членовъ. Если же мститель не перестанетъ наносить вредъ противнику, то подвергается штрафамъ отъ аттона и болѣе, въ крайнемъ случаѣ тѣлесному наказанію со стороны своихъ сородичей. Штрафы идутъ въ пользу потерпѣвшаго отъ излишней мести.

Въ каждомъ проступкѣ и преступленіи допускаются миролюбивыя сдѣлки. Штрафы въ такихъ случаяхъ (безъ суда) идутъ въ пользу потерпѣвшаго, или же, когда они значительны, то дѣлятся между ближайшими родственниками получателя.

Обычай хотя и имѣетъ понятіе о преступленіяхъ болѣе

(*) Иначе сказать, обида безродныхъ или обида лицъ изъ малочисленнаго рода.

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важныхъ и менѣе важныхъ, но не раздѣляютъ ихъ на уголовныя и гражданскія.

Преступленіе, совершенное съ заранѣе обдуманнымъ намѣреніемъ, увеличиваетъ вину. Совершеніе преступленія въ раздраженіи, въ особенности если оно вызвано пострадавшимъ, смягчаетъ вину. Облегчающими вину обстоятельствами служатъ: легкомысліе преступника или заслуги и почетъ, которымъ онъ пользовался до времени совершенія преступленія. Совершеніе преступленія въ степи, въ открытой мѣстности, днемъ, уменьшаетъ вину. Совершеніе преступленія въ юртѣ, ночью, увеличиваетъ вину. Бѣдность не облегчаетъ вину; она не извиняетъ, напримѣръ, воровства, ибо отвѣчаетъ родъ. Родъ, который не помогъ бѣдному, платитъ всѣ взысканія за него до трехъ разъ, заставляя его всячески исправляться и вынуждая у него клятвенныя обѣщанія (*). Совершеніе преступленія въ пьяномъ видѣ облегчаетъ вину, а по мнѣнію нѣкоторыхъ, даже освобождаетъ отъ штрафа и только обязываетъ къ платежу убытковъ.

Должностныхъ лицъ за преступленія не наказываютъ строже чѣмъ частныхъ лицъ.

Преступленія, совершенныя по причинамъ, не зависящимъ отъ воли человѣка (болѣзнь, временное помѣшательство и т. п.), не влекутъ за собою наказанія лицъ, совершившихъ ихъ. Въ такихъ случаяхъ отвѣтственны родственники, какъ не наблюдавшіе за дѣйствіями своихъ больныхъ сочленовъ и не охранявшіе потерпѣвшихъ отъ опасности. Безумные отъ рожденія и глухонѣмые за совершенныя преступленія не наказываются и родственники за нихъ не отвѣтственны. Малолѣтніе преступники не наказываются. За нихъ отвѣтственны родители и ближайшіе родственники. Мужья отвѣтственны за преступленія своихъ женъ; жены же за мужей не отвѣчаютъ. Наслѣдники умершихъ преступниковъ имущественно отвѣтственны за ихъ преступленія.

(*) Послѣ третьяго раза прогоняютъ. Бѣдный и безродный отдаетъ дочь вмѣсто денегъ и изъ слѣдуемаго за нее калыма выплачиваетъ сумму взысканія. Если же и дочери нѣтъ, то онъ поступаетъ въ услуженіе истцу.

Вообще имущественная отвѣтственность за преступленія простирается до седьмаго колѣна родства включительно.

У Маковецкаго (вып. I, стр. 81) находимъ, что наказаніе уменьшается въ томъ случаѣ, если кража совершена въ чужой волости. Съ этимъ несогласны нѣкоторые біи Сыръ-Дарьинской области. Они утверждаютъ, что иски о кражѣ одинаково строго должны разбираться, совершена ли она въ чужой волости, или въ своей, у беззащитныхъ (напр. у дѣтей), или у сильныхъ (*).

Неосторожныя дѣйствія, послѣдствіями которыхъ причиненъ вредъ, судятся какъ преступленія: имущественный вредъ возмѣщается имуществомъ, а вредъ, причиненный здоровью—хуномъ въ размѣрѣ, установленномъ обычаемъ. Такіе случаи называются ангсызлан и къ нимъ народъ относится снисходительнѣе, нежели къ совершеннымъ изъ мести или съ другою цѣлью.

Участники (сирик) преступленія подвергаются наказанію обыкновенно въ равной мѣрѣ, хотя допускается различіе по мѣрѣ вины (Кунакбай). Истецъ можетъ, впрочемъ, получить, за отсутствіемъ участниковъ преступленія, взысканіе съ того, который на лицо, обязываясь не возбуждать больше иска (бійскія книги Перовскаго уѣзда) (**).

Зачинщикамъ (басши или урыбасы (***)) т. е. тѣмъ, которые первые приступили къ исполненію замысла, наказаніе не увеличивается (****).

По другому мнѣнію, обыкновенно въ судъ вызывается зачинщикъ. Онъ платитъ все взысканіе, а затѣмъ можетъ разло-

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(*) Александровъ сообщаетъ, что киргизы Казалинскаго уѣзда крадутъ скотъ преимущественно у другихъ родовъ и уѣздовъ. Къ этому дѣйствію народъ относится снисходительно, считая его особымъ молодечествомъ, хотя на словахъ иногда и порицаетъ его.

(**) Нынѣ въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ вошло въ обычай мстить личнымъ врагамъ слѣдующимъ образомъ: если противъ отвѣтчика существуютъ сильныя улики, то истецъ наживаетъ какого-нибудь личнаго своего врага участникомъ отвѣтчика, причиняя ему непріятность и хлопоты по присягѣ.

(***) По біи Султану, слово джортуулбаги, глава шайки, не употребляется съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ нѣтъ войны (аутеренлиа).

(****) Говорятъ, что тотъ, кто первый совершилъ грабежъ, подавшій поводъ къ долгой барантѣ, платитъ тогуш; между тѣмъ какъ остальные, виновные въ отнятіи чужаго имущества, присуждаются къ уплатѣ косая бутиа тереку (см. главу XII).

жить его на своихъ участниковъ. Нынѣ вызываннаго въ судъ спрашиваютъ о его участникахъ и зачинщикѣ, чтобы вызвать всѣхъ. Если не найдутъ всѣхъ, то изыскиваютъ съ тѣхъ, кто найденъ, предоставляя имъ раздѣляться съ остальными и записывая это обстоятельство въ протоколѣ рѣшенія. Распредѣленіе штрафа между обвиненными принадлежитъ имъ самимъ. Если они не придутъ къ соглашенію, то бій раскладываетъ уплату стоимости украденнаго, сообразно тому, кто сколько изъ него себѣ присвоилъ и штрафа—поровну.

Тотъ, по подстрекательству и совѣту котораго совершена кража, платитъ штрафъ, послѣ чего воръ возвращаетъ украденное безъ штрафа (Перов. у.). Подстрекательство и наушничанье, по бію Султану, есть тотъ грѣхъ, который Богъ никогда не проститъ (куданыиг кечпес гунасы). Подстрекателей (азгуши) и наушниковъ (сузтасуши) теперь много. Бій не вѣритъ имъ. Подтверждая приведенную у Маковецкаго пословицу: „кто велѣлъ бить, не наказывается; кто билъ, наказывается" (ур дегенге зор кельмес, урганга зор келер), бій Султанъ Кипчакъ говоритъ, что подстрекатель потому избѣгаетъ наказанія, что онъ не сознается въ подстрекательствѣ, и что хотя можно доказать подстрекательство, но вообще лучше налагать наказаніе на самого преступника. Е. А. Александровъ тоже сообщаетъ, что подговорщиковъ и помогавшихъ преступленію обычай не признаетъ виновными.

Укрыватели преступленій и преступниковъ или вещей, добытыхъ преступленіемъ, привлекаются къ отвѣтственности наравнѣ съ самими преступниками. Пристанодержатели привлекаются къ отвѣтственности, какъ воры. Безсознательное укрывательство не преслѣдуется. Не выдавшій вора, хотя бы это былъ родной сынъ или отецъ, считается сообщникомъ его. Сообщникомъ считается и тотъ, кто видѣлъ совершеніе преступленія, но на допросѣ не говоритъ объ этомъ (Перовскій уѣз.). По Кунакбаю, Ауліеатинскаго уѣзда, укрыватель имущества не платитъ ничего, а если онъ былъ присужденъ къ уплатѣ аттоиа, напр., то можетъ требовать возврата его отъ воровъ. Укрыватель само-

го вора не платитъ; „выговоръ по ему былъ бы безполезенъ", прибавляетъ бій.

Попустителямъ и остальнымъ прикосновеннымъ лицамъ не полагается никакого взысканія. Но они не избѣгаютъ допроса и выговора (Перов. у.). Они называются кунекши. Кунекши не воръ, но и не чистъ отъ воровства (кунекши уры имес урыдан куру имес), какъ выразился бій Султанъ Канаевъ.

Число поступковъ, не считаемыхъ предосудительными, или хотя предосудительныхъ, но не преслѣдуемыхъ закономъ, весьма значительно у киргизовъ (*).

Къ первымъ относятся: 1) ругань и всякаго рода оскорбленія словами; 2) легкіе побои (**); 3) воровство у родственниковъ; 4) проступки противъ нравственности, совершенные съ обоюднаго согласія; 5) самоуправство; 6) злоупотребленіе властью; 7) всѣ преступленія, совершенныя противъ беззащитныхъ; 8) всѣ преступленія, совершенныя противъ иноплеменныхъ (***).

Перейдемъ теперь къ перечисленію нѣкоторыхъ проступковъ, которые въ нынѣшнее время признаются заслуживающими порицанія, выговора или даже штрафа, но по которымъ иски рѣдко предъявляются въ судъ, такъ какъ истцу весьма трудно бываетъ добиться присужденія штрафа.

(*) У Маковецкаго, вып. 1, стр. 60: Низкая сравнительно степень культуры, на которой находятся киргизы, объясняетъ не только общій ихъ взглядъ на дѣяніе преступное, но и отношеніе по многимъ дѣяніямъ, преслѣдуемымъ цивилизованными обществами, у киргизовъ же являющимся вполнѣ законнѣрными. Не говоря уже о множествѣ полицейскихъ правонарушеній, о которыхъ киргизы понятія не имѣютъ, здѣсь нельзя не отмѣтить ихъ отношенія къ такимъ дѣяніямъ, какъ изгнаніе плода, умерщвленіе новорожденнаго ребенка, оставленіе человѣка въ опасности, мошенничество и самоуправство, которыя признаются за дѣянія или вовсе непредосудительныя или же, какъ мошенничество, за дѣянія, служащія основаніемъ гражданскихъ исковъ. Самоуправство въ видѣ барыша даже составляетъ родъ подвига.

(**) За побои потерпѣвшій считаетъ себя удовлетвореннымъ, если можетъ возвеличиться, что и онъ, хотя разъ, ударялъ противника.

(***) Сохранилась о послѣднихъ: „имущество невѣрныхъ дозволено (брать), дочерей ихъ дозволено (дѣлать наложницами) и кровь ихъ дозволено (проливать)" (дин сиздинг малы алы, ханы алы, ханы алы). Бій Султанъ Канаевъ началъ объяснять слово невѣрный—кто не молится, не постится и т. д., но затѣмъ прибавилъ: „если надимахъ приказываетъ воевать (надма бунрса чаубал диб), то не дозволено воровскимъ путемъ (урлык иси алы имес)".

Названіе проступковъ.	Мнѣнія о наказаніяхъ, налагаемыхъ за эти проступки.			
	Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ, Перовскаго уѣзда.	Бій Кунанбай, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда.	Каракиргизскій бій Курпетай Даулеткуловъ.	Бій Сазабай, Курениевскаго уѣзда.
Возбужденіе къ дракамъ и убійствамъ (сукапчилик).	Выговоръ (*) аксакала и принужденіе къ раскаянію.		Не наказывается.	Прежде плеть (дурра). Теперь штрафъ 3 руб.
Повтореніе того же проступка.	Тѣлесное наказаніе и посрамленіе.		Внушеніе бія.	Лишеніе довѣрія, объявленіе жутаханомъ (безстыдникомъ) и изгнаніе.
Шумъ и нарушеніе ночнаго спокойствія.	Выговоръ или тѣлесное наказаніе.		Не наказываютъ.	Называютъ тентек, джинды; не наказываютъ.
Напрасная тревога съ крикомъ: аттан (садитесь на коней!).	Возмѣщеніе нанесеннаго вреда.		Возмѣщеніе нанесеннаго вреда.	Назыв. масхарабазомъ; ругаютъ; не наказываютъ
Тоже, если какая нибудь женщина съ испуга выкинула ребенка.	Отъ 3—4 верблюдовъ, до $^1/_2$ хуна.		Не наказыв.; но если женщина вліятельна—100 р. штрафу.	Платитъ подлежащ. хунъ.

(*) Причина, почему тамъ, гдѣ Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ полагаетъ выговоръ и т. п., бій Аулієатин. уѣз. не полагаютъ таковаго, заключается въ томъ, что первый представляетъ патріархальную точку зрѣнія, а послѣдній имѣющую практику. Выговоръ и т. п., по словамъ Кунанбая, не ведетъ имъ ни къ чему.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

Быстрая ѣзда по аулу, вокругъ аула или приближеніе вскачь къ кибиткѣ.	Выговоръ.		Ругаютъ и предостерегаютъ виновнаго.	Ругаютъ, называя ахмак.
Копаніе ямъ безъ предостерегательныхъ знаковъ или истребленіе послѣднихъ.	Выговоръ и леченіе поврежденныхъ.		Не наказывается.	Предостереженіе о томъ, что если кто повредится, то попавшій заплатитъ.
Клевета, ложный доносъ (суханчилик).	Лишеніе довѣрія (женинсиздик).	Не наказывается.	Не наказывается.	Прежде плеть (дурра); теперь штрафъ 3 руб.
Неподача помощи при видѣ воровства или разбоя.	Внушеніе.		Не наказыв.	Не наказыв.
Недонесеніе о совершеніи преступленія.		Не наказывается.		
Неподача помощи въ опасности, вслѣд. чего погибъ человѣкъ.		Не наказыв.	Не наказыв.	Подозрѣваютъ въ убійствѣ и налагаютъ присягу.
Неподача помощи своимъ во время общей суматохи или на-	2—3 тогуза.			Считается измѣнникомъ (ала): его во время суматохи убиваютъ (чауб.

несеніе своимъ вреда.				нитоди).
Злостное замалчиваніе въ опасность, повлекшее за собою смерть, напрам., отъ звѣрей.		Можно требовать полнаго хуна.		Полный хунъ.
Неподача хунакасы.		Не наказыв.	Не наказыв.	Въ случаѣ смерти, платятъ хунъ за человѣка и стоимость лошади.
Обида и оскорбленіе родственниковъ.	Тѣлесное наказаніе или штрафъ, смотря по желанію родственника.	Обиды и легкіе побои, нанесенные родственникамъ и чужимъ, даже тюрямъ, не наказываются.		Мирятъ и внушаютъ остерегаться повторенія.
Ложное свидѣтельство.	Лишеніе довѣрія и вознагражденіе убытковъ.	Не наказывается.	Не наказывается.	Штрафъ 3 руб.
Ложная присяга.	Наказаніе въ будущей жизни и вознагражденіе убытковъ.	Не наказывается.	Не наказывается.	Наказаніе въ будущей жизни. Изъ Казалин. у. сообщаютъ то же. По біи Султану, Чимкент. у., виновный отвѣчаетъ въ

				будущей жизни; его называютъ муттехомъ; оплевываютъ по окончаніи обряда присяги; не вѣрятъ больше его словамъ (сузи би ягтабар) и не выбираютъ въ присяжные.
Обманъ и подлогъ всякаго рода.		По мнѣнію Кунакбая и многихъ другихъ, не наказывается. Вознаграждаютъ только за убытки.		
Несправедливое рѣшеніе дѣла біемъ.	Не наказывается.		Не наказывается.	
Принятіе подарковъ біемъ, который справедливо (тоне) рѣшилъ тяжбу.	Не	наказывается.		
Вымогательство біемъ подарковъ.		Лишается уваженія (бетти кара).		

Драка, въ которой ранена лошадь.	Атбастаги тогуз, или, по Никебаю Перов. уѣз., аттонъ, а въ случаѣ, если она околѣетъ, уплатить ея стоимость.			Если лошадь отъ ранъ околѣетъ, то за нее платить, въ противномъ случаѣ нѣтъ.
Напрасные побои (*)	Аттонъ.	Не наказывается.		3 р. штрафа.
Побои, слѣдствіемъ которыхъ была смерть.	Полный хунъ.	По мнѣнію многихъ другихъ хунъ. (На практикѣ не соблюдается, сообщ. въ Перовск. и Аулиеатин. у.).		
Побои, нанесенные чужой женѣ, отъ которыхъ она выкинула ребенка.				По Торгаю, немедленно (тохтаусиз) присуждается хунъ за выкидышъ безъ присяги о томъ, что послѣдній былъ или не былъ послѣдствіемъ побоевъ.
Побои, нанесенные му-				По Торгаю, если винов-

(*) У каракиргизовъ за брань и побои разныхъ не взыскивается. За брань противъ должностнаго лица бій дѣлаетъ выговоръ и бьетъ, а за побои, нанесенные высшему, заставляетъ рѣзать барана, поднести халатъ и мириться (за кидирали). За рану, нанесенную равному, бій заставляетъ рѣзать барана, поднести халатъ и мириться. За рану, нанесенную равному, бій заставляетъ рѣзать барана, поднести халатъ и мириться. За рану, нанесенную вору (урунъ башинъ ярса), не взыскивается (сообщено біемъ Даніяровъ).

му или другому, при чемъ отъ испуга жена выкинула ребенка.				ный не представитъ присягу двухъ человѣкъ о томъ, что выкидышъ былъ слѣдствіемъ не испуга, а чего то иного, то платитъ хунъ, смотря по выкидышу. Выборъ стороны, съ которой присягать, можетъ быть данъ и истцу.
Угрозы убить.		Не наказывается, по мнѣнію многихъ. По біи Султану, дѣлаютъ увѣщаніе: перестань, оставь эту замашку (тиста, бу эллягнан ваит)!		25 рублей.
Покушеніе на убійство.	3 тогуза (тюя-ат-сіпр-бестагаи тогуз).	По біи Султану, „айб за ножъ", т. е. за покушеніе на убійство (пшак айбы) состоитъ изъ 1—2 тогузовъ.		

Покушеніе на кражу или грабежъ.	Аттонъ.	По мнѣнію Уймута и Чимкентскаго уѣзда, не ся. По Сеза бію тоже. По др., взаимо ніе или штр выше аттона.		другихъ, наказывает - Умурбеку и аеъ не вы-
Пожаръ, произведенный по неосторожности	Уплата убытковъ.			Уплата убытковъ (тулеуин бороде).
Поджогъ злонамѣренный.	Уплата убытковъ, съ прибавкою штрафа или тюрьмы.			Уплата убытковъ, съ штрафомъ въ 50 руб.
Способствованіе самоубійству.		Не наказывается. Но можно требовать неполнаго хуна.	Не наказывается.	Полный хунъ.

Нарушеніе правилъ нравственности если наказывается, то наказывается преимущественно домашними мѣрами, какъ это видно изъ нижеслѣдующаго списка.

Названія проступковъ.	Наказанія и штрафы, налагаемые за нихъ.			
	По Султану Даулету Бушаеву, Перовскаго у.	По бію Куникбаю и Умурбеку, Аулієат. у.	По каракиргизскому бію Курпетаю Даулеткулову.	По Торгаю.
Непотребное поведеніе.	Выговоръ аксакала, увѣщаніе (тауфик) и вынужденіе раскаяніе (тауба).			

Обращеніе этого поведенія въ ремесло.	Порученіе мужу или родным для тѣлесного наказанія и для надзора.			
Прелюбодѣяніе съ замужнею женою, доказываемое однимъ только присутствіемъ любовника.	Аттонъ.	Не наказывается.		Прежде 1 тогузъ (*).
Прелюбодѣяніе, замѣченное во время совершенія.	1 тогузъ.	До 1 тогуза.	20—30 р.	
Тоже съ дракою, отъ которой случался выкидышъ	Тюя бастагаи тогуз.		50—100 руб. за выкидышъ.	
Тоже съ дѣвицею. *Примѣчаніе.* Если дѣвица была просватана, то штрафъ идетъ въ пользу жениха; если женихъ	3 тогуза.	Кунакбай: растлѣніе дѣвицы съ согласія ея, хотя бы она была сосватана и какого бы ни была возраста, не наказывается.	Связываютъ, бьютъ и взыскиваютъ 20—30 руб.	Отъ 1 до 3 тогузовъ; прежде 3 тогуза.

(*) Торгай говоритъ, что онъ предложилъ біямъ (Ужурбеку и др.) Аулісатинскаго уѣзда вопросъ: „ви больше меня знаете, скажите: хатинъмъ аманнъ аёбы бар ма?" Они отвѣчали, что за прелюбодѣяніе не полагается штрафа. Онъ въ отвѣтъ сказалъ: „ви каѣлись грѣхи! въ прежнее время полагался одинъ тогузъ".

откажется отъ невѣсты, то штрафъ идетъ отцу ея, который даетъ жениху другую невѣсту. Если дѣвица не была просватана, то сватовство виновнаго за нее избавляетъ его отъ штрафа.				
Изнасилованіе вообще женщины, смотря по сопровождающимъ это обстоятельствамъ.	Отъ 2 аттоновъ до аттбастаган тогуз.	Отъ одного аттона до 1 тогуза.	5—30 руб.	Если она дѣвица, то нужно жениться на ней.
Кровосмѣшеніе.	Тѣлесное наказаніе и высылка изъ аула по общественному приговору.		Смерть отъ руки всего народа. Примѣра не было.	
Тоже, съ насиліемъ.	Тоже съ посрамленіемъ.			
Содомскій грѣхъ.	3—5 верблюд.		Не наказывается. Не было примѣра.	Халатъ и испрошеніе прощенія, съ закланіемъ животнаго.

Скотоложество.	Тѣлесное наказаніе и посрамленіе.	Не наказывается.	У каракиргизовъ ишакомъ не водится.	Не наказывается. Не было примѣра.
Сводничество.	Аттовъ.		Не наказывается.	
Сводничество муллы.	Лишеніе платья, всего имущества и высылка изъ аула.		Виновный убѣгаетъ, бросая все.	

За всякаго рода нанесеніе ущерба, порчу вещей и т. п., если это произошло по неосторожности, полагается вознагражденіе убытковъ; за раны и тому подобныя тѣлесныя поврежденія — леченіе и прокормленіе больнаго на счетъ виновнаго. Если будетъ усмотрѣнъ въ этомъ злой умыселъ, то полагается, кромѣ убытковъ, штрафъ, равный стоимости убытковъ.

Приведемъ примѣры:

1) Неумѣлое леченіе. На неумѣло лечившаго лекаря (тауб) падаетъ подозрѣніе въ злонамѣренности, но его не привлекаютъ къ отвѣтственности. На его счетъ могутъ быть отнесены только расходы на похороны (ас су) умершаго паціента. Онъ отвѣчаетъ въ будущей жизни (ахиратда замин).

2) Укушеніе злыхъ животныхъ. Если хозяинъ животнаго не зналъ его свойствъ, то онъ не платитъ расходовъ по леченію больнаго и за нанесенный вредъ (укушеніе, тистеб алган, выяхъ, миртилды, смерть), ибо „животное не знаетъ, что оно творитъ". Однако сама скотина можетъ быть присуждена потерпѣвшему. Если же хозяинъ зналъ, что его скотина опасна людямъ (адам хур), то онъ долженъ былъ или держать ее на привязи, или заколоть, или сбыть на дальній базаръ. Не принявшій этихъ мѣръ предосторожности и не присмотрѣвшій за завѣдомо злымъ животнымъ, платитъ нанесенный имъ ущербъ

(Торгай и др.), а по сообщенію Баймета Сагынадыкова, полный хунъ.

Если случный верблюдъ или жеребецъ загрызетъ или убьетъ кого-либо, то потерпѣвшему отдается сама скотина. Хуна не полагается.

Если вольно ходящій верблюдъ загрызетъ кого-либо, то онъ отдается взамѣнъ хуна. Если же человѣкъ пріѣхалъ въ аулъ на верблюдѣ, который загрызъ кого-либо, то пріѣхавшій платитъ полный хунъ (*).

3) Поврежденіе чужихъ животныхъ, отрѣзаніе языка, уродованіе внѣшняго вида ихъ, наказывается штрафомъ, а, при согласіи хозяина скотины, покупкою ея у него по первоначальной цѣнѣ. Если слѣдствіемъ была смерть животнаго, то платится его стоимость (Перовск. уѣздъ).

Животныя за потраву чужихъ полей подвергаются обрѣзанію хвоста; но владѣлецъ такого животнаго въ правѣ возбудить искъ за обезображеніе, при чемъ самъ платитъ за потраву (Казалин. уѣздъ).

Бывали случаи, что хозяинъ лошади съ обрѣзаннымъ хвостомъ умиралъ естественною смертью въ теченіи времени пока хвостъ не отросталъ. Наслѣдники въ правѣ были требовать отъ виновнаго хунъ, какъ за убійство (Казалин. уѣздъ).

4) Поджигательство. Весь убытокъ, напримѣръ, стоимость дома или матеріала съ платою работникамъ, взыскивается съ поджигателя, если онъ не можетъ очиститься присягою; его же присуждаютъ къ штрафу въ $^1/_{10}$ часть стоимости имущества (**). Иски о поджогахъ разбираются строго (катта сурайды) и не разрѣшаются безъ присяги, одними свидѣтельскими показаніями. За неумышленный поджогъ штрафа не полагается, какъ и за всѣ

(*) Хозяева не отвѣчаютъ, если животныя между собою погрызутся. Бой животныхъ (таластеру) устраивается только дѣтьми. За ущербъ не отвѣчаютъ (Перов. уѣздъ).

(**) Въ Чиликтскомъ уѣздѣ штрафъ за поджогъ зимовки, за грабежъ и баранту равняется хуну за мужчину.

неумышленные проступки (язык), происходящіе, какъ говорятъ, отъ Бога (кудай кылдырган).

Для очищенія степи отъ жесткой прошлогодней травы, которую скотъ не хочетъ ѣсть, а также для удобренія почвы подъ запашки, пускаются палы. Палы запрещаются на пашняхъ, сѣнокосахъ и около строеній. Въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ достаточно показанія четырехъ благонадежныхъ человѣкъ, чтобы присудить, за умышленный поджогъ, къ убыткамъ и къ штрафу, равному имъ (тенгуртая). Наприм., за убытокъ въ 400 руб. штрафъ тоже 400 руб. За погибшихъ при этомъ пожарѣ платится хунъ.

5) За обманъ не полагается наказанія. Возвращается только имущество, присвоенное обманомъ.

Приведемъ примѣры:

а. Полученный сообщеніемъ ложнаго извѣстія подарокъ (сююнчи) возвращается. Бранитъ словомъ муттахам (безчестный) и т. п.

б. Вытребованные подъ видомъ порученія довѣренности и т. д. деньги возвращаются. Лишаютъ довѣрія.

в. За отреченіе отъ собственной тамги нѣтъ взысканія (Абдрахманъ).

г. За приложеніе чужой печати и всякаго рода подлогъ можно присудить къ уплатѣ убытковъ; за оказаніе помощи по подмѣнѣ росписки—къ уплатѣ по новой роспискѣ и къ судебнымъ расходамъ, послѣ чего должникъ освобождается отъ обязательства, заключавшагося въ первоначальной роспискѣ (книги біевъ Перовскаго уѣзда). Каракиргизскій бій Даніяръ находитъ, что за составленіе подложной росписки и приложеніе къ ней чужой печати не взыскивается.

д. За подмѣну аманата не взыскивается. Біи придерживаются, впрочемъ, пословицы: кто поступилъ вѣроломно съ даннымъ на сохраненіе, тотъ потерпитъ наказаніе въ будущемъ (аманатка хыанат кылган ахырет джаз тартады).

е. Продажа низкаго качества товара подъ видомъ лучшаго сорта, составляетъ обманъ и сдѣлка расторгается.

и. Если одна и та же вещь запродана двумъ разнымъ лицамъ, то она присуждается тому изъ нихъ, кто раньше заплатилъ деньги и совершилъ обрядъ подачи руки со словами: бере-ке тап, „на счастье". Другому возвращаются деньги безъ штрафа.

з. За устройство продажи завѣдомо краденаго маклеръ не отвѣчаетъ, если онъ можетъ представить на лицо продавца; если же не найдетъ продавца, то отвѣчаетъ предъ тѣмъ, кто потерпѣлъ убытки, и платитъ штрафъ, ибо маклеръ считается поручителемъ, кефиль (бій Абдрахманъ, Аулієатин. у. и Торгай).

и. Покупатель завѣдомо краденаго также долженъ представить продавца, какъ выше изложено.

„Мелкій обманъ въ торговлѣ преслѣдуется, сообщаетъ Е. А. Александровъ изъ Казалинскаго уѣзда. Въ случаѣ открытія обмана торговецъ обязанъ возвратить полученную за товаръ плату. Если же онъ не желаетъ добровольно учинить возвратъ и откажется отъ перенесенія дѣла на судъ, то обиженный въ правѣ взять плату барантою. Жалоба потерпѣвшаго отъ баранты не принимается, или, разобранная, ведетъ ко взысканію штрафа съ вызвавшаго баранту".

Бій Султанъ Канаевъ не помнитъ за свою практику исковъ объ аманатѣ. По его словамъ, слѣдуетъ взыскать только убытки, причиненные обманомъ.

У киргизовъ нѣтъ особыхъ словъ для выраженія понятій воровства и грабежа. Урлык—воровство или грабежъ, уры—воръ, разбойникъ и вообще преступникъ, урламак—красть, тартыб, алмак—отнимать, грабить. Грабежъ судится не строже простой кражи.

У каракиргизовъ строже взыскивается за кражу значительнаго количества предметовъ, за явное воровство и за отнятіе силою (бій Даніяръ).

Грабежъ у киргизовъ выражается въ слѣдующихъ формахъ:

1) Ограбленіе всякаго рода путниковъ, какъ то: купцовъ и путниковъ изъ сартовъ. Вступленіемъ служитъ обыкновенно

просьба о насвай, табакѣ, или двусмысленно о томъ, „что находится въ поясѣ".

2) Отгонъ лошадей ночью изъ табуна.

3) Новѣйшій видъ воровства есть спрашиваніе билета, предъявленіе котораго, впрочемъ, не принимаютъ во вниманіе; объявленіе ограбляемаго воромъ; запугиваніе разными обвиненіями и угрозами, съ просьбой подарить то или другое. Цѣль такихъ околичностей узнать: есть ли у проѣзжающаго шансы защиты или нѣтъ. Впрочемъ, грабежъ рѣдко сопровождается убійствомъ.

По сообщеніямъ біевъ Султана и Халмахаммеда, похищать и не отдавать дозволяется:

1) Отцу и дѣду у сына и внука сколько угодно разъ и сколько угодно имущества; даже можно продать все, что есть у сына; да и самаго сына позволительно продать въ службу т. е. отдать на годъ въ службу и истратить полученныя деньги (балаыыг узин ызметке сатыб жесе хам халлаль).

2) Сыну у дѣда и отца—до трехъ разъ. Въ четвертый разъ полагается штрафъ.

3) Родственнику у родственника до третьяго колѣна (двоюродные)

4) Джіен проситъ подарка у дядей (старшихъ и младшихъ братьевъ своего отца) и если не получитъ таковаго, то можетъ красть до трехъ разъ. Если украдетъ слишкомъ много, то у него отнимаютъ лишнее, оставляя ему 1—2 скотины. Если онъ укралъ скакуна (байге ат), то дядя можетъ потребовать его выдачи въ обмѣнъ на что-нибудь другое. При кражѣ въ четвертый разъ ему говорятъ: „ты лишаешься правъ племянника" (джіен диктеи кеттиг).

Жена, которая, поссорившись, уходитъ отъ мужа, не должна ничего унести съ собою. Это было бы воровствомъ.

У родни дальше третьяго колѣна дозволяется воровать, съ обязательствомъ отдать по мѣрѣ возможности, въ слѣдующихъ случаяхъ: а) для уплаты калыма, ибо умноженіе потомства есть

дѣло похвальное; б) для уплаты долга; в) во время голода и г) для нужной поѣздки или для преслѣдованія воровъ (*).

Далѣе тѣ же біи допускаютъ отнятіе лошади у завѣденнаго вора, отправляющагося на воровство, если на это есть доказательство. Но, прибавляютъ они, если отнять лошадь безъ доказательствъ, хотя бы и у человѣка, изгнаннаго изъ общества за воровство или лишеннаго добраго имени (муттахам), то платится айбъ. Отнятіе пойманной борцутомъ дичи не есть воровство, а насильственное взятіе подарка, „чиралга"; поэтому присуждаютъ къ возврату безъ айба. Если бы присвоеніе дичи состоялось тайно, то это было бы воровствомъ и платился бы айбъ. Наконецъ, дозволяется похищать въ отвѣтъ на похищеніе, т. е. баранта.

Е. А. Александровъ, со словъ почетныхъ киргизовъ Казалинскаго уѣзда, Умбета Галіева и Нурмана Сарчинова, сообщаетъ, что пража у сына и у отца не дозволена. Такой поступокъ вообще влечетъ за собою для младшихъ наказаніе, а для старшихъ айбъ или осрамленіе передъ ауломъ.

Конокрадство преобладаетъ надъ воровствомъ прочаго скота, потому что лошади легче на подъемъ (чапчан). Оно практикуется особенно часто въ пограничныхъ мѣстностяхъ уѣздовъ, по причинѣ того, что отысканіе скотины и предъявленіе иска въ чужомъ уѣздѣ сопряжено съ неудобствами и при солидарности біевъ, волостныхъ, переводчиковъ и другихъ лицъ съ своими подчиненными, часто кончается неудачею. Вслѣдствіе этого на границахъ уѣздовъ парни и дѣвицы караулятъ (кузетеди) скотъ до самаго утра. У дверей кибитокъ богачей водружаются длинныя копья (найза) съ бунчуками, для устрашенія воровъ.

(*) Иногда, если въ аулѣ случится пропажа, то ставятъ во срединѣ бакан (шестъ, служащій для поднятія чангарака при постановкѣ кибитки) и просятъ вора положить пропавшее подъ баканъ, грозя иначе пригласить муллу для обнаруженія его.—У муллъ есть разные пріемы для обнаруженія вора: пекутъ лепешку, даютъ на нее (дем салады) и даютъ всѣмъ по кусочку: воръ, проглатывая кусокъ, поперхается; даютъ всѣмъ по очереди въ руки пумыръ (пуук): у вора онъ распухаетъ (кебеди); дуютъ на кунганъ, называя по очереди имена всѣхъ: при имени вора, кунганъ начинаетъ кружиться.

Воры по ремеслу имѣютъ сообщниковъ въ сосѣднемъ уѣздѣ для сбыта и взаимнаго обмѣна краденаго. Они воруютъ изъ собственной волости и изъ чужой волости, безъ разбора, слѣпо (кузи сокур ксидей). Но у киргизовъ существуетъ пословица: „воръ подобенъ ложкѣ, народъ подобенъ морю; легче первому погибнуть самому отъ воровства, чѣмъ послѣднему отъ вора“ (уру касык ол тенгиз, ол урлук ылыб узи куруйди оныиг ушун ол куруйайды).

Такъ какъ по адату за повтореніе воровства наказываютъ сильнѣе, то попавшійся въ воровствѣ переѣзжаетъ иногда въ другой уѣздъ, гдѣ его еще не знаютъ, и, въ случаѣ новаго уличенія, наказываютъ, какъ за первый случай воровства.

Воръ часто бываетъ приписанъ къ другой волости, и въ случаѣ жалобъ, волостной управитель отказывается найти украденное на томъ основаніи, что воръ не подчиняется ему. Управитель же той волости, гдѣ воръ приписанъ, по дальности, не въ состояніи знать что нибудь.

Тюри Чимкентскаго уѣзда тоже посылаютъ воровать. Они считаютъ постыднымъ для себя заниматься земледѣліемъ.

Кибитки воровъ стоятъ одиноко, или небольшими группами изъ 3, 4, 5 кибитокъ. Вообще чѣмъ больше народа, тѣмъ въ степи безопаснѣе.

Украденное имущество, по нахожденіи его, отбирается въ пользу владѣльца, хотя бы оно перешло уже въ чужія руки посредствомъ продажи или дара. Тотъ, у кого оно отыскалось, долженъ въ извѣстный срокъ представить лицо, отъ котораго получилъ его. Иногда бій обязываетъ лицо, у котораго оказалось имущество, ѣхать съ истцемъ въ ту мѣстность, гдѣ онъ надѣется найти и указать мѣстнымъ властямъ продавца означеннаго имущества. Если онъ найдетъ тамъ настоящаго вора, то требуетъ съ него вознагражденія своихъ убытковъ. Не выполнивъ требованія о поѣздкѣ туда, гдѣ, по его словамъ, находится воръ, отвѣтчикъ, утверждающій, что купилъ краденое имущество у неизвѣстнаго ему человѣка, самъ считается воромъ.

Если отвѣтчикъ не можетъ указать, откуда получилъ украденное или путается въ показаніяхъ, то онъ считается воромъ.

Если обокраденный, не имѣя ни слѣдовъ, ни доказчика, заявитъ на кого либо подозрѣніе, говоря, что подозрѣваемый въ день кражи былъ около того аула, гдѣ она совершена, или же около украденныхъ предметовъ, то, въ такомъ случаѣ, слѣдуетъ разузнать, у кого ночевалъ, у кого полдничалъ и съ кѣмъ встрѣчался подозрѣваемый въ день кражи. Если спрошенныя лица засвидѣтельствуютъ, что подозрѣваемый дѣйствительно у нихъ ночевалъ и полдничалъ и больше нигдѣ въ тотъ день не былъ, или, что когда они встрѣтились, подозрѣваемый былъ чистъ отъ кражи, то въ такомъ случаѣ онъ избавляется отъ иска безъ присяги.

Если обокраденный заявитъ на кого либо голословное подозрѣніе въ кражѣ, то слѣдуетъ узнать чрезъ опросъ постороннихъ лицъ, находился ли подозрѣваемый въ день кражи у себя дома или въ другомъ аулѣ. Если окажется, что онъ былъ въ тотъ день у себя дома или въ другомъ аулѣ, то онъ избавляется отъ взведенной на него напраслины. Но если онъ не докажетъ этого, или же будетъ не въ состояніи найти людей, у которыхъ имѣлъ стоянки и съ которыми встрѣчался, то въ такомъ случаѣ долженъ считаться за вора и обязанъ уплатить уворованное имущество.

Если изъ неясныхъ и уклончивыхъ отвѣтовъ подозрѣваемаго въ воровствѣ, закрѣпится подозрѣніе, то тогда со стороны подозрѣваемаго, по количеству уворованнаго имущества, слѣдуетъ присяга.

Если у кого нибудь совершится кража и онъ, не найдя нигдѣ уворованнаго имущества, предъявитъ искъ къ извѣстному лицу, говоря, что бывшій у отвѣтчика гость совершилъ оту кражу, то въ такомъ случаѣ слѣдуетъ разузнать: когда гость уѣхалъ, кто его видѣлъ въ дорогѣ и у кого онъ останавливался; въ случаѣ указанія хозяиномъ-отвѣтчикомъ трехъ стоянокъ своего гостя, онъ отъ иска избавляется. Если встрѣчавшіе того гостя или хозяева его стоянокъ засвидѣтельствуютъ, что онъ отъ

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

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кража чистъ, то тогда, какъ гость, такъ равно и хозяинъ его, избавляются отъ иска безъ присяги. Если же хозяинъ не будетъ въ состояніи дать отвѣты на всѣ вышеприведенные вопросы и затѣмъ, обязавшись въ теченіи извѣстнаго срока найти того гостя, не можетъ сдѣлать этого, то тогда онъ долженъ отвѣчать самъ.

Если хозяинъ дома скажетъ, что гость у него останавливался и онъ его накормилъ; но кто онъ такой и откуда ѣдетъ, ему неизвѣстно и гость тотъ уѣхалъ утромъ неизвѣстно въ какую сторону; потерпѣвшій же заявитъ, что онъ этому не вѣритъ, ибо хозяинъ дома совершилъ кражу и отправилъ уворованное съ своимъ гостемъ, а хозяинъ дома заявитъ, что найти того гостя онъ не можетъ, то тогда съ его стороны слѣдуетъ присяга.

Если при розыскахъ вора слѣды ведутъ къ извѣстному аулу или кибиткѣ, то хозяева ихъ должны, по требованію искателя, указать (жзин шыгарыб бер), гдѣ тѣ же слѣды выходятъ опять изъ аула; иначе аксакалы и народъ призываются въ свидѣтели существованія свѣжихъ слѣдовъ, оканчивающихся у этого аула или кибитки, послѣ чего хозяева ихъ отвѣчаютъ предъ судомъ.

Если у кого либо совершена кража и онъ, погнавшись по слѣдамъ уворованнаго, придетъ къ аулу, а жители его заявятъ, что кража совершена не ими и о слѣдахъ они ничего не знаютъ, то, въ случаѣ существованія слѣдовъ на снѣгу, съ потерпѣвшаго полагается присяга; а если снѣгу не будетъ, то присяга полагается со стороны несознавшихся.

Если предметъ иска былъ отнятъ не лично отвѣтчикомъ, а чрезъ посланнаго джигита, то, при запирательствѣ отвѣтчика, отвѣчаетъ джигитъ.

Когда украденный скотъ является самъ, въ сопровожденіи пригульнаго, то отсрочивается рѣшеніе, даже на одинъ годъ, съ цѣлью наведенія справокъ о принадлежности пригульнаго скота. Если въ данный срокъ не удастся разузнать это, то отвѣчаетъ тотъ, на кого раньше падало подозрѣніе. Если онъ даетъ показанія о краденой скотинѣ, что она его доморощенная (колтума), то, прежде отобранія ея, сторонѣ его предоставляется присяга.

При отобраніи украденной скотины бываетъ сдѣлка такого рода, что вѣтецъ платитъ половину ея стоимости тому, у кого она отбирается, съ тѣмъ чтобы воръ, когда отыщется, уплатилъ каждому изъ нихъ по половинѣ стоимости животнаго.

Если изъ пропавшихъ нѣсколькихъ скотинъ у вора отыскалась только одна, то изъ этого заключаютъ, что онъ укралъ и остальныя, но опредѣляютъ на нихъ особую присягу.

При возвращеніи украденнаго скота соблюдается правило, чтобы возвращаемая скотина была такого же качества, пола, возраста и вообще такой же стоимости, какъ украденная, иначе воръ долженъ доплатить хозяину деньгами. Въ этомъ послѣднемъ случаѣ, а также тогда, когда за весь украденный скотъ выплачивается деньгами, наблюдается, чтобы скотина не была оцѣнена ниже стоимости, иначе хозяинъ требуетъ у біи присужденія дополнительной платы (толыгыгы).

Опознанная на базарѣ скотина не отбирается. Приведшій ее долженъ представить того, отъ кого получилъ, а если объявитъ своею собственностію, то идутъ къ бію (Абдрахманъ, Аулісатинскаго уѣзда).

Скотина, опознанная у посторонняго человѣка, который самъ не укралъ, а купилъ ее на базарѣ, отбирается только тогда, если опознавшій, показаніями пяти (*) свидѣтелей, личною присягою и присягою одного свидѣтеля, докажетъ, что опознанное животное или другое имущество дѣйствительно принадлежатъ ему. Скотина не отбирается до рѣшенія дѣла. Если опознанъ баранъ у человѣка, купившаго его на базарѣ, то ни свидѣтельскія показанія, ни личная присяга не даютъ хозяину барана права отобрать его, такъ какъ продажа барановъ на базарѣ производится безъ поручительства и на нихъ сиджиль (**) не бываетъ. (Сообщено Юнусовымъ).

(*) По другимъ свѣдѣніямъ, семи свидѣтелей.

(**) *Сиджиль* называется копія рѣшенія судьи, кадія и другихъ должностныхъ лицъ, по которому отбирается вещь, опознанная посторонними, доказавшими свидѣтельскими показаніями свои права на нее. Копія такого рѣшенія отдается отвѣтчику,

Наложеніе своей тамги на чужомъ скотѣ считается за воровство. По Абдрахману, это рѣдко случается. За наложеніе тамги на пригульномъ скотѣ можно назначить штрафъ въ $^1/_4$ стоимости скотины. Наложеніе своей тамги на аманатѣ, если таковой возвращенъ былъ при первомъ востребованіи, не считается предосудительнымъ. По Кюлбаеву (Курамин. уѣзда), наложеніе своей тамги безъ необходимости (бикерге) на чужомъ скотѣ, пригульномъ или полученномъ на сохраненіе, штрафуется въ 20 руб. По каракиргизу Даніяру, приложеніе своей тамги на чужомъ скотѣ считается за явное (захир) воровство и наказывается въ размѣрѣ взысканій съѣздовъ (сіез кесими менен), т. е. за одного барана—4 барана и вдобавокъ 4 рубля.

Хозяинъ пропавшей вещи обыкновенно является къ подозрѣваемому въ кражѣ лицу въ сопровожденіи двухъ и болѣе постороннихъ безпристрастныхъ лицъ (халис кси), а въ крайнемъ случаѣ одного, и обыскиваетъ (тентеди) его. Посторонніе служатъ свидѣтелями. Если заподозрѣнный не дозволитъ себя обыскивать (тентизбесе), то онъ считается виновнымъ.

Будучи схваченъ хозяиномъ краденаго скота, воръ обыкновенно отдаетъ или обѣщаетъ отдать все украденное къ извѣстному сроку, часто по роспискѣ, прося только не возбуждать иска о взысканіи обычнаго штрафа. Хозяинъ можетъ удовлетвориться возвратомъ своего имущества и отнятіемъ у вора, въ вознагражденіе поймавшему, лошади или халата, т. е. аттона (*).

Изъ нѣсколькихъ воровъ отвѣчаетъ тотъ, кто находится на лицо. Когда на лицо только отецъ вора, то, на основаніи родовой отвѣтственности, искъ, обращенный противъ него, принимается біями къ разбирательству.

чтобы онъ могъ искать свои убытки съ того лица, у котораго онъ ее купилъ. Сиджиль бываетъ и по денежнымъ гражданскимъ искамъ. Если по сиджилю отобрано животное, то каракара уничтожаетъ силу сиджиля.

Каракара называется свидѣтельство нѣсколькихъ лицъ, за ихъ подписью и печатью, за скрѣпою должностныхъ лицъ, гдѣ объясняется, что такое-то животное, съ подробнымъ описаніемъ его примѣтъ, составляетъ доморощенную собственность такого то лица.

(*) Подъ такимъ названіемъ берется иногда лошадь и ружье или какая нибудь другая вещь.

Если воръ, при совершеніи преступленія, ѣздилъ на чужой лошади, то хозяинъ послѣдней является участникомъ въ воровствѣ.

Если истецъ утверждаетъ, что при поимкѣ отвѣтчика послѣдній далъ ему деньги ради прекращенія дѣла и если затѣмъ обвиненый очистился присягою, то означенныя деньги присуждаются отвѣтчику.

По сообщенію Султана Даулетъ Бушаева, вора изъ дальнихъ мѣстъ, котораго трудно розыскать снова, сажаютъ на ночь въ яму, которую покрываютъ рѣшеткою; на рѣшеткѣ спитъ кто нибудь. Въ кибиткѣ его не держатъ изъ боязни, что онъ убьетъ кого нибудь, убѣжитъ, причинитъ безпокойство и, между прочимъ, напакоститъ. Вору изъ близкаго мѣста налагаютъ на ноги лошадиныя путы (ксеи), продѣвая ихъ за рѣшетку кибитки на ночь и дозволяя ему днемъ ходить въ нихъ.

У каракиргизовъ пойманные вора связываютъ его; затѣмъ подвергаютъ его тѣлеснымъ наказаніямъ (джарб курсетеди), впредь до разбора дѣла біемъ. Не отрицая несправедливости наказанія раньше рѣшенія дѣла біемъ, Кунакбай (Аулієатинскаго уѣзда) оправдываетъ этотъ обычай для тѣхъ случаевъ, когда воръ пойманъ съ поличнымъ или былъ вооруженъ копьемъ или топоромъ (айбалта).

Если при поимкѣ съ поличнымъ воръ отказывается идти къ ближайшему волостному, доказывая, что онъ невиновенъ и если онъ попытается убѣжать, то его связываютъ. Если затѣмъ воръ продолжаетъ запираться или заявляетъ разныя претензіи, то его бьютъ, съ цѣлію вынужденія признанія (чинингды айт). Волостной, къ которому привели пойманнаго, предлагаетъ ему такіе вопросы: „воръ ли ты? откуда ты укралъ? (или пришелъ); если ты не воръ, оправдай себя и я тебя отпущу; если же ты укралъ, то тебя предадимъ хозяину украденнаго имущества“. Вора передаютъ въ руки хозяина. Хозяинъ краденаго держитъ вора въ своей кибиткѣ впредь до предъявленія имъ иска

въ судъ. Онъ держитъ его связаннымъ, или вообще въ такомъ видѣ, чтобы тотъ не могъ убѣжать (китпес кылыб байлайды), путаетъ его по ногамъ (ксеи салады), а также бьетъ, но немного (хуб савамайды). Извѣстную личность (билиды кси) не бьютъ и не оскорбляютъ. Жалобу на побои бій отъ вора не принимаетъ, говоря: „это твое наказаніе (джаза)". (Сообщено біемъ Абдурахманомъ, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда).

Если воръ пойманъ во время совершенія кражи ночью, то поймавшіе заключаютъ его въ кибитке и допрашиваютъ: „отчего ты воруешь? не ты ли укралъ также то, что пропало въ прошломъ и въ позапрошломъ годахъ?". Связанный и спутанный, воръ сознается подъ побоями часто во всѣхъ этихъ преступленіяхъ, въ которыхъ онъ вовсе неповиненъ и въ которыхъ его обвиняютъ единственно съ цѣлью запугиванія. Затѣмъ о его признаніи даютъ знать волостному и препровождаютъ къ нему самого вора. Волостной держитъ вора также въ заключеніи, допрашиваетъ его и даетъ знать роднѣ его. Лучшіе люди изъ родныхъ являются и говоритъ волостному: „выдай намъ этого вора; мы его хорошенько допросимъ; если онъ въ чемъ виновенъ, то мы заставимъ его заплатить; если онъ невиноватъ, то мы представимъ вамъ доказательства „(бул урыны бзниг колымызга бер, муны абдан хуб суралык; алган булса, малды алыб берелик, алмаган булса, алмаган икен диб сизди исентерелик). Соглашаясь на выдачу, волостной беретъ росписку (тилинен хат) въ исполненіи вышесказанныхъ обѣщаній.

Хозяинъ, уже получившій свое имущество, можетъ дополнительно получить съ вора аттонъ. Иногда біи и аксакалы изъ родни вора говорятъ: „онъ невиноватъ въ другихъ пропажахъ (узге малдан); возьми съ него аттонъ и дай ему росписку въ томъ, что не возбудишь противъ него иска о пропавшемъ когда-то" (фалан вакытда джогалган деген малды сурамаска), или же: „а если думаешь возбудить искъ, то дай намъ отобранный аттонъ". Нынѣ, впрочемъ, никогда уже не берутъ аттона. Этотъ обычай существовалъ при ханцахъ и ханахъ. Такимъ образомъ, какъ выше сказано, часто отпускаютъ вора, не доводя до судебнаго разбирательства (Торгай).

Чистосердечное признаніе не смягчаетъ наказанія; напротивъ, видя какъ преступникъ, не стыдясь, признаетъ фактъ совершенія преступленія, бій можетъ считать его закоснѣлымъ разбойникомъ или воромъ по ремеслу и назначить за это высшій штрафъ или наказаніе плетью. (Мингебай, Перовскаго уѣзда).

Истецъ, съ своей стороны, видя, что отвѣтчикъ сознается изъ честности и прямодушія (эр инсе, муйнына, алыб отур, чинин айтты), можетъ отказаться отъ всего иска или части его (Перовск. уѣздъ).

При добровольномъ сознаніи (азамат инсе, узи келиб айтты), безъ вызова или по вызовѣ въ судъ, можно уменьшить и, въ виду раскаянія, совсѣмъ простить наказаніе, но лишь съ согласія истца (Аулієатин. уѣздъ).

Если отвѣтчикъ отрицаетъ фактъ признанія на предварительномъ допросѣ, подтверждаемаго письменнымъ актомъ аульнаго старшины, то бій считаютъ возможнымъ назначить очистительную присягу, какъ при простомъ отпирательствѣ.

Воровство со взломомъ и безъ взлома, изъ сундука и съ открытаго мѣста, наказывается одинаково (Торгай) (*). За порчу при кражѣ стѣны, замка и т. д. не опредѣляютъ особаго наказанія. Вознагражденіе такихъ убытковъ заключается во взыскиваемомъ штрафѣ.

Кража стреноженнаго скота наказывается одинаково съ кражею свободно пасущагося скота.

За сокрытіе слѣдовъ преступленія особо не взыскивается. Исключеніе составляетъ сокрытіе убитаго (см. хунъ).

У Маковецкаго, вып. I, стр. 79, сказано: „насиліе при

(*) По Маковецкому, вып. I, стр. 81, кража считается тѣмъ позорнѣе, чѣмъ легче ее совершить; на этомъ основаніи преслѣдуется строже кражи барановъ (бараны охраняются слабѣе, нежели остальной скотъ), а именно: налагается одинъ тогузъ за кражу одного или нѣсколькихъ барановъ, кромѣ возвращенія украденныхъ головъ.—Въ программѣ географическаго общества для собиранія народныхъ юридическихъ обычаевъ сказано (стр. 31), что за кражу барановъ требуется у киргизовъ большее вознагражденіе, потому что цѣнится могущій быть отъ нихъ обильный приплодъ. Что въ Туркестанскомъ краѣ этого обычая нѣтъ, видно будетъ ниже, изъ главы о наказаніяхъ.

похищенія имущества, напр., нанесеніе раны, разсматривается какъ самостоятельное преступленіе и особо наказывается за похищеніе вещи и за нанесеніе раны". Біи Султанъ Канаевъ и Калиахмедъ находятъ, что насиліе и похищеніе судятся нераздѣльно. Штрафъ назначается какъ за обыкновенное воровство и прибавляются только расходы по леченію раны. Если побои безъ ранъ, то къ штрафу за воровство не прибавляется ничего. Сюда относится пословица: „съ одного барана не сдираютъ двухъ шкуръ" (бир койдан эки тери соймайды), т. е. на одного преступника два наказанія не налагаются. Только неопытный бій можетъ наложить два штрафа (бильмес бій клады эки айб).

Преступникъ, изобличенный уже не въ первый разъ въ одномъ и томъ же преступленіи, наказывается строже (*). За вторичное воровство назначаютъ конфискацію всего имущества вора съ отдачею на поруки или съ лишеніемъ свободы; за третье воровство изгоняютъ, съ объявленіемъ, что отказываются платить и получать хунъ и другія взысканія за вора.

Тайный отгонъ скота не называется барантою (**), а воровствомъ. Такие подъ словомъ баранта не слѣдуетъ понимать набѣгъ, съ цѣлью грабежа безъ особаго къ тому повода. Для того, чтобы набѣгъ могъ быть названъ барантою (барымта), требуется, чтобы: 1) отправлялись въ путь днемъ, а не ночью; 2) открыто объявили этотъ набѣгъ барантою; 3) онъ имѣлъ цѣлью полученіе удовлетворенія за какой нибудь ущербъ, воровство, убійство, отнятіе невѣсты или жены, обиду и т. д. (***).

(*) По мнѣнію многихъ, въ томъ числѣ и каракиргиза Давіяра, согласно Загряжскому и Сидоказову, но противъ мнѣнія сборника Маковецкаго, вып. I, стр. 65.

(**) Въ адатахъ кавказскихъ горцевъ, стр. 366, сказано: баранта имѣетъ нѣсколько значеній: а) скота; в) преступленія, въ смыслѣ обыкновеннаго грабежа, насильственнаго отнятія и завладѣнія чужой вещью; с) военнаго захвата, угона или похода людей и скота; д) наказанія, въ смыслѣ грабежа или ограбленія по Русск. Правд., воспрещенной конфискаціи имущества; е) ареста, до суда, чужаго имущества, въ обезпеченіе иска кредитора, также при неудовлетворенной личной обидѣ, матеріальномъ ущербѣ и пр.; f) мѣри обезпеченія исполненія судебнаго приговора; g) права родныхъ убитаго, до исполненія кровомщенія „барантовать" имущество убійцы; наконецъ h) права хана отбирать имущество у волостныхъ людей.

(***) Въ отчетѣ по ревизіи Казалин. уѣзда (приказъ по военно-народному управленію Сиръ-Дарьинской обл. отъ 30 Іюля 1886 года) приведенъ примѣръ изъ книгъ

Баранта производится еще въ томъ случаѣ, когда отвѣтчикъ не позволяетъ взыскать съ него присужденное біемъ.

По бію Кушабаю, за одну только обиду, за насилованіе безъ увода невѣсты и т. п., не происходитъ баранты, когда не было убытковъ (чыгын) по поводу этой обиды и т. д.

Баранта направляется не только на скотъ самого противника, но и на скотъ любаго изъ его родичей (*), хотя бы его аксакала. Въ первомъ случаѣ на отнятое барантою имущество смотрятъ, какъ на удовлетвореніе, во второмъ случаѣ—какъ на залогъ того, что въ случаѣ судебнаго разбирательства, украденное будетъ получено обратно, или вообще будетъ дано удовлетвореніе.

Барантующій отбираетъ то имущество, на которое онъ имѣетъ претензію, съ небольшою накидкою за труды и убытки по набѣгу. Но за постороннія поврежденія, нанесенныя во время этого набѣга и за непомѣрный захватъ имущества, онъ отвѣчаетъ.

Баранта существовала только между разными уѣздами. Жалобы по ней подавались на имя военнаго губернатора, который назначалъ чрезвычайный съѣздъ между уѣздами.

Во время киргизскихъ хановъ баранта мало чѣмъ отличалась отъ войны. И теперь еще баранта называется войною (ну булды). Нападеніе не обходилось безъ жестокостей: заковывали людей въ путы, привязывали къ деревьямъ, не заботясь объ участи привязаннаго и пр. У каракиргизовъ связывали и бросали въ воду.

Иски о случившемся раньше общаго заключенія мира (салват) между спорившими родами не принимаются или оставляются

чрезвычайнаго съѣзда: вдова киргизка Мантеке Сундетова, жалуясь, что киргизъ Исмаиловъ забарантовалъ ея дочь и что для погони за похитителемъ она израсходовала на наемъ людей 100 рублей, просила взыскать съ отвѣтчика за безчестье 1200 руб.

(*) Сравн. адаты кавказскихъ горцевъ, VI отдѣлъ, адаты Рустемхана XII вѣка, п. 81: „брать баранту съ тѣхъ, которые не отдѣлились отъ рода отвѣтчика"; п. 49: „кто не волокитъ изъ своихъ силъ брать баранту, съ того берется штрафъ".

безъ послѣдствій (баска калдырдук), исключая дѣлъ о сватовствѣ и о хунѣ. Занятіе прав русскими составляетъ такой салаватъ, и даже полнѣйшій салаватъ, ибо запрещено разбирательство о хунѣ и сватовствѣ, относящихся къ мусульманскому времени.

При заключеніи салавата говорятъ: „утиен урюл калгин салаватъ", т. е. иски были взаимны и поэтому сочтены удовлетворенными, а если остались иски неудовлетворенными, то они прощаются. Въ освященіе безапелляціоннаго прекращенія старыхъ счетовъ и полнаго примиренія, разсѣкаютъ аладжипъ, а нынѣ даютъ росписки.

Неполный салаватъ есть прощеніе до извѣстнаго срока (мунджал). Споры, бывшіе раньше этого срока, прощаются (берегини сурайныз аригини сурайнайныз).

Подача иска чрезъ нѣсколько лѣтъ (напр. 3 года) послѣ происшествія затрудняетъ разбирательство; поэтому такой искъ рѣшаютъ свидѣтельскою присягою; а если нѣтъ свидѣтелей, то не принимаютъ вовсе къ разбирательству (калдырады) (Перовскій и Ауліеатинскій уѣзды).

Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ иски подлежатъ разбору до смерти отвѣтчиковъ, а равно до смерти просителей. Если останутся наслѣдники, знающіе о претензіи, то они могутъ возбудить дѣло. Оконченное салаватомъ дѣло снова возбуждаться не можетъ. Если же потерпѣвшая сторона послѣ салавата предъявитъ искъ чрезъ судъ, то судья долженъ удостовѣриться въ въ салаватѣ черезъ свидѣтелей. Подтвержденіе салавата влечетъ для возбудившаго искъ въ пользу судьи штрафъ аттонъ; а лицо, возбудившее искъ, не пользуется довѣріемъ родичей.

Давность признается только въ малыхъ преступленіяхъ, не открытыхъ въ теченіи не менѣе пяти лѣтъ. Въ убійствахъ же и дѣлахъ брачныхъ давности не существуетъ. Находившійся въ безвѣстной отлучкѣ женихъ, по возвращеніи, въ правѣ требовать невѣсту или возвращенія калыма. Невѣсту замѣняетъ сестра или племянница, если прежняя невѣста вышла замужъ. По Торгаю, иски о невѣстѣ и калымѣ принимаются къ разбираетель-

ству до третьяго поколѣнія, т. е. до внуковъ. При отпирательствѣ даютъ, какъ обыкновенно, присягу. Другіе иски принимаются только до 5—6 лѣтъ. Иски, основанные на росписяхъ, принимаются, если отвѣтчикъ не могъ быть найденъ раньше, до 10 лѣтъ. Послѣ 10 лѣтъ даже хунъ подлежитъ салавату, т. е. давности. Теперь салаватъ полагается только 5—6 лѣтъ, при условіи, что объ убійствѣ не было извѣстно въ теченіи этого времени; если же о немъ было извѣстно, но убійца скрывался, то до 10 лѣтъ. Если воръ уличенъ, отданъ на поруки и обѣщался дать удовлетвореніе, но убѣжалъ, то искъ можетъ быть возбужденъ до 10 лѣтъ.

Все происшедшее при другомъ владычествѣ, напр. ковандскомъ, кромѣ иска о невѣстѣ (осир дау), предается салавату.

По сообщенію изъ Чимкентскаго уѣзда, дѣла по сватовству не имѣютъ давности, а всѣ остальныя дѣла имѣютъ десятилѣтнюю давность, за исключеніемъ лишь дѣлъ о хунѣ (*), которыя разбираются и по истеченіи десяти лѣтъ со дня убійства, если только будутъ представлены суду фактическія доказательства, но безъ присяги.

Сююнчи значитъ подарокъ за родственное извѣстіе. Сююнчи бываетъ: 1) добровольный, напр. при полученіи извѣстія о рожденіи сына, дочери (за дочь меньше даритъ) и т. п. и 2) болѣе или менѣе необходимый при извѣстіи о пропавшемъ имуществѣ, нахожденіи его, поимкѣ или уличеніи вора и т. п. Искъ о неполученіи сююнчи принимается біемъ къ разбирательству.

Размѣръ сююнчи зависитъ отъ услугъ, оказанныхъ нашедшимъ и отъ цѣнности самого имущества. За приведеніе украденнаго скота дается около $^1/_{10}$ стоимости его, а за отнятіе силою у вора $^1/_5$; за приведеніе при этомъ и самаго вора сююнчи доходитъ до половины стоимости украденнаго.

(*) Біи съѣзда Чимкентскаго и Туркест. уѣздовъ, въ сентябрѣ 1887 года постановили: „дѣла, за давностью 10 лѣтъ, не принимаются во вниманіе, за исключеніемъ дѣлъ о невѣстахъ и хунѣ".

Платятъ сюунчи за нахожденіе: верблюда 24 руб. или 6 тиллей (по Торгаю и Абдурахману), лошади—3 тилли, коровы—2 тилли.

Сюунчи называется кулаксюунчи, если принесшій извѣстіе самъ не видѣлъ, а только слышалъ о нахожденіи пропавшаго. Кулаксюунчи не велико:

за верблюда	2 руб.
— лошадь	1 руб.
— корову	1 руб
— овцу	— — 20 коп.
— козу	— — 10 коп.

Воръ, присужденный къ уплатѣ штрафа, платитъ, въ числѣ другихъ взысканій, и за сюунчи.

Самъ воръ не можетъ получить сюунчи, хотя бы онъ и привелъ пропавшую скотину.

Родственники не могутъ требовать сюунчи.

Если кто нибудь, при обѣщаніи или найти скотину, или уличить вора (муйныма нойиб беремен), получитъ сюунчи, а затѣмъ ему не удастся сдѣлать ни того, ни другаго, то онъ возвращаетъ полученное сюунчи въ полуторномъ размѣрѣ.

Бит айгак (личный доказчикъ), открывшій убійство, получаетъ въ вознагражденіе одну пятую часть хуна. За открытіе или розыскъ воровъ получаютъ: за лошадь четыре тилли, за верблюда восемь тиллей. Размѣръ означеннаго вознагражденія доказчикъ получаетъ только въ томъ случаѣ, если онъ самъ, въ присутствіи біевъ, укажетъ на воровъ. Дабы подтвердить обвиненіе доказчика на указываемое имъ лицо въ содѣянномъ проступкѣ или преступленіи, засѣдающіе на судѣ біи требуютъ отъ обвиненнаго избрать со стороны доказчика лицъ для принятія присяги (*) въ томъ, что дѣйствительно онъ указалъ виновнаго. Если же, по принятіи выбранными для присяги

(*) Для принятія присяги выборъ лицъ со стороны доказчика производится въ томъ же порядкѣ, какъ выборъ лицъ со стороны отвѣтчика.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

лицами, обвиненіе указываемаго доказчикомъ лица не подтвердится, то доказчикъ платитъ тому лицу, отъ котораго онъ получилъ сюнчи, въ двойномъ размѣрѣ противъ полученнаго имъ. (Абсалямовъ, Чикисет. у.).

ГЛАВА X.

Устройство народнаго суда по закону 1867 года.—Цензъ и положеніе біевъ.—Третейскій судъ.—Порядокъ разбора дѣлъ.—Поѣрешие.—Свидѣтели.—Поручители.—Улика —Бійлекъ.—Убытки и расходы.—Устройство народнаго суда по закону 12 Іюня 1886 года.

Народный судъ у киргизовъ, на основаніи закона 1867 года, былъ устроенъ такимъ образомъ.

Народный судъ есть разборъ дѣлъ, по народнымъ обычаямъ, выбранными судьями—біями.

Установлены слѣдующіе виды суда: 1) единоличный судъ біевъ, 2) волостной съѣздъ біевъ и 3) чрезвычайный съѣздъ біевъ.

Для рѣшенія дѣлъ какъ уголовныхъ, подлежащихъ народному суду (*), такъ и всякаго рода тяжбъ и исковъ, въ каждой волости выбиралось отъ 4 до 8 біевъ.

Біи выбирались народомъ на три года.

Біемъ могъ быть выбранъ всякій, кто пользовался уваженіемъ и довѣріемъ народа, не былъ опороченъ по суду, не находился подъ слѣдствіемъ и имѣлъ отъ роду не менѣе 25 лѣтъ.

Выбранные въ біи утверждались военнымъ губернаторомъ. Жалованья имъ не полагалось; но они имѣли право получать

(*) Уголовныя дѣянія, подлежавшія суду народному, считались убійство и баранта.

За измѣну, возбужденіе своихъ соплеменниковъ къ сопротивленію противъ правительства, нападеніе на почты и военные транспорты, убійство христіанъ и другихъ лицъ, изъявившихъ желаніе принять христіанство и за убійство должностныхъ лицъ, киргизы судились военнымъ судомъ.

За разбой, грабежъ, нападеніе на купеческіе караваны, побѣгъ въ чужія владѣнія, воровство, явное сопротивленіе властямъ, дѣланіе и переводъ фальшивой монеты и возвращеніе казеннаго имущества, киргизы судились по общимъ уголовнымъ законамъ имперіи.

за рѣшеніе дѣлъ особый штрафъ (бійлыкъ), установленный народными обычаями. Штрафъ по имущественнымъ искамъ не могъ быть опредѣляемъ выше десятой части стоимости иска; а на рѣшеніе дѣлъ объ убійствѣ и личныхъ оскорбленіяхъ бійлыкъ назначался согласно обычаямъ.

Тяжущіяся стороны, по обоюдному соглашенію, могли обращаться, для разбора ихъ дѣла, къ одному или нѣсколькимъ біямъ. Согласіе тяжущихся сторонъ на выборѣ бія или біевъ, для рѣшенія ихъ дѣла, должно было быть внесено въ установленную для записи рѣшеній книгу. Въ такомъ случаѣ рѣшеніе біевъ, какъ имѣющее характеръ третейскаго суда (*), было окончательно на всякую сумму.

При несогласіи тяжущихся на выборъ біевъ, дѣло рѣшалъ бій изъ волости отвѣтчика, указанный истцемъ; при чемъ отвѣтчикъ изъ указанныхъ истцемъ біевъ имѣлъ право отвести только двухъ.

Біи рѣшали окончательно дѣла цѣнностью не выше 100 руб. (5 лошадей, 50 барановъ).

Для рѣшенія дѣлъ на сумму болѣе 100 руб. назначались періодическіе волостные съѣзды біевъ, на которыхъ обязаны были присутствовать всѣ біи волости.

По дѣламъ, подлежавшимъ рѣшенію волостныхъ съѣздовъ, исковыя просьбы приносились волостному управителю. По мѣрѣ накопленія исковыхъ просьбъ, для рѣшенія ихъ назначались волостные съѣзды, время и мѣсто которыхъ опредѣлялись уѣздными начальниками.

Съѣзды волостныхъ біевъ происходили въ присутствіи волостнаго управителя, но законъ строго воспрещалъ вмѣшательство его въ судъ.

(*) Въ древности у киргизовъ всѣ суды были третейскіе, т. е. избранные каждый разъ обѣими сторонами. Истецъ и отвѣтчикъ, обратясь къ избранному ими бію, а за дальностью бія, къ другому уважаемому лицу, въ знакъ подчиненія рѣшенію его, бросали предъ нимъ каждый свою нагайку или шапку. Недовольный приговоромъ такого лица, въ случаѣ неподчиненія, подвергался ударамъ нагайки или платилъ штрафъ въ пользу разбиравшаго. Вмѣсто одного бія могли избираться два, три и больше біевъ.

Волостные съѣзды имѣли право рѣшать дѣла на всякую сумму; но рѣшенія ихъ были окончательны только по дѣламъ до 1.000 рублей (50 лошадей, 500 барановъ).

На неокончательныя рѣшенія волостныхъ съѣздовъ приносились отзывы уѣздному начальнику въ семидневный срокъ, со дня объявленія рѣшенія. Прошенія о разборѣ дѣлъ уголовныхъ приносились также уѣздному начальнику.

Для рѣшенія означенныхъ дѣлъ, по мѣрѣ надобности, въ неопредѣленное время, созывались чрезвычайные съѣзды, по распоряженію уѣзднаго начальника, если дѣло касалось одного уѣзда, или по соглашенію его съ подлежащими властями, если дѣло касалось волостей нѣсколькихъ уѣздовъ. О чрезвычайныхъ съѣздахъ доводилось до свѣдѣнія военнаго губернатора.

Чрезвычайные съѣзды біевъ производились въ присутствіи уѣзднаго начальника, въ уѣздѣ котораго происходилъ съѣздъ, или нарочно командированнаго для того чиновника; но вмѣшательство ихъ въ судъ строго воспрещалось.

Постановленія чрезвычайныхъ съѣздовъ были окончательны. Производство дѣлъ на волостныхъ и чрезвычайныхъ съѣздахъ опредѣлялось обычаями.

Дѣла брачныя и посемейныя рѣшались судомъ біевъ по народнымъ обычаямъ. Въ брачныхъ дѣлахъ сторона, недовольная рѣшеніемъ народнаго суда, могла обратиться съ жалобою къ уѣздному начальнику, который рѣшалъ дѣло, а по болѣе важнымъ—представлялъ военному губернатору, на усмотрѣніе.

Киргизы, при взаимномъ согласіи обѣихъ сторонъ, выраженномъ въ подпискѣ, могли обращаться съ просьбою о разрѣшеніи ихъ дѣла къ русскому суду.

Судъ біевъ производился гласно и публично.

На обязанности мѣстныхъ киргизскихъ начальниковъ лежало доставленіе отвѣтчиковъ къ суду и представленіе свидѣтелей, по требованію біевъ.

Постановленіе біевъ записывалось въ краткихъ словахъ въ особую книгу. Къ рѣшенію біи обязаны были прикладывать печати.

Рѣшеніе біевъ объявлялось обѣимъ сторонамъ съ выдачею копіи съ постановленія, засвидѣтельствованной приложеніемъ печатей, сторонѣ, въ пользу которой рѣшено дѣло.

Приведеніе въ исполненіе рѣшеній суда возлагалось на обязанность волостныхъ, которые за медленное исполненіе рѣшеній подвергались взысканію, на основаніи общихъ законовъ за бездѣйствіе власти и возмѣщенію убытковъ, если таковые были причинены ихъ промедленіемъ (*).

При ханахъ біи назначались изъ числа соискателей, просившихъ этой должности съ подарками (одна и больше лошадей) и извѣстныхъ имъ своимъ умомъ, авторитетомъ, знаніемъ и опытностью. О желаніи народа не спрашивали. Тѣ соискатели, которыхъ предки не были біями, рѣдко и съ трудомъ могли получить эту должность.

Коканцы не трогали этого порядка.

Въ настоящее время многіе въ біяхъ предпочитаютъ умъ и справедливость предъ точнымъ знаніемъ адата, тѣмъ болѣе, что нынѣ у каждаго бія свои пріемы, которые зачастую другъ другу противоположны (чатак).

Біи судились у другихъ біевъ и у родоправителей; нынѣ они судятся на общемъ основаніи.

За брань, крикъ и драку передъ судомъ біи взыскиваютъ. За нанесеніе раны на судѣ не взыскиваютъ, если раненый былъ виноватъ; но если ранившій былъ виноватъ, то онъ платитъ подлежащій штрафъ, какой полагался за тотъ же проступокъ, совершенный внѣ суда.

За убійство и борьбу передъ судомъ наказаніе не отягчается.

Если кто нибудь обезчеститъ бія словомъ, то его упрекаютъ: „твой языкъ коснулся бія“ (бійге тилинг тійди) и заставляютъ просить прощенія, но не налагаютъ штрафа, тѣмъ болѣе, что бій стѣсняется подавать объ этомъ искъ.

(*) §§ 181—210 проекта Положенія объ управленіи въ Семирѣченской и Сыръ-Дарьинской областяхъ.

За убійство біи хунъ не измѣняется; но за нанесеніе ему раны полагается большій штрафъ, чѣмъ за рану, нанесенную частному человѣку. За побои, нанесенные бію, если онъ былъ долженъ деньги, не взыскивается; за напрасные побои штрафъ полагается выше обыкновеннаго. Для присужденія этихъ повышенныхъ штрафовъ необходимо: 1) чтобы происшествіе было доказано; 2) чтобы виновный въ оскорбленіи біи числился въ округѣ этого же біи. За обиду біи чужаго аула взыскивается какъ за обиду простолюдина.

Прежде не употреблялось слова мехкеме, т. е. судилище или камера суда. Теперь въ Перовскомъ и Аулієатинскомъ уѣздахъ такъ называется мѣсто или кибитка, назначенныя біемъ для принятія и разбора жалобъ. Въ почетномъ мѣстѣ кибитки или комнаты — „тур", находящемся противъ входа, на кошмѣ (текемет) сидятъ біи, а передъ ними располагаются на землѣ истецъ, отвѣтчикъ и прочія вызванныя лица. Вообще же разборъ дѣлъ происходитъ на всякомъ мѣстѣ и при всякомъ удобномъ случаѣ: гдѣ застанутъ біи, тамъ и судъ, будетъ ли это въ дорогѣ, въ гостяхъ, на базарѣ. Въ этой простотѣ обстановки суда заключается самое дорогое для кочевниковъ удобство. Опытный бій всегда и вездѣ имѣетъ при себѣ книгу рѣшеній и печать.

Бій выслушиваетъ и заноситъ въ книгу прежде всего жалобу истца (дагвагер), затѣмъ даетъ слово отвѣтчику (джуабгер тавбыс) или свидѣтелямъ. Всѣ призванные къ судебному допросу вплоть до самаго постановленія рѣшенія объясняются не только съ біемъ, но и между собою. Во время этихъ переговоровъ бій узнаетъ желанія и мнѣнія о рѣшеніи дѣла тѣмъ или другимъ путемъ, наложеніемъ присяги на ту или другую сторону, на такое-то число кибитокъ, съ отводомъ изъ нихъ такого-то числа „спорныхъ". На этихъ переговорахъ бій основываетъ свое рѣшеніе.

Если судъ производится двумя и больше біями, то для совѣщанія между собою біи удаляютъ присутствующихъ.

Въ прежнее время стороны, оставшись довольны рѣшеніемъ,

держали, каждая за одинъ концъ, пеструю бичеву (аладжин), которая разсѣкалась рѣшавшимъ дѣло біемъ, въ видѣ окончательнаго раздѣла. Когда послѣ рѣшенія дѣла у біи или постороннаго лица совершенъ обрядъ разсѣченія „пестрой бичевы“ (аладжин кыркмак) или „прутика“ (чибык кисмак), то дѣло не принималось къ перерѣшенію (хукмди бузмак) ни біемъ, ни ханомъ, если только доказано совершеніе помянутаго обряда.

Безъ этого обряда, дѣло, рѣшенное частнымъ лицемъ, въ качествѣ третейскаго судьи, перерѣшалось біемъ изъ бѣлой кости, но только при условіи, что царствующій ханъ изъ рода этой же бѣлой кости; дѣло, рѣшенное біемъ вообще, перерѣшалось ханомъ. Жалобы, обращенныя, помимо біевъ, прямо къ хану, разбирались или лично имъ, или, по его приказанію, біемъ изъ свиты его. Ханъ бралъ за рѣшеніе дѣла плату (ханлык), приблизительно въ $^1/_{10}$ иска.

По дѣламъ хуна вмѣсто разсѣченія прутика было въ обычаѣ разсѣченіе хвоста (куйрук кисти). Перерѣзавъ хвостъ теленка, котораго съ двухъ концевъ держали истецъ и отвѣтчикъ, бій получалъ теленка въ бійлыкъ, и онъ же долженъ былъ, въ случаѣ надобности, свидѣтельствовать о существованіи примиренія.

Нынѣ аладжинъ замѣняетъ росписка сторонъ въ согласіи на все, къ чему присудитъ бій (пендей хукм ыляса разы мен). Перерѣшеніе дѣла, по открывшимся послѣ перваго рѣшенія обстоятельствамъ, возможно только тогда, когда силою новыхъ обстоятельствъ виновный доведенъ до признанія (муйнына салса), иначе рѣшеніе останется въ силѣ (биншм болыб калады (*).

Бій не входитъ въ разбирательство гражданскаго дѣла безъ обращенія къ нему.

(*) Въ замѣткахъ о киргизскомъ судѣ Н. Ибрагимова сказано: недовольные рѣшеніемъ біи или родоначальника терпѣливо ждутъ большого собранія или поминокъ, куда они обыкновенно привозятъ съ собою старшаго изъ своего аула или своего рода, и этотъ старшій долженъ защищать его жалобу предъ собраніемъ, отъ котораго зависитъ перерѣшеніе, считаемое окончательнымъ. Торгай объ этомъ обычаѣ замѣчаетъ: на поминкахъ есть и біи, и старцы; поэтому обѣ недовольныя стороны идутъ туда. Бій самъ посылаетъ ихъ туда для примиренія, но хозяинъ пира или поминокъ запрещаетъ рѣшать судебныя дѣла, чтобы не портить (бузуа масын) праздника.

Бій, знающій о преступленіи, на которое не было подано жалобы, могъ въ прежнее время производить объ этомъ розысканіе, наравнѣ съ аксакалами и уважаемыми лицами (ахсы ксилер), для удовлетворенія пострадавшаго.

Бій можетъ отказать въ разбирательствѣ дѣла, особенно дурнымъ людямъ. Съ другой стороны и подвѣдомственныя бію лица, не исключая и служащихъ у него, могутъ также отказаться отъ разбирательства у него (Ауліеатин. у.).

Если судились у бія волости отвѣтчика, и обѣ стороны недовольны рѣшеніемъ его, то могутъ обратиться къ постороннему человѣку (халис кси) или къ бію чужаго уѣзда, при чемъ должны составить подписку (салдым кагаз) о выборѣ бія, вслѣдствіе чего судъ становится третейскимъ, окончательнымъ; или же могутъ обратиться къ волостному, который либо отказывается, либо соглашается назначить новое разбирательство, но уже не у одного бія, а у трехъ—четырехъ.

Если истецъ и отвѣтчикъ разныхъ волостей, то въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ принято выбирать третейскимъ біемъ любаго бія третьей волости.

На нынѣшнемъ оффиціальномъ киргизскомъ языкѣ третейскимъ судомъ (третеский сот), на который нельзя аппеллировать, считается то разбирательство біевъ, которому предшествуетъ роспись сторонъ о выборѣ бія или біевъ и согласіе на то рѣшеніе, какое они постановятъ.

Если обѣ стороны были изъ одной волости, то трудно аппеллировать; если же изъ разныхъ волостей, то легче, потому что является подозрѣніе на біевъ въ пристрастіи къ подвѣдомственнымъ себѣ.

Въ чрезвычайный съѣздъ (курулачак съез, чрезвычайной съез) по уѣзду посылалось по одному бію изъ каждой волости, по выбору біевъ данной волости. Каждый бій, желавшій попасть въ съѣздъ, какъ заявляетъ Торгай, давалъ избирателямъ—біямъ по 2—4 руб. взятки. Если желающихъ было много, то они между собою бросали жребій (шек салады). Тотъ, на котораго

валъ пробій (шек тускен), платилъ своимъ избирателямъ упомянутыя деньги; послѣ чего его выбирали съ приложеніемъ печатей, и онъ отправлялся въ съѣздъ.

За отказъ біи отъ участія въ разбирательствѣ на съѣздѣ не взыскивалось.

Изъ съѣзда отводятъ, по заявленію истца, не больше 2—3 біевъ, вслѣдствіе ихъ родства, сватовства, знакомства съ отвѣтчикомъ или полученія взятки. Въ третейскомъ судѣ отвода не полагается, потому что каждая сторона сама выбираетъ своихъ біевъ. За ложное подозрѣніе (усек суз) относительно біи (родство съ противной стороной, взятки и пр.) наказанія не полагается.

Объявленіе объ отводѣ біи не принимается послѣ рѣшенія дѣла съѣздомъ.

Съѣздъ разсматриваетъ обжалованное рѣшеніе и всѣ относящіяся къ дѣлу бумаги: акты, росписки (*), протоколы; онъ выслушиваетъ заявленія тяжущихся сторонъ и вызываетъ, если нужно, снова тѣхъ свидѣтелей, показанія которыхъ уже значатся въ разсматриваемомъ рѣшеніи, равно принимаетъ во вниманіе и новыя доказательства; въ поземельныхъ же спорахъ выѣзжаетъ для осмотра мѣстностей.

Въ послѣднее время на съѣздахъ вошло въ обычай, и считается „по адату", постановлять заочное рѣшеніе (сирт хуки, сирт кесик), послѣ двукратной неявки отвѣтчика. Въ древнемъ адатѣ этого не было. На заочныя рѣшенія всегда поступаютъ жалобы, съ заявленіемъ, что „біи поступили не по адату".

Въ постановленіяхъ свои біи должны ясно излагать, чего

(*) Въ долговой роспискѣ означаются: годъ, мѣсяцъ и число выдачи ея; срокъ уплаты; сумма, въ которую входятъ и проценты, насчитываемые къ сроку уплаты; засвидѣтельствованіе ея аульнымъ старшиною и т. п.

По роспискамъ присуждаютъ къ той суммѣ, которая записана.

Если давшій росписку и упомянутые въ ней поручители откажутся отъ нея, но истецъ и біи признаютъ ее, то она остается въ силѣ безъ назначенія присяги. Также точно, если изъ трехъ, давшихъ росписку, одинъ признаетъ ее, то она остается въ силѣ.

вкалъ просцтель и что присуждено въ пользу его, или чѣмъ кончилось дѣло, и особо записывать установленный бійлыкъ за рѣшеніе.

Копія съ рѣшенія, вырѣзанная изъ книги (*), должна быть вручена тому, въ чью пользу окончено дѣло въ окончательной формѣ, какъ результатъ принятія или непринятія присяги, если таковая была назначена.

Копія выдается недовольной сторонѣ, если она заявитъ неудовольствіе на рѣшеніе у одного бія свыше 100 руб., или по пражѣ, на волостномъ съѣздѣ, по иску свыше 100 руб., или по барантѣ, или по убійству.

Въ полученіи копіи получатель долженъ расписаться въ книгѣ, на оборотной сторонѣ протокола.

Въ копіяхъ записывается кратко и ясно: содержаніе иска безъ объясненія показанія сторонъ; рѣшеніе съ точнымъ указаніемъ суммы взысканія и бійлыка; время, когда рѣшеніе должно быть приведено въ исполненіе: годъ мѣсяцъ и число рѣшенія; за какимъ номеромъ, изъ какой книги вырѣзано; приложеніе печати.

По Аманбаю, на волостныхъ съѣздахъ, собираемыхъ въ степи, слабые подвергаются несправедливостямъ и насилію.

По мнѣнію султана Бабагаліева (**), на волостномъ съѣздѣ получаютъ удовлетвореніе только киргизы своей волости и люди, имѣющіе средства. Біи же чрезвычайнаго съѣзда еще менѣе стѣсняются, чѣмъ біи низшихъ инстанцій, зная, что рѣшеніе чрезвычайнаго съѣзда окончательное. Наканунѣ засѣданія суда они просто торгуются съ тяжущимися о количествѣ взятокъ (***)

(*) Въ приложеніи № 6 образецъ формы бійской книги.

(**) Поручикъ арнейской мѣхоти, киргизъ Перовскаго уѣзда.

(***) Султанъ Багаліевъ совѣтуетъ, между прочимъ, слѣдующую мѣру: сознать въ уѣздное управленіе половину всѣхъ біевъ уѣзда и всѣхъ волостныхъ управителей; изъ числа ихъ уѣздные начальники ежедневно назначали би одного волостнаго предсѣдателемъ и по одному біи изъ каждой волости членами суда и сажали би ихъ въ особое помѣщеніе, куда не слѣдуетъ допускать постороннихъ лицъ, чтобы возникающіе рѣшать біи (джанбас бій), какъ часто бываетъ, не вмѣшивались въ дѣло. Сила предложенной мѣри заключается въ томъ, что ни біи, ни тяжущіеся не должны знать, кы-

Вымогательство біями взятокъ (кара) происходитъ или при посредствѣ постороннихъ людей, или наединѣ. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ бій выражаетъ слѣдующимъ образомъ: „это дѣло зависитъ вполнѣ отъ меня; другіе біи за рѣшеніе такого дѣла взяли бы столько-то, но я ничего не беру". При посредствѣ не своего человѣка, бій можетъ болѣе открыто дать понять отвѣтчику: „ты правъ; правоту твоего дѣла обнаружатъ и положатъ присягу на тѣхъ, которые тебя оправдаютъ" (ак сен аклыма шыгареды, джанды узаиг шыгатугун джериниге салады); истцу же: „мы положимъ присягу на ту сторону, которая не оправдаетъ его; мы тебѣ опредѣлимъ побольше штрафа; также присудимъ его къ уплатѣ судебныхъ издержекъ и произведемъ взысканіе для тебя безъ задержки; ты не потеряешь ничего, но дай намъ, что можешь" (джанды чыкпайтугун джерге салмыз, айбынгды кубейтамиз, яна чыгынды онынг муйынна саламыз, яна тоятусиз иал ундериб беремиз, сен куймейсен, бизге беретугунингди бер) (Торгай). Затѣмъ рѣшеніе постановляется въ пользу той стороны, которая дала больше (*).

Волостные управители также вліяютъ на рѣшеніе: если волостной покровительствуетъ отвѣтчику, то бій кладетъ присягу на пятидесятокъ отвѣтчика, когда нужно было класть на аулъ. Это онъ дѣлаетъ для того, чтобы было больше вѣроятія за яку присяжнаго (шыгатугун джер), ибо въ тѣсномъ кругу меньше враговъ, да и тѣ отводятся въ качествѣ „спорныхъ". Бій заявляетъ: „скажите прежде всего, кто ваши враги или спорные". Отвѣтчикъ называетъ 2—3 человѣкъ.

Если истецъ пользуется расположеніемъ волостного, то отвѣтчика тотчасъ приводятъ, и бій налагаетъ присягу вмѣсто пятидесятка на аулъ отвѣтчика. Потомъ, при отводѣ спорныхъ, съ отвѣтчика требуютъ доказательства того, что отводимыя лица дѣйствительно состояли когда либо въ тамбѣ съ нимъ.

ними біями какое дѣло будетъ разбираться: объ этомъ они должны извѣщаться непосредственно передъ началомъ разбирательства. На этихъ засѣданіяхъ необходимо, чтобы уѣздный начальникъ или его помощникъ наблюдали за тѣмъ, чтобы бій не откладывали дѣло на другой день, что равносильно полученію взятокъ.

(*) Это приведено какъ примѣръ. Само собою разумѣется, что вымогательство біевъ не есть такое общее явленіе, которое неизмѣнно сопровождаетъ бійское правосудіе.

Если бій не рѣшается сдѣлать угодное волостному, то послѣдній ободряетъ его словами: „не бойтесь аппеляціи: взысканіе будетъ произведено раньше ея, а потомъ какъ-нибудь увидимъ" (сизнинг хукмингизга бузулганча джуабердган мал тулениб калады).

Когда бій узнаетъ, что волостной получилъ взятку съ отвѣтчика, между тѣмъ онъ самъ взялъ взятку только съ истца, то онъ посылаетъ къ отвѣтчику для полученія взятки передъ рѣшеніемъ дѣла въ его пользу. Если теперь отвѣтчикъ уже не даетъ бію ничего, то бій рѣшаетъ дѣло въ пользу истца, разсчитывая такъ: „я сослужилъ службу истцу, мое дѣло кончено; пусть волостной отмѣнитъ мое рѣшеніе". Но если уже выдана копія на взысканіе, то отмѣна рѣшенія бія можетъ послѣдовать только при посредствѣ волостнаго съѣзда и волостному управителю остается парализировать рѣшеніе: онъ не производитъ взысканія или оцѣниваетъ взыскиваемое выше стоимости (Торгай).

За несправедливое рѣшеніе одного бія, отмѣненное многими біями, первый не подлежитъ взысканію (*). Но если, съ помощью свидѣтелей (**), докажутъ, что бій принялъ взятку, то, въ большинствѣ случаевъ, обстоятельство это передается судебному слѣдователю, для дальнѣйшаго веденія дѣла по преступленію должности.

Въ степи въ такихъ случаяхъ жалуются волостному, который приказываетъ бію „успокоить сердце" жаловавшагося (кеуини тултираб берингъ), т. е. либо очиститься присягою, либо дать какое нибудь удовлетвореніе недовольному.

Если нѣтъ свидѣтелей, то бій очищается обыкновенно присягою.

(*) Въ Кокшетавскѣ въ 1887 году былъ случай, что за несправедливое рѣшеніе одного судьи отвѣтчикъ сильно побилъ его. Жалоба бія на оскорбителя дѣйствіемъ при исполненіи обязанностей службы была передана на третейскій судъ, который приговорилъ оскорбителя къ заключенію при полиціи на трое сутокъ.

(**) Бываетъ, что обѣ стороны представляютъ множество (70—90) свидѣтелей, готовыхъ показать подъ присягой, что бій взялъ или не взялъ взятку.

Вызовъ сторонъ и прочихъ допрашиваемыхъ лицъ въ судѣ есть вообще обязанность волостнаго. Для вызова сторонъ у волостнаго есть джигиты. Смотря по разстоянію аула отвѣтчика, истецъ даетъ джигиту, посылаемому за отвѣтчикомъ, нѣкоторую сумму, подъ названіемъ „кызмет" (услуга). Если онъ выиграетъ искъ, то получаетъ эти деньги съ отвѣтчика, въ числѣ другихъ судебныхъ издержекъ.

Отвѣтчикъ упрашиваетъ джигита сказать волостному, что его не было дома. Джигитъ отказывается, требуя, чтобы вызываемый отправился тотчасъ же. Тогда джигитъ получаетъ взятку и докладываетъ волостному, что отвѣтчика не было дома. Волостной отпускаетъ ждавшаго у него истца на нѣсколько дней, прибавляя ему въ слѣдъ: „не приходите пусто, а!" (куру кольменгиз а!); а передъ другими волостной, не говоря ничего, потираетъ только бороду, какъ будто масля ее,—намекъ, достаточно понятный для истца. Послѣ ухода истца волостной потихоньку спрашиваетъ у джигита, нашелъ ли онъ отвѣтчика дома. Джигитъ говоритъ: „былъ; онъ далъ мнѣ столько-то и обѣщалъ не обижать и волостного (куру койнаймен)". Вечеромъ того же дня волостной посылаетъ другого джигита, который пугаетъ отвѣтчика за неявку. Послѣдній даетъ что-нибудь, чтобы проволочками утомить истца.

Иногда волостной чрезъ посторонняго даетъ понять истцу, что отвѣтчикъ не былъ дома 3—4 раза; тѣмъ не менѣе онъ, волостной, заставитъ отыскать отвѣтчика, хотя бы тотъ спрятался подъ землю (ерге керіб житсе де тантырамын); но на это требуется вознагражденіе. Истецъ даетъ что-нибудь. Тогда волостной посылаетъ потихоньку сказать отвѣтчику, чтобы онъ пришелъ, не боясь. Потомъ дѣло передаетъ бію.

Послѣ того, какъ стороны росписались въ выборѣ нѣсколькихъ біевъ, волостной назначаетъ имъ мѣсто и время явки, предупреждая истца, что за неявку ему откажутъ въ искѣ, а отвѣтчика—что онъ сочтется уличеннымъ. Но не смотря на это, послѣ неявки отвѣтчика, не рѣшаютъ заочно, а посылаютъ еще разъ въ мѣсто жительства отвѣтчика, и только если онъ отту-

да убѣдить, то волостной можетъ приказать рѣшить заочно. Иногда отвѣтчикъ послѣ всего этого подаетъ жалобу на заочное рѣшеніе біевъ. Тогда біевъ опредѣляютъ присягу о двукратномъ вызовѣ (Торгай).

По мнѣнію Торгая, § 35 у Самоквасова: „если кто посланного за нимъ будетъ бить и сдѣлаетъ на лицѣ раны, то долженъ, напротивъ, и тотъ ему сдѣлать таковые же знаки" и т. д., основанъ, вѣроятно, на распоряженіяхъ какого нибудь одного сильнаго волостнаго; хотя, впрочемъ, у киргизовъ существуетъ пословица: за палку воздается палкою (таякка таяк кайтады), т. е. око за око, зубъ за зубъ.

Если джигитъ былъ посланъ волостнымъ не на основаніи приказанія уѣзднаго начальника, то за знаки (тамга) на его лицѣ отъ побоевъ не взыскивается. По крайней мѣрѣ, когда нѣтъ свидѣтелей, а есть „тамга" только на джигитѣ, а не на хозяинѣ кибитки, то тотъ отпирается въ томъ, будто приходилъ джигитъ. Дѣло оканчивается словами: „ступайте вонъ и помиритесь" (далага чыгынгиз арасынгиз), ибо присяги за это не налагаютъ (*).

Джигитъ можетъ бить вызваннаго, чтобы заставить его скорѣе идти; за рану при этомъ не взыскивается.

Когда волостной медлитъ вызовомъ сторонъ и свидѣтелей, а біи—разборомъ дѣла, то отвѣтчикъ успѣваетъ предъявить искъ, совершенно схожій съ искомъ истца (карсы дау, карсыма карсы дау). Это дѣлается также во время разбирательства дѣла, иногда

(*) Случается, что джигитъ собираетъ народъ для какого нибудь общаго описанія, но при этомъ встрѣчаетъ сопротивленіе и получаетъ побои со знаками на лицѣ или на тѣлѣ. Тогда народъ, желая задобрить джигита, дариТъ ему что нибудь, но не по адату, а по доброй волѣ, напр. лошадь и халатъ. Прося его не жаловаться, народъ говоритъ: „хотя разбита голова—она подъ шапкою, хотя сломалась рука—она въ рукавѣ" (бас ярылса бурк астында, кол сынса джиг астында). Въ изложеніи приходитъ поговорку: «ссора и драка есть путь, существующій съ древнихъ временъ» (урсыпа таласпа бурунгы калган ыз).

Такъ идетъ знаки на лицѣ видны, то лицемъ дорожатъ и говорятъ виновному: „ты оставилъ тамгу на мое лунообразное лицо" (айдай бетимде тамга салдынг), т. е. ты обезобразилъ мое чистое лицо. На рукѣ, напр., рана не важна, исключая полома кости (Торгай).

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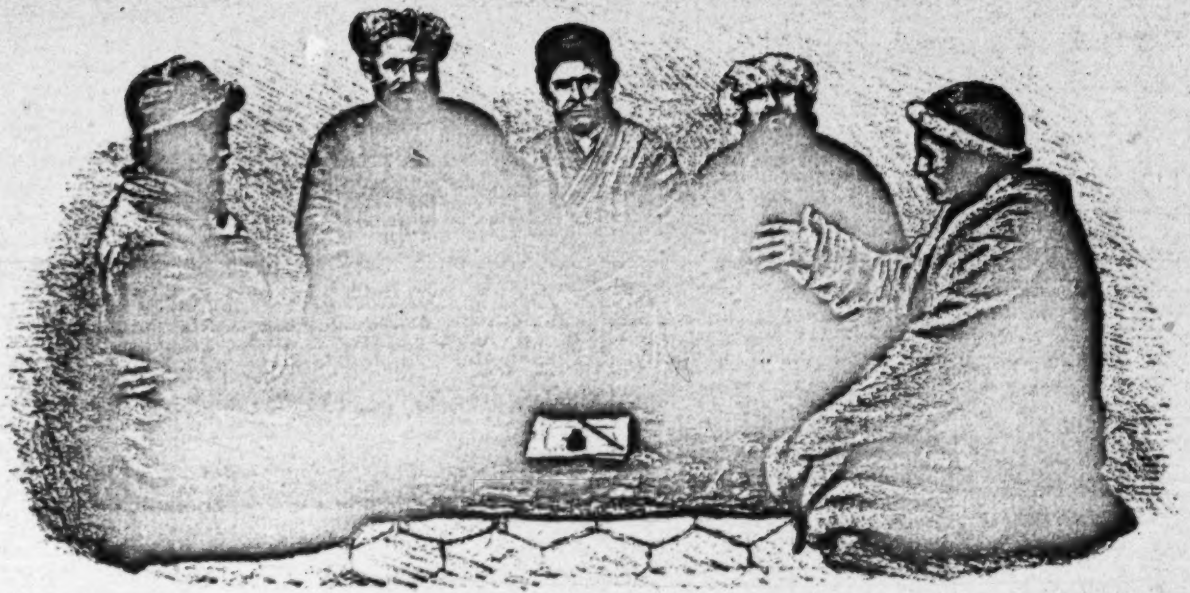

ИСТЕЦЪ. БІЙ АХМЕТЪ ТУРГАЕВЪ. БІЙ ЧЕКАМАНЪ ИСКЕНЕВЪ. БІЙ ЧОКАЙ ТУРГАЕВЪ. ОТВѢТЧИКЪ.

ЗАСѢДАНІЕ НАРОДНАГО СУДА

Рис. Ахметовъ.

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и свидѣтелями. Но біи отклоняютъ такой искъ. Исключеніе составляютъ иски о признанныхъ на базарѣ скотинахъ.

Взаимные иски между поссорившимися родственниками, по чрезвычайной запутанности ихъ, оставляются безъ послѣдствій, или ведутся къ примиренію, „въ виду родства". Когда нѣтъ возможности ни отклонить, ни примирить, то назначаютъ по присягѣ каждой сторонѣ на свой искъ (Перовскій уѣздъ).

По бію Султану Кацаеву, во взаимныхъ искахъ безъ свидѣтелей даютъ двѣ очистительныя присяги: одну самому истцу, другую самому отвѣтчику (бас басына—на голову каждаго изъ нихъ), первую по предъявленному раньше иску, вторую по встрѣчному иску. По каждому изъ этихъ исковъ берется бій-лыкъ, но только въ случаѣ удовлетворенія иска. Иначе біи ограничиваются сборомъ на приложеніе печатей (мухране).

Если часть иска оказалась справедливою, то изъ этого еще не слѣдуетъ, что и весь искъ справедливъ. Съ подверженною сомнѣнію частью иска слѣдуетъ поступать какъ съ особымъ искомъ.

Совокупность преступленій не принимается во вниманіе. Каждое преступленіе судится отдѣльно.

Если искъ касается двухъ предметовъ, которые въ одномъ мѣстѣ обыкновенно не находятся, то искъ раздѣляется (бійскія книги Перовскаго уѣзда).

Часто къ первому истцу присоединяется второй, съ цѣлью легкой наживы на счетъ уличеннаго по первому дѣлу. Поэтому дѣло каждаго истца и каждаго отвѣтчика должно быть разбираемо особо.

Повѣренные (вакил) существовали уже при ханахъ. Они назывались также „купившими искъ" (даупы сатыб алган).

По Загряжскому (*), повѣренными не могутъ быть: несовершеннолѣтніе и безумные. Повѣренные должны удостовѣрить біи, что именно имъ довѣрено веденіе дѣла; они должны при-

(*) Матеріалы для статистики Туркестанскаго края, вып. IV, стр. 194 и 195.

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сутствовать при показаніи противной стороны; они доставляютъ своимъ довѣрителямъ взысканный штрафъ. Если приславшій довѣреннаго будетъ присужденъ къ штрафу или къ тѣлесному наказанію, то приговоръ производится надъ довѣрителемъ. Приславшій довѣреннаго можетъ протестовать противъ рѣшенія біи, если довѣренный употребилъ во зло его довѣренность.

По другому источнику, отказъ довѣрителя отъ сдѣлокъ довѣреннаго возможенъ, если довѣритель не далъ письменной довѣренности.

По сообщенію Е. А. Александрова, въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ довѣренности въ обычаѣ нѣтъ, но допускаются умѣющіе говорить на судѣ. Подобныя лица никогда не являются на судъ безъ своихъ кліентовъ.

При присягѣ присутствовалъ, по адату, и присутствуетъ еще нынѣ самъ истецъ или самъ довѣритель (ак іесе). Довѣренный никогда не присутствуетъ при присягѣ противной стороны.

Къ дачѣ свидѣтельскихъ показаній допускается всякій совершеннолѣтній, видѣвшій или знающій о преступленіи. Настоящимъ (нага) свидѣтелемъ (айгак, гуа) считается тотъ, кто привелъ пойманнаго съ поличнымъ вора, или отнялъ у него украденное вмѣстѣ съ лошадью и халатомъ, или получилъ при народѣ и властяхъ отъ хозяина сююнчи (Перов. уѣз).

Доносчики раздѣляются на открытыхъ (бет айгак) и заочныхъ (сырт айгак). Первые берутся доказать истину своихъ словъ на очной ставкѣ съ воромъ. Вторые доносятъ только о томъ, кто и при какихъ обстоятельствахъ совершилъ преступленіе, но не хотятъ быть свидѣтелями при разборѣ дѣла, „Мы говоримъ за спиною, мы не можемъ сказать въ глаза“ (сиртинен айтамыз, бетинен айталмайміз), говорятъ они, по біи Султану. По Александрову, обычай не одобряетъ доносовъ о преступленіяхъ, и доносчики всегда находятся въ презрѣніи у своихъ обществъ, по пословицѣ: „у вора одна щека черна, у доносчика—обѣ“.

Показанія свидѣтелей подтверждаются присягою не ихъ самихъ, а ихъ стороны, т. е. рода или общины (Перовскій уѣздъ).

Если нѣтъ никакихъ извѣстій и слѣдовъ воровства и если явится человѣкъ съ заявленіемъ, что онъ знаетъ вора и возьметъ съ потерпѣвшихъ сюючи, но воръ, не признавшись, начнетъ судиться, то человѣкъ, получившій сюючи, обязанъ выставить присягу изъ своего родства, по количеству уворованнаго имущества. Если онъ это сдѣлаетъ и тѣмъ доказавъ воровство, принудитъ виновныхъ къ платежу, то потерпѣвшій получитъ только уворованное у него имущество и данное доказчику сюючи; взысканный же штрафъ (айб) идетъ въ пользу доказчика. (Бій Сагындыковъ, Чиликентскаго уѣзда).

У каракиргизовъ самъ свидѣтель не присягаетъ; присягаетъ его близкій родственникъ (яваша), хотя бы онъ былъ біемъ или волостнымъ управителемъ.

Если правдивость свидѣтелей неоспорима, т. е. если воръ пойманъ съ поличнымъ, если у вора отняли халатъ и лошадь и если свидѣтели суть люди весьма уважаемые или власть имѣющіе, то ихъ словамъ вѣрятъ безъ присяги. Изъ уваженія къ людямъ, пользующимся положеніемъ въ обществѣ, имъ вообще избѣгаютъ назначать присягу. Когда все-таки есть основаніе не довѣрять ихъ словамъ, то назначаютъ присягу сторонѣ одного изъ тяжущихся, какъ бываетъ въ процессахъ безъ свидѣтелей.

Если виновные не сознаются, то даже и тогда, когда показанія истцевъ подтверждаются свидѣтелями, на нихъ налагаютъ присягу.

Если свидѣтель своими показаніями скомпрометируетъ себя, напр., сознается, что позволилъ отвѣтчику привязать украденныхъ верблюдовъ, между тѣмъ какъ отвѣтчикъ отрицаетъ этотъ фактъ, то біи не видятъ еще доказаннымъ товарищество обоихъ по воровству. Въ такомъ случаѣ предоставляютъ: или очистительную присягу отвѣтчику, послѣ принятія которой свидѣтель является воромъ, или присягу свидѣтелю для огражденія его отъ случайности, т. е. ложной присяги отвѣтчика (Минебай).

Если отецъ берется доказать невиновность сына, то его на-

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зываютъ свидѣтелемъ и даютъ для отысканія вора срокъ, послѣ котораго, если не отыщетъ, то присуждается къ уплатѣ суммы иска. (Бійскія книги Перовскаго уѣзда).

Мать и другія родственницы допускаются къ свидѣтельскому показанію, но не представляютъ присяги. Поэтому женщины, какъ и несовершеннолѣтніе, когда видятъ совершеніе преступленія, призываютъ въ свидѣтели, по возможности, взрослыхъ мужчинъ.

По Умурбеку (Аулієатинскаго уѣзда), свидѣтелями въ полномъ смыслѣ не могутъ быть: 1) несовершеннолѣтніе по стольку, по скольку дѣйствительно они не въ состояніи убѣдить; 2) люди, извѣстные съ дурной стороны; ихъ показаніямъ не придаютъ вѣса; 3) женщины по чужимъ дѣламъ и 4) сумасшедшіе — ни подъ какимъ видомъ. Е. А. Александровъ къ этому перечню прибавляетъ и незаконнорожденныхъ, свидѣтельскому показанію которыхъ въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ никакой вѣры не придаютъ.

Слуги, показывающіе въ пользу своихъ господъ, не принимаются во вниманіе. Слуги, показывающіе противъ господъ, не злостно, а по прямодушію, принимаются въ разсчетъ, но не допускаются къ присягѣ.

Лицамъ, показывающимъ за своихъ родственниковъ, не придаютъ особаго значенія (нунча нятиоат кылмайды), въ виду ихъ родственной связи (туускандык клады, инындык кылады). Если показываютъ противъ нихъ и если они, по честности своей, заслуживаютъ довѣрія, то дѣло рѣшается на основаніи ихъ словъ, безъ присяги. Если они дурные люди, то не вѣрятъ имъ, но присяги не назначаютъ. Чѣмъ ближе родство, тѣмъ менѣе допускаются къ присягѣ.

Если каждая изъ тяжущихся сторонъ имѣетъ своего свидѣтеля, то позволяютъ подтвердить показаніе присягою тому, кто давалъ самое разумное, самое основательное показаніе (бр неме себеби бар иеен) и кто менѣе связанъ родствомъ съ своею стороною.

Прежде свидѣтели показывали безъ присяги. Нынѣ свидѣ-

тели почти не допрашиваются безъ назначенія ихъ стороной присяги, потому что истецъ не удовлетворяется безъ этого.

Если свидѣтелей нѣсколько, то, по допросѣ всѣхъ ихъ, назначаютъ присягу одному изъ нихъ или двумъ, смотря по суммѣ иска, но съ одной только стороны, по выбору противной стороны, напр. отвѣтчика (дагвагерминг тангазуынча).

Допросъ свидѣтелей съ присягою необходимъ въ уголовныхъ дѣлахъ, разумѣется, только при отпирательствѣ отвѣтчика. Въ гражданскихъ искахъ, если свидѣтель не только присутствовалъ, но и былъ приглашенъ въ качествѣ свидѣтеля при заключеніи условія, передачи денегъ и т. п., то онъ даетъ показаніе безъ присяги, хотя бы отвѣтчикъ отпирался. Разъ обѣ стороны согласились на одного и того же свидѣтеля, то дѣло рѣшается на основаніи его словъ, и одна изъ сторонъ уже не можетъ послѣ отвести его.

Отказъ свидѣтеля не отъ своихъ словъ, а только отъ торжественнаго подтвержденія ихъ представленіемъ присяги, считается нынѣ уличеніемъ его стороны (Умурбекъ).

По Торгаю, свидѣтелю назначается присяга, когда тянущійся объявитъ его пристрастнымъ (спур, т. е. спорнымъ).

Поручители бываютъ двухъ родовъ: 1) тапкефиль (*) или ариефиль, и 2) заркефиль или малкефиль. Первые обязуются представить на лицо (тауб бередн): заподозрѣнныхъ, находящихся подъ слѣдствіемъ и судомъ, воровъ или преступниковъ, приговоренныхъ ко взысканію и въ случаѣ неисполненія кѣмъ-либо договора. Вторые же отвѣчаютъ за неисполненіе подобными лицами договоровъ и обязательствъ своимъ собственнымъ имуществомъ. Поручителемъ втораго рода бываютъ караванбаши, а поручителемъ перваго рода—родня, берущая вора изъ рукъ волостнаго на исправленіе.

Оба рода поручителей характеризуются, по Маковецкому и по біи Султану, поговоркою: «за мужа поручитель умираетъ,

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(*) По Александрову, тапкефиль—вѣрно; слѣдуетъ говорить *тапкерфиль*.

за имущество поручитель платитъ» (орге кеоль уледи, малга кеоль тулейди).

Поручитель можетъ быть одинъ и тотъ же съ обѣихъ сторонъ. Смерть должника (карадар), за котораго поручился заркеоль, не избавляетъ послѣдняго отъ имущественной отвѣтственности за покойнаго. Поручитель, платившій по обязательствамъ неисправнаго или умершаго должника, можетъ начать искъ о взысканіи убытковъ съ наслѣдника.

За смерть отданнаго на поруки такеоль не отвѣчаетъ. За побѣгъ его такеоль приговаривается къ тому самому взысканію, которое было положено бѣжавшему; по Александрову же, такеоль отвѣчаетъ по условію.

Когда маклеръ становится заркеоль, то за это обѣ стороны ему платятъ кеоляне. Это бываетъ при долговыхъ обязательствахъ.

Если у незавѣдомо купившаго краденое имущество отбираютъ таковое, то онъ обращается къ продавцу его. Если продавецъ заявитъ, что не продавалъ и при этомъ не было свидѣтелей, то ему даютъ очиститься присягою. Послѣ присяги платитъ поручитель. Если поручитель отрицаетъ, что ручался, то ему даютъ также очиститься присягою.

Нѣкогда хозяинъ отданной въ долгъ вещи прикасался къ рукѣ (билек—отъ локтя до кисти руки) поручителя. Если фактъ прикосновенія былъ внѣ сомнѣнія, то на этомъ основаніи бій присуждалъ поручителя, за несостоятельностью должника, къ уплатѣ долга (Перовскій уѣздъ).

Къ числу судебныхъ уликъ относятся: признаніе отвѣтчика, противорѣчія въ показаніяхъ на допросѣ, общеизвѣстная испорченность подсуднаго, лживость его, отсутствіе опредѣленныхъ занятій, появка на мѣстѣ преступленія, нахожденіе пропавшаго имущества у отвѣтчика, свѣжіе слѣды, ведущіе отъ мѣста преступленія къ его жилищѣ, побѣгъ изъ суда, явка въ судъ, свидѣтельскія показанія, всякаго рода росписи и т. д. Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ одно дѣло о хунѣ было прекращено на основаніи свидѣтельства русскаго врача о естественной смерти, не быв-

щей слѣдствіемъ побоевъ. Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ начальникъ уѣзда передалъ дѣло о Сулейманѣ Бурдиновѣ, лишившемся глаза въ дракѣ, въ чрезвычайный съѣздъ, при свидѣтельствѣ русскаго врача (*).

Улики теряютъ силу, когда отвѣтчикъ отрицаетъ фактъ признанія, поимки, нахожденія слѣдовъ, выдачи росписки и т. д. Поэтому о поимкѣ вора на мѣстѣ преступленія, объ отнятіи у него краденаго, о нахожденіи свѣжихъ слѣдовъ и т. д. должно быть тотчасъ заявлено властямъ или старшинѣ въ аулѣ людямъ.

Если все показаніе тяжущагося основано на извѣстномъ обстоятельствѣ, которое потомъ окажется ложнымъ, то этого достаточно, чтобы рѣшить дѣло противъ него.

Вещественныя доказательства, въ родѣ окровавленнаго ножа, не имѣютъ важнаго значенія на судѣ біевъ, ибо кровь могла быть кровью овцы и т. п.

Когда судья, по точномъ (айрмачык) и безпристрастномъ разсмотрѣніи (тикшарыб карагаными зда) представленныхъ доказательствъ, убѣдится въ степени виновности или невиновности допрашиваемыхъ лицъ, напр. отвѣтчика, то, не смотря на упорное утвержденіе его, что онъ чистъ отъ обвиненія (дагвасыман саумен, аман бен), постановляетъ рѣшеніе безъ присяги. Тоже дѣлается у каракиргизовъ.

Когда судья, хотя и усматриваетъ изъ представленныхъ уликъ виновность или невиновность, но не беретъ на себя отвѣтственность за свое мнѣніе, то назначаетъ присягу сторонѣ, т. е. общинѣ или роду свидѣтеля, рѣдко самому свидѣтелю. Только въ томъ случаѣ, когда вовсе нѣтъ свидѣтелей или почему либо невозможно или неудобно назначать съ ихъ стороны присягу, бій назначаетъ присягу одной изъ тяжущихся сторонъ.

Не отказываютъ въ искѣ по бездоказанности, ибо истецъ не обязанъ доказать справедливость иска. Напротивъ, отвѣтчикъ обязанъ доказать свою чистоту. Послѣ этого понятно, почему

(*) Въ Курамінскомъ уѣздѣ былъ случай, что бій, вопреки свидѣтельства врача, констатировавшаго потерю глаза отъ болѣзни, присудилъ хунъ.

положеніе отвѣтчика называется „пашар", безпомощнымъ, и ему, въ видахъ облегченія, даютъ возможность подтвердить свои слова присягою его стороны. Вообще назначеніе присяги извѣстной сторонѣ можетъ, при извѣстныхъ обстоятельствахъ, явиться облегченіемъ для этой стороны.

У Маковецкаго, I, стр. 69, сказано: убѣдившись, что доносъ ложенъ, бій все-таки продолжаетъ разборъ дѣла и назначаетъ обвиняемому присягу. Въ этомъ случаѣ, какъ сообщаетъ Султанъ Каваевъ, бій спрашиваютъ истца, настаиваетъ ли онъ еще на своемъ искѣ или нѣтъ (осыны сурайсын бе я сурамайсын) и если настаиваетъ, то дается присяга. Но ложные иски о кражѣ денегъ слѣдуетъ, не спрашивая истца, оставлять безъ послѣдствій. „Вообще всѣ иски о похищеніи денегъ ложны, ибо развѣ можно отнять деньги у кого нибудь, не убивъ его, или не нанеся ему раны?", прибавилъ бій Султанъ Каваевъ.

Прежде вознагражденіе біямъ (бійлык) не было точно опредѣлено. Помимо поднесеній и подарковъ, имъ доставалась одна изъ лучшихъ скотинъ штрафа или по крайней мѣрѣ халатъ изъ аттона. Въ хаплыкъ и мапаплыкъ (у каракиргизовъ) шелъ обыкновенно весь полученный штрафъ, за вычетомъ украденнаго имущества.

Согласно закона 1867 года, бійлыкъ взыскивался въ размѣрѣ $^1/_{10}$ стоимости скота. Сумма бійлыка записывалась въ протоколъ, съ обозначеніемъ стороны, которая должна платить его, и полученъ ли бійлыкъ или нѣтъ.

Часто, по невозможности получить $^1/_{10}$, біи ограничиваются меньшею частью, стараясь получить бійлыкъ тотчасъ по объявленіи рѣшенія, до окончанія дѣла присягою. Отчего и приходится біямъ иногда возвращать преждевременно полученное, напр., при аппеляціи. Чтобы получить бійлыкъ немедленно, біи взыскиваютъ его: или съ обѣихъ сторонъ поволамъ, или со всѣхъ тяжущихся по равной части, или съ той стороны, которая при деньгахъ, съ предоставленіемъ выигравшему дѣло получить данный бійлыкъ съ проигравшаго, о чемъ иногда въ бійскихъ кни-

гахъ записывается такъ: „теперь обѣ стороны поровну платятъ, въ концѣ платитъ проигравшій“ (хазыр еки тарао тинг тулейди, акыбытда джыгылган тулейди). Но вообще у киргизовъ положеніе бійлыка на ту или на другую сторону не подчиняется никакимъ правиламъ.

На съѣздѣ біевъ Чимкентскаго и Туркестанскаго уѣздовъ, въ сентябрѣ 1877 года, было постановлено взимать бійлыкъ, на основаніи адата, въ слѣдующемъ размѣрѣ: за рѣшеніе дѣла за хунъ мужчины 300 руб., за хунъ глаза—150 руб., за искалѣченіе мужчины—20 руб.; за рѣшеніе по дѣламъ о кражахъ: одного верблюда—8 тиллей, одной лошади—4 тилли; за дѣла о побояхъ—2 тилли.

У каракиргизовъ бійлыкъ берутъ обыкновенно съ того, кто приговоренъ къ платежу. Иногда берутъ съ обѣихъ сторонъ, по степени ихъ вины (гунесине карай). Бійлыкъ берутъ въ то время, когда постановляютъ рѣшеніе (кал киседи). Кто сейчасъ не можетъ заплатить, тому могутъ дать отсрочку; но если его вина велика, то требуютъ уплаты сейчасъ.

Бійлыкъ можетъ быть полученъ натурою, напр., въ искахъ о жатвѣ.

Бійлыкъ берется также и при окончаніи дѣлъ мировою сдѣлкою.

При оставленіи иска или части его безъ послѣдствій, по давности или другой причинѣ, бійлыка не берутъ.

Бійлыкъ не берется, когда съѣздъ оставляетъ въ силѣ прежнее рѣшеніе. Когда же отмѣняется прежнее рѣшеніе, то бійлыкъ, полученный по немъ, возвращается.

Дѣлая постановленіе о продолженіи срока присяги по болѣзни присяжнаго, бій берутъ за этотъ трудъ бійлыкъ.

По словамъ бія Султана Канаева, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, бійлыкъ не взимается даже въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда отвѣтчикъ очищается присягою. Онъ тогда платитъ только копѣекъ 20 или 40, до 1 рубля, за полученіе отъ бія оправдательнаго документа съ приложеніемъ печати. Этотъ сборъ называется мухрана („на печать“).

Убытки и судебные расходы (чыгын) заключаются въ самомъ штрафѣ. Когда уже полученъ штрафъ, то біи могутъ отказать въ искѣ о вознѣщеніи судебныхъ расходовъ, за исключеніемъ дѣлъ о хунѣ, ибо по такимъ дѣламъ призывается на судъ множество народа, издержки котораго слагаются въ значительную сумму и не могутъ быть покрыты частью хуна (*).

Когда искъ окончился безъ штрафа, то выигравшій дѣло ищетъ вознагражденія убытковъ и судебныхъ издержекъ, которыя ему и присуждаются въ томъ же или въ другомъ засѣданіи суда.

Срокъ уплаты штрафа записывается въ протоколъ рѣшенія; но эта мѣра оказывается зачастую недѣйствительною. Адатъ не полагаетъ срока.

Въ случаѣ несостоятельности отвѣтчика къ уплатѣ, или отсутствія его, взысканіе распространяется на его десятокъ (упбасилас), а по истощеніи средствъ десятка, на пятидесятокъ, потомъ на аулъ, о чемъ помѣчается въ протоколѣ (**). Не отбирается только то, что необходимо для жизни.

Если сумма штрафа велика, напр. 1500 руб., то опредѣляютъ право, за несостоятельностью отвѣтчика, взысканіе съ его пятидесятка и аула, обойдя десятокъ.

Взысканіе не простирается дальше того круга, на который наложена была присяга.

Взысканіе съ общины въ постановленномъ біями порядкѣ производится на основаніи раскладки, дѣлаемой самою общиною между кибитками (бійдиг тыгыздауы, халитыг уйгаруы бунча).

Общество можетъ отказаться отъ платежа взысканія за своего члена, заставляя его идти въ работники.

(*) По Торгаю, расходы по иску хуна могутъ быть отдѣлены отъ хуна: по хуну всѣ платятъ поровну; но расходамъ не платятъ прежде всего виновный, а потомъ родъ и только тогда, когда уже у перваго не осталось никакого имущества.

(**) Въ древности, при несостоятельности плательщика, за него платилъ не десятокъ, пятидесятокъ и т. д. по порядку, а право все колѣно или весь родъ. Напр., при несостоятельности отвѣтчика изъ другаго колѣна, по того же рода, истецъ получалъ взысканіе со всего колѣна, а когда отвѣтчикъ былъ изъ другаго рода, то со всего рода.

Разумность взысканій съ общины усматривается въ томъ, что родъ, боясь платежа за вора, удерживаетъ его, нравственнымъ вліяніемъ, отъ повторенія краши. Въ настоящее время возложеніе имущественной отвѣтственности на общину является отжившимъ началомъ, такъ какъ: 1) личность свободна въ своихъ дѣйствіяхъ и не обязана просить позволенія у сосѣдей передъ приходомъ и уходомъ (*); 2) вслѣдствіе измѣненныхъ условій жизни, имущество у киргизовъ пріурочивается все болѣе и болѣе къ личности и къ тѣсному кругу семьи.

Если отвѣтчикъ пріѣзжій, то взысканіе распространяется на его попутчиковъ, сотоpговцевъ, домашнихъ (кодас). Если нѣтъ таковыхъ или они неимущи, то отвѣтчикъ можетъ быть отданъ въ работники.

Рѣшенія суда прежде приводились въ исполненіе ханскими джигитами или джигитами тѣхъ біевъ, которые рѣшили дѣло, а также любымъ постороннимъ человѣкомъ, который получалъ вознагражденіе отъ выигравшаго дѣло.

Въ настоящее время волостные управители обязаны приводить въ исполненіе рѣшенія біевъ слѣдующимъ порядкомъ: получивъ копію съ рѣшенія, вырѣзанную изъ книги, они, по наступленіи означеннаго въ ней срока для уплаты, предъявляютъ ее чрезъ аульныхъ старшинъ отвѣтчику и затѣмъ, въ случаѣ отказа его платить, берутъ на соотвѣтственную сумму скотъ, который оцѣнивается почетными людьми. По уплатѣ всей суммы истцу, волостной управитель на обратной сторонѣ копіи дѣлаетъ о томъ отмѣтку съ росписскою получателя и отдаетъ ее уплатившему лицу.

При регламентаціи народнаго суда законъ 1867 года значительно уклонилъ его отъ суда обычнаго. Это обстоятельство

(*) Личность свободна для временныхъ отлучекъ; но при переселеніи изъ волости въ волость остается въ полной зависимости отъ рода, который можетъ не дать ей согласія на увольненіе. Бѣднѣющій родъ зорко слѣдитъ за своимъ состоятельнымъ родовичемъ, который необходимъ ему, не говоря уже для цѣлей благотворительныхъ, но прямо для платежа за бѣдняковъ податей.

столь существенно и вредно повліяло на развитіе слабыхъ сторонъ суда біевъ, что положеніе его оказалось весьма неудовлетворительнымъ и повлекло за собою убѣжденіе многихъ мѣстныхъ дѣятелей въ необходимости уничтоженія этого суда и замѣны его судомъ русскимъ.

Тогда какъ по народному обычаю, стороны вольны обращаться для разбора дѣла къ любому бію, законъ 1867 года обязалъ киргизовъ судиться только у біевъ, утвержденныхъ военнымъ губернаторомъ. Въ случаяхъ, весьма частаго на практикѣ, несогласія сторонъ на третейскій судъ, законъ вмѣнялъ истцу въ обязанность избирать бія непремѣнно изъ волости отвѣтчика. Такъ какъ, при существованіи родоваго начала, всякій бій естественно стоитъ за своего родовича, то обязательный судъ бія изъ волости отвѣтчика равносиленъ отказу въ справедливости, ибо отъ родовича—отвѣтчика истецъ не можетъ ожидать безпристрастія. Даже внутри самой волости, такая организація суда біевъ не гарантировала справедливаго суда, потому что, при обязательности обращенія къ волостнымъ біямъ и при ограниченности ихъ числа, біи сдѣлались доступны корысти, подкупу, вліянію богатыхъ и почетныхъ людей и избирательныхъ партій.

Чтобы обезпечить справедливость рѣшенія болѣе важныхъ дѣлъ, законъ 1867 года, ограничивъ компетентность отдѣльныхъ біевъ суммою 100 рублей, создалъ для рѣшенія дѣлъ до 1000 рублей, дѣлъ по убійствамъ и барантѣ—чрезвычайные съѣзды біевъ, установивъ обжалованіе рѣшеній по инстанціямъ. Но масса мелочныхъ дѣлъ осталась подсудною отдѣльнымъ біямъ, да и волостные съѣзды, состоя изъ небольшаго числа тѣхъ же біевъ, подкупныхъ и находящихся подъ вліяніемъ богатыхъ родовичей и волостныхъ управителей, не могли дѣйствовать лучше единоличнаго суда біевъ.

Въ результатѣ судъ біевъ сдѣлался судомъ подкупнымъ, непопулярнымъ и подчиненнымъ тузеннымъ должностнымъ лицамъ. Неудовлетворительность суда народнаго по закону 1867 г. вызывала, для разбора жалобъ народа, вмѣшательство въ дѣла

суда біевъ русской уѣздной администраціи. Хотя законъ подчинялъ дѣла ниже 100 руб. вѣдѣнію біи, избраннаго истцемъ, изъ волости отвѣтчика; но, пользуясь правомъ отвода біевъ, отвѣтчики постоянно уклонялись отъ суда и истецъ, для полученія удовлетворенія, вынужденъ былъ обращаться къ содѣйствію волостнаго управителя, который могъ вызвать, какъ отвѣтчика, такъ и біевъ, не обращавшихъ часто вниманія на просьбу истца о разборѣ и находившихъ оправданіе въ отводѣ ихъ отвѣтчикомъ и въ его ослушаніи. Во многихъ мѣстахъ на практикѣ былъ выработанъ такой порядокъ поступленія дѣлъ въ судъ біевъ, что ни одно дѣло не разбиралось біями, безъ принесенія жалобы непосредственно уѣздному начальнику или его помощнику и безъ особаго каждый разъ приказа волостному управителю, о разборѣ дѣла біями. Такимъ образомъ біи попали въ прямое подчиненіе волостнымъ управителямъ и судъ народный сдѣлался поприщемъ произвола со стороны мѣстныхъ властей.

Киргизы, по словамъ Султана Бабагаліева, примѣняютъ къ суду біевъ пословицу: „если камнемъ ударить сову, убьется сова; если совою ударить камень, также убьется сова" (таш билян ипалакни урса, ипалак уледи, ипалак билян ташни урса, ипалак уледи).

Законъ 12-го іюня 1886 года объ управленіи Туркестанскаго края сохранилъ киргизамъ ихъ народный судъ.

Вѣдѣнію народнаго суда подлежатъ: 1) всѣ дѣла о преступленіяхъ и проступкахъ, совершенныхъ туземцами, за исключеніемъ нижеслѣдующихъ преступленій: противъ вѣры христіанской, государственныхъ, противъ порядка управленія, по службѣ государственной и общественной, противъ постановленій о повинностяхъ государственныхъ и земскихъ, противъ имущества и доходовъ казны, противъ общественнаго благоустройства и благочинія, нарушенія устава карантиннаго, нарушенія постановленій противъ повальныхъ и прилипчивыхъ болѣзней, нарушенія правилъ, установленныхъ на случай скотскихъ падежей, противъ общественнаго спокойствія и порядка (составленіе злоумѣрен-

ныхъ шаекъ и пристанодержательство, лживые доносы и лжесвидѣтельство по дѣламъ, судимымъ по законамъ имперіи, укрывательство бѣглыхъ и порча телеграфовъ и дорогъ), противъ законовъ о состояніяхъ; противъ жизни, здравія, свободы и чести (убійство, нанесеніе ранъ и побоевъ, послѣдствіемъ коихъ была смерть, изнасилованіе, противозаконное задержаніе и заключеніе); противъ собственности (насильственное завладѣніе чужимъ недвижимымъ имуществомъ и истребленіе граничныхъ межъ и знаковъ, поджогъ и вообще умышленное истребленіе чужаго имущества, разбой и грабежъ, похищеніе казеннаго имущества и подлоги русскихъ документовъ) и 2) дѣла о преступленіяхъ и проступкахъ, хотя и не принадлежащихъ къ вышеисчисленнымъ, но совершенныхъ туземцами относительно русскихъ, а равно въ предѣлахъ русскихъ поселеній. Подобнаго рода дѣла вѣдаются судебными установленіями на общемъ основаніи.

Гражданскіе споры и иски между туземцами и лицами, не принадлежащими къ туземному населенію, равно дѣла между туземцами различныхъ народностей, имѣющими отдѣльные народные суды, а также по искамъ, основаннымъ на актахъ, совершенныхъ при участіи русскихъ властей, вѣдаются мировыми судьями и областными судами на общемъ основаніи.

Пререканія о подсудности дѣлъ между народными судами и судебными слѣдователями, мировыми судьями, а также ихъ помощниками, разрѣшаются областнымъ судомъ окончательно.

Лица, не принадлежащія къ туземному населенію, по исковымъ дѣламъ съ туземцами, а равно туземцы, имѣющіе различные народные суды, по дѣламъ между собою, могутъ, если пожелаютъ, обращаться къ народному суду. Въ такомъ случаѣ истецъ лишается права вчинить искъ по этому же дѣлу у мироваго судьи или въ областномъ судѣ.

Подсудность дѣлъ гражданскихъ опредѣляется мѣстомъ жительства отвѣтчика, а подсудность дѣлъ уголовныхъ—мѣстомъ совершенія преступленія. Искъ, относящійся къ нѣсколькимъ отвѣтчикамъ, предъявляется по мѣсту жительства одного изъ нихъ, по выбору истца.

Дѣла, подсудныя народному суду, могутъ подлежать разбору мироваго судьи или областнаго суда, не иначе, какъ по желанію обѣихъ сторонъ, заявленному суду письменно или словесно, со внесеніемъ въ протоколъ.

Дѣла, начатыя въ народномъ судѣ, не изъемлются изъ его вѣдѣнія, хотя бы искъ былъ переуступленъ лицу, не подвѣдомственному означенному суду.

Дѣло, подсудное народному суду, по существу котораго состоялось опредѣленіе хотя бы одной инстанціи этого суда, не можетъ быть перенесено къ мировому судьѣ или въ областной судъ, за исключеніемъ случаевъ, когда народный судъ приговоритъ къ наказанію, выходящему изъ предѣловъ его власти.

Приговоры и рѣшенія народнаго суда, постановленные съ превышеніемъ власти или по дѣламъ ему не подсуднымъ, не приводятся въ исполненіе и о нихъ уѣздный начальникъ представляетъ прокурору. Послѣдній вноситъ протестъ въ областной судъ, который, въ случаѣ отмѣны приговора, возвращаетъ дѣло, съ надлежащими указаніями, въ народный судъ, для постановленія новаго рѣшенія, а при неподсудности дѣла народному суду—даетъ ему законное направленіе.

Народный судъ, въ случаѣ непримиренія сторонъ, по дѣламъ о преступленіяхъ и проступкахъ, независимо опредѣленія вознагражденія за вредъ и убытки, налагаетъ на виновныхъ слѣдующія наказанія: а) денежныя взысканія не свыше трехсотъ рублей, и б) заключеніе подъ стражу не свыше одного года и шести мѣсяцевъ.

Если, вслѣдствіе неисправимо дурнаго и вреднаго поведенія подсуднаго, народный судъ признаетъ наказаніе, которое онъ въ правѣ назначить, недостаточнымъ, то опредѣливъ его въ предѣлахъ своей власти, можетъ ходатайствовать чрезъ областное правленіе о высылкѣ подсуднаго изъ мѣста жительства, по отбытіи наказанія.

Назначенное народнымъ судомъ денежное взысканіе, какъ личное наказаніе, въ случаѣ несостоятельности осужденнаго, замѣняется арестомъ не свыше трехъ мѣсяцевъ или отдачею, по

распоряженію уѣзднаго начальника, въ общественныя работы на этотъ же срокъ.

Народные судьи назначаются, по выбору населенія, на три года.

Число народныхъ судей и предѣлы ихъ участковъ опредѣляются областными правленіями передъ выборами, съ тѣмъ чтобы у кочевниковъ число судей въ волости было не менѣе четырехъ и не болѣе числа аульныхъ обществъ въ волости.

Въ народные судьи можетъ быть избранъ всякій изъ числа жителей волости, пользующійся уваженіемъ и довѣріемъ народа, не подвергавшійся, по приговору суда, наказаніямъ, превышающимъ семидневный арестъ или денежное взысканіе въ тридцать рублей, не состоящій подъ слѣдствіемъ или судомъ и имѣющій не менѣе двадцати пяти лѣтъ отъ роду.

Выборы народныхъ судей производятся волостнымъ съѣздомъ выборныхъ, которые избираются сельскими сходами, по одному отъ каждыхъ 50 домохозяевъ.

На каждую должность судьи выбираются два кандидата. Утвержденіе одного изъ нихъ въ должности судьи, а другаго кандидатомъ къ нему зависитъ отъ губернатора, который, въ случаѣ неутвержденія означенныхъ лицъ, назначаетъ новые выборы. Въ случаѣ отсутствія, болѣзни или смерти судьи, въ исправленіе его должности вступаетъ, съ разрѣшенія губернатора, кандидатъ въ судьи.

Народные судьи получаютъ вознагражденіе на основаніи существующихъ по сему предмету обычаевъ.

Народные судьи снабжаются особыми знаками, для ношенія при исполненіи служебныхъ обязанностей, равно какъ должностными печатями и книгами, для записыванія рѣшеній и актовъ.

Ближайшее наблюденіе за веденіемъ книгъ возлагается на обязанность уѣзднаго начальника, причемъ отвѣтственность за несоблюденіе установленнаго порядка падаетъ на судей и предсѣдателей съѣздовъ, по принадлежности.

Народные судьи за преступленія по должности предаются

суду областными правленіями, на основаніи постановленій устава уголовнаго судопроизводства, опредѣляющихъ порядокъ преданія суду лицъ административнаго вѣдомства.

Народный судъ составляютъ: а) единоличные судьи, б) съѣзды судей и в) чрезвычайные съѣзды судей.

Всѣ дѣла, какъ уголовныя, такъ и гражданскія, начинаются у единоличнаго судьи; но тяжущимся предоставляется, по обоюдному согласію, обращаться, для разбора своихъ дѣлъ, помимо единоличныхъ судей, прямо къ съѣзду, а равно къ постороннимъ лицамъ, которымъ тяжущіеся довѣряютъ разрѣшеніе своихъ споровъ. Рѣшенія избранныхъ посредниковъ окончательны, какъ бы значительна ни была цѣна иска.

Взаимное соглашеніе сторонъ на избраніе посредниковъ должно быть внесено въ установленную для сего при волости особую книгу и подписано тяжущимися. Въ эту же книгу заносятся и рѣшенія посредниковъ, которыя подписываются и скрѣпляются печатями какъ посредниковъ, такъ и тяжущихся.

Народные судьи кочеваго населенія приступаютъ къ разбирательству дѣлъ по жалобамъ частныхъ лицъ или по сообщенію волостнаго управителя или уѣзднаго начальника. При несогласіи тяжущихся на выборъ судьи, дѣло рѣшаетъ судья, указанный истцемъ, причемъ отвѣтчику предоставляется отвести двухъ судей.

Рѣшенія судьи, присуждающія не болѣе тридцати рублей и не свыше семи дней ареста, признаются окончательными и обжалованію не подлежатъ.

Рѣшенія судьи объявляются обѣимъ сторонамъ, съ выдачею, въ случаѣ требованія, копій съ рѣшенія, засвидѣтельствованныхъ приложеніемъ должностныхъ печатей судей.

Народнымъ судьямъ предоставляется свидѣтельствовать всякаго рода акты и договоры между подвѣдомственными ихъ суду туземцами, за исключеніемъ сдѣлокъ о недвижимыхъ имуществахъ, когда право собственности на нихъ утверждается на актахъ, совершенныхъ по силѣ общихъ законовъ имперіи.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

Выдаваемые народными судьями акты должны быть подписаны сторонами собственноручно, а за неграмотныхъ довѣренными лицами и свидѣтелями не менѣе двухъ; они скрѣпляются подписью и должностною печатью свидѣтельствующаго ихъ народнаго судьи и дословно записываются въ шнуровую книгу, подъ очереднымъ нумеромъ по порядку.

Съѣзды судей созываются въ каждой волости и составляются изъ всѣхъ судей ея, причемъ присутствіе считается законно составленнымъ, когда въ немъ участвуетъ не менѣе трехъ судей. Съѣзды созываются по мѣрѣ надобности, въ сроки, опредѣляемые напередъ уѣзднымъ начальникомъ. Съѣзды происходятъ въ присутствіи волостнаго управителя, на обязанности котораго лежитъ исключительно наблюденіе за благочиніемъ въ мѣстѣ собранія съѣзда.

Явившіеся на съѣздъ народные судьи избираютъ изъ своей среды предсѣдателя, руководящаго порядкомъ разбора дѣлъ.

Вѣдѣнію съѣздовъ народныхъ судей подлежатъ дѣла по жалобамъ на неокончательныя рѣшенія единоличныхъ судей. Рѣшенія съѣздовъ почитаются окончательными, за исключеніемъ рѣшеній, постановленныхъ съ превышеніемъ власти или по дѣламъ ему не подсудимъ.

Съѣздамъ народныхъ судей вмѣняется въ обязанность возбуждать дѣла объ удаленіи отъ должности и преданіи суду своихъ членовъ, которые допускаютъ въ рѣшеніяхъ явныя злоупотребленія. Постановленія по этому предмету уѣздный начальникъ представляетъ въ областное правленіе.

Доставленіе на съѣзды отвѣтчиковъ и свидѣтелей лежитъ на обязанности сельскихъ властей.

Жалобы на неокончательныя рѣшенія единоличныхъ судей приносятся, въ двухнедѣльный срокъ, со дня объявленія рѣшенія, волостному управителю, для представленія съѣзду. По открытіи съѣзда жалобы эти могутъ быть приносимы самому съѣзду.

Народный судъ совершается гласно и публично.

Чрезвычайные съѣзды народныхъ судей назначаются, по распоряженію губернатора, для рѣшенія дѣлъ, въ которыхъ участвуютъ жители разныхъ уѣздовъ или волостей, равно какъ для разсмотрѣнія ходатайствъ народныхъ судей и ихъ съѣздовъ о высылкѣ подсудимыхъ. Чрезвычайные съѣзды состоятъ изъ судей тѣхъ волостей, въ которыхъ числятся тяжущіеся или подсудимые, не менѣе одного отъ волости.

Назначеніе судей въ чрезвычайный съѣздъ, исключая выбранныхъ сторонами, производится уѣзднымъ начальникомъ. Судьи, бывшіе на предъидущихъ съѣздахъ въ теченіи года, участвуютъ только по собственному желанію.

Чрезвычайные съѣзды судей происходятъ въ присутствіи начальника того уѣзда, въ которомъ собирается съѣздъ, или нарочно командированнаго для этой цѣли чиновника. На обязанности этихъ должностныхъ лицъ лежитъ исключительно наблюденіе за благочиніемъ въ мѣстѣ собранія съѣзда.

Чрезвычайные съѣзды народныхъ судей дѣйствуютъ на основаніи правилъ, установленныхъ для обыкновенныхъ съѣздовъ.

Народные судьи, не прибывшіе на съѣздъ, обыкновенный или чрезвычайный, безъ законныхъ, уважительныхъ причинъ, подвергаются денежному взысканію въ десять рублей, по распоряженію уѣзднаго начальника, которое можетъ быть обжаловано въ мѣсячный срокъ губернатору. Взысканія эти обращаются на устройство мѣстъ заключенія.

Приведеніе въ исполненіе рѣшеній народнаго суда возлагается на волостныхъ управителей и сельскихъ старшинъ, подъ наблюденіемъ уѣзднаго начальника. Копіи исполненныхъ рѣшеній, съ отмѣткою объ исполненіи, хранятся у волостныхъ управителей. Лица, исполняющія рѣшенія, равно какъ наблюдающіе за ними уѣздные начальники, за медленность и неправильныя дѣйствія въ этомъ отношеніи, подвергаются законной отвѣтственности и возмѣщенію убытковъ.

ГЛАВА XI.

Присяга.

Въ новѣйшее время присяга (джан, гуман, ант, касам) пріобрѣла чрезвычайную популярность. Въ древности она давалась только для очищенія отъ обвиненія въ кровопролитіи (Аввзъ, Перовскаго уѣзда).

Присягать могутъ лишь совершеннолѣтніе, потому что дѣти не понимаютъ значенія присяги (джан кадрын бильмейди). Впрочемъ, дѣти допускаются къ присягѣ несвѣдущими біями (Торгай).

Въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ рѣдко принимаютъ присягу: Дулаты, Чульсиргели (степные Сиргели, колѣна: Эльбай, Янгэбай, Аккунгурдекъ, Айтбозынъ и Джайдакъ) и Бистангелы („пять тамгъ": Сиргели, Исты, Ошакты, Джаланръ и Шапрашты).

Та сторона, которой назначена присяга, отводитъ нѣсколько (число означается въ бійскомъ постановленіи) лицъ или кибитокъ изъ назначенной для присяги общины, подъ названіемъ „спорныхъ", которыхъ нельзя выбрать въ присяжные. Изъ остающагося числа противная сторона, т. е. истецъ и отвѣтчикъ, „схватываютъ для присяги" (джан, джанга устайды), т. е. указываетъ того, кто долженъ „дать" (бермек, уткузмек) присягу.

По словамъ Баймета Сагындыкова, въ прежнее время сторона, приговоренная къ присягѣ, пользовалась правомъ указанія лицъ, такъ называемыхъ волны, которые уже сами избирали присяжныхъ; но, съ переходомъ Туркестанскаго края въ русское подданство, обычай этотъ потерялъ силу, вслѣдствіе чего увеличилось число ложныхъ исковъ (*). Сагындыковъ полагаетъ,

(*) Какъ видно будетъ изъ послѣдующаго изложенія, институтъ волны существуетъ еще въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ.

что если бы власти означенный адатъ, то ложныхъ исковъ было бы гораздо меньше.

Для указанія присяжнаго назначается срокъ. Для дачи присяги дается также срокъ. Срокъ выбора присяжнаго, при близкомъ разстояніи его общины, бываетъ три дня, при дальнемъ— до пятидесяти дней, даже до возвращенія съ лѣтовки. Срокъ принятія присяги дается болѣе продолжительный, чѣмъ для выбора присяжнаго, ибо въ первомъ случаѣ срокъ имѣетъ цѣлью дать присяжному полную возможность ознакомиться со всѣми обстоятельствами дѣла и узнать всѣ мнѣнія за или противъ него; тогда какъ во второмъ случаѣ имѣютъ въ виду только отдаленность общины, въ которую должно лично отправиться лицо для выбора присяжнаго. Пропустить одинъ изъ сроковъ значитъ проиграть дѣло.

Выбранному лицу назначается мѣсто, куда онъ долженъ явиться для принятія присяги, въ извѣстный срокъ, обозначенный въ постановленіи бія.

Продленіе срока принятія присяги допускается, какъ сказано въ одномъ протоколѣ, „согласно адату и шаріату", по уважительнымъ причинамъ, какъ напр., по болѣзни присяжнаго, засвидѣтельствованной благонадежными лицами. Постановленіе объ отсрочкѣ этой присяги, которая еще не „протухла" (сасымайды), т. е. не стала невозможною, бій составляетъ особый протоколъ (Перовскій уѣздъ).

По Торгаю, если срокъ присяги просроченъ присяжнымъ по дальности разстоянія или по несчастному случаю, то судъ постановляетъ рѣшеніе о проигранномъ процессѣ. Но если, непосредственно за постановленіемъ рѣшенія, явится присяжный и объяснитъ причину задержки, то онъ не лишается права присягать

Отказъ или побѣгъ присяжнаго отъ присяги означаетъ, что его сторона неправа и проигрываетъ дѣло, „падаетъ", жыгылады.

Если присяжный въ день присяги объявитъ, что онъ совершенно незнакомъ съ тяжущимися, самъ недавно пріѣхалъ,

ничего не могъ развѣдать и потому не принимаетъ на свою отвѣтственность присяги, то его сторона все-таки проигрываетъ, ибо присяжному слѣдовало заявить о такомъ исключительномъ положеніи при самомъ выборѣ его или до истеченія срока, а тянущемуся слѣдовало бы его отвести въ числѣ спорныхъ.

Если выбрали въ присяжные человѣка, о которомъ неизвѣстно, находится ли онъ дома, то отвѣтчикъ тутъ же долженъ заявить о своемъ сомнѣніи бію. Доставивъ, по приказанію бія, доказательства (исентириб) отъѣзда присяжнаго, отвѣтчикъ получаетъ для приведенія его срокъ болѣе продолжительный, смотря по разстоянію. Если истецъ не хочетъ долго ждать, то ему даютъ выбрать другаго присяжнаго.

Когда выбранный отказывается на томъ основаніи, что онъ хотя живетъ въ той общинѣ, изъ которой назначена присяга, но числится въ спискахъ другой общины (*) и своимъ отказомъ вовсе не хочетъ обвинить или оправдать подсудимаго, то дозволяется новый выборъ присяжнаго въ новый срокъ.

Если наслѣдники убитаго пожелаютъ, по хуну, дать присягу четыремъ человѣкамъ, то со стороны отвѣтчика бія должны назначить къ нимъ четырехъ человѣкъ колши, которые обязаны доставить четырехъ присягоприниматели на указанное судьями мѣсто, для исполненія возложенной на нихъ присяги. При этомъ, если даже одинъ изъ колши не явится или не выѣдетъ изъ своего аула въ назначенный срокъ, то виновная сторона должна платить хунъ. Въ случаѣ же неявки одного изъ присягоприниматели въ срокъ, на назначенное мѣсто, просьба искателей хуна остается безъ послѣдствій. Если одинъ или двое изъ присягоприниматели будутъ больны, или выѣдутъ куда-нибудь, то должны представить въ томъ удостовѣреніе за печатями постороннихъ благонадежныхъ лицъ. Тогда бія должны назначить второй срокъ, съ указаніемъ мѣста, куда должны явиться присягоприниматели; если же и во второй разъ не явятся и не примутъ присягу, то искъ о хунѣ считается ложнымъ. Въ слу-

(*) Такой человѣкъ называется куручелес.

чай неявки въ назначенный срокъ одного или двухъ волши со стороны отвѣтчиковъ, послѣдняя должна платить хунъ, не взирая на то, что присягоприниматели явились. Если одинъ или двое изъ волши заболѣли или находятся въ далекой отлучкѣ, то они обязаны представить въ томъ удостовѣреніе отъ постороннихъ благонадежныхъ лицъ. Тогда біи должны назначить другой срокъ. Если же во второй срокъ волши не явятся, то сторона отвѣтчика должна платить хунъ.

Если присяжный, повѣривъ своей сторонѣ, подтверждаетъ присягою, безъ своего вѣдома, ложный фактъ, то наказаніе за лжеприсягу падаетъ въ будущей жизни не на обманутаго, а на обманувшаго. Поэтому, уже раньше срока присяги, неправая сторона обнаруживаетъ истину, отдавъ предметъ иска или предложивъ мировую сдѣлку (битим, татуласпак, карындас булмак), на каковую истецъ соглашается обыкновенно потому, что онъ находится въ неизвѣстности объ исходѣ дѣла и боится, проигравъ искъ, быть присужденнымъ къ уплатѣ судебныхъ издержекъ и бійлыка. Другимъ мотивомъ къ примиренію служитъ то, что съ религіозной точки зрѣнія присяга для обѣихъ сторонъ одинаково опасна: наказаніе постигнетъ не только того, кто присягнулъ ложно, но и того, кто потребовалъ присягу со стороны невиннаго. Вотъ почему въ бійскихъ книгахъ часто встрѣчается запись: „истецъ не былъ въ состояніи допустить отвѣтчика къ присягѣ и его искъ остался безъ послѣдствій“, или: „и онъ помирился на такой-то суммѣ“, или: „и они стали родственниками“ (агани, карындаш булуб калды), т. е. друзьями (*).

Добросовѣстные біи сами совѣтуютъ сторонамъ не доводить дѣло до присяги, склоняя ко взаимнымъ уступкамъ, намеками, въ родѣ: самъ конь не достанется, но его копыто не пропадетъ (тулпардынг узи битпес, тюягы джитпес). Часто, особенно когда отвѣтчикъ не отрицаетъ справедливости иска, но бѣденъ, біи говорятъ: „прости этотъ искъ; обнимите другъ друга и станьте

(*) Иногда выбираютъ присяжнымъ единственнаго сына, въ надеждѣ, что отецъ не допуститъ его до присяги.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

ДѢВИЦА КИРГИЗКА
ПЕРОВСКАГО УѢЗДА

Рис. Ахматовъ.

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друзьями" (бу двуынгнан кеш, инеевуынг душантасыб дос бул); если у одного изъ тяжущихся есть сынъ, а у другаго дочь, то прибавляютъ: „или еще лучше, станьте сватами: сватовство довершаетъ дружбу" (бальки куда булынгдар: достынг тубин куда айрады).

Сами присяжные также прилагаютъ усиліе къ примиренію, останавливаясь на пути и угрожая одной сторонѣ якою, а другой отказомъ.

Часто примиреніе происходитъ на основаніи возврата только краденаго. Бываетъ и такъ, что истецъ, котораго біи сдѣлали „другомъ" (дос) небогатаго отвѣтчика, ничего съ него не получаетъ и уже стыдится въ качествѣ „друга" его, явиться предъ біями съ своею претензіею (Аулісатин. уѣздъ).

Если присяга окажется ложною, то противная сторона выигрываетъ дѣло. Кромѣ того, чтобы загладить этотъ грѣхъ, могутъ быть назначены штрафы въ пользу бѣдныхъ, смотря по суммѣ иска, отъ аттона до одного или трехъ тогузовъ. Это называется „класть душу на мѣсто" (джанды урынна салмак). Причина, почему за лжеприсягу не существуетъ строгаго наказанія, заключается въ томъ, что присяжный обыкновенно принимаетъ присягу по принужденію родственниковъ, а не по внутреннему убѣжденію.

У каракиргизовъ, для того чтобы новый свидѣтель, послѣ совершенія обряда присяги, доказалъ ея ложность, требуется присяга его и присяга одного изъ родичей его. Прежняя присяга тогда считается „остывшею" (сасыб калды), т. е. недѣйствительною. Одна присяга побѣждена двумя. Сторону, давшую лжеприсягу, присуждаютъ къ болѣе высокому штрафу, а ея присяжнаго бранятъ и презираютъ.

Древняя присяга (по Карамуллѣ и др., Перовскаго уѣзда) состояла въ томъ, что 1) присягающаго водили около мазара, или 2) присяжный (джанга шыккан) выходилъ на холмъ и вызывалъ изъ противной стороны получателя присяги. Оттуда выходилъ человѣкъ со словами: „я получаю твою душу", т. е. присягу (алдыи джанынгды) и начинялъ бить его нагайкою. За-

завязывалась борьба, переходившая часто въ общую свалку всѣхъ присутствовавшихъ; или 3) съ каждой стороны выходили по одному, вооруженные копьемъ, мечомъ и т. д. Предполагалось, что тотъ, который будетъ убитъ или обращенъ въ бѣгство, неправъ (*).

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ, по Кунанбаю, самая явка (**) присяжнаго въ судъ и заявленіе его, что онъ готовъ принять присягу за своего одноаульца или родича, считаются за принятіе присяги. Ни корана, ни молитвъ не бываетъ; знаютъ также, что нѣкогда посылали на кладбище произносить молитву.

По Умурзеку, бій спрашиваетъ присяжнаго: «ты пришелъ присягнуть?» (джан бергели кельдинг ме); потомъ увѣщеваетъ его говорить правду, напоминаетъ ему, что лгать грѣшно (убал). Присяжный отвѣчаетъ: «я пришелъ присягать за его невинность» (агыпа джан бергели кельдым). Бій заканчиваетъ: «да будетъ твоя жизнь долговѣчна, ступай!» (ясынг узак булсун, бар китевер).

По Абдрахману, бій спрашиваетъ присяжнаго: «ты зачѣмъ пришелъ?»—Я явился для присяги.—«Знаешь ли ты (билесин бе) виновность или правоту такого-то и повѣрилъ ли ты тому, что онъ взялъ то-то?» (алгандыгына инандынг ба).—Онъ не взялъ, и я пришелъ принять объ этомъ присягу.—Напомнивъ теперь противной сторонѣ, что грѣхъ вынужденной ложной присяги ло-

(*) Нынѣ вередъ русскимъ судомъ присягаютъ на коранѣ. Въ бійскихъ книгахъ Перовскаго уѣзда встрѣчается выраженіе: „водили въ мечеть".

„Лжесвидѣтельство водъ присягою повторяется все чаще и чаще, доставляя выгоду муллам, которые, въ корыстныхъ цѣляхъ, вселяли увѣренность среди населенія, что, незамѣтно измѣняя слова присяги, они могутъ дѣлать ее очень странной по своимъ послѣдствіямъ и вовсе нестрашной". Юридическій Вѣстникъ 1885 г. Май. Стр. 192. „Значеніе и обрядъ присяги у киргизовъ", М. Готовицкаго.

(**) По Ибрагимову, собственно говоря, существеннымъ обстоятельствомъ у киргизовъ считается не самая присяга, а пріѣздъ выбранныхъ въ опредѣленное время на назначенное для суда мѣсто. Если въ назначенный день, до заката солнца, прибыли выбранныя лица, то этого совершенно достаточно: лицо, со стороны которого они прибыли, выигрываетъ дѣло. Мѣстомъ для присяги назначаются аулы вліятельныхъ киргизовъ и султановъ въ особенности. Въ послѣднее время часто для присяги стали назначать аулъ, въ которомъ есть мечеть, и даютъ цѣловать коранъ, заставляя произносить имена совершенно незнакомыхъ киргизамъ мусульманскихъ святыхъ.

ментся на обѣ стороны одинаково (ике диаика бирдей), бій совѣтуетъ въ послѣдній разъ мириться, не доводя до присяги. Получивъ отказъ, онъ поднимаетъ руки по мусульманскому обычаю и произносятъ пата, т. е. слова „алла акбар" и проводитъ ладонями по лицу и бородѣ. Затѣмъ говоритъ присяжному: „да будутъ лѣта вашей жизни долгія: если воръ (т. е. за кого ты принялъ присягу) тебя обманулъ, то пусть онъ самъ умретъ" (умр ясыгиз узак булсун, агар сени алдаган булса урунъ узи ульсин).

У киргизовъ прежде водили въ мазаръ, рѣзать вѣтвь. Нынѣ присяга состоитъ въ явкѣ и заявленія передъ біемъ. Бій говоритъ: «ты отдаешь ли свою душу (присягу) изъ-за того, что онъ чистъ и не укралъ?» Этотъ вопросъ повторяется до трехъ разъ. Получивъ три раза отвѣтъ: «я отдаю», бій говоритъ: «выходи, пропади съ глазъ долой!»

По сообщенію Торгая, встрѣчаются слѣдующія формы присяги.

1) Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ или довольствуются формою присяги, изложенной со словъ Умурбека и Абдрахмана, или ведутъ присяжнаго въ ограду одной изъ пользующихся извѣстностью святынь, напр. Аулієата, Тентурмасъ; тамъ истецъ беретъ въ руки конецъ вѣтви одного изъ деревьевъ, а присяжный пересѣкаетъ эту вѣтвь со словами: «о, святой! найди, кто изъ насъ неправъ и убей!» (о аулія, кай карамызды тап, ат).

2) Прежде родственники присяжнаго одѣвали его въ бѣлое, черное, красное (символъ величія—саулат), синее и вообще въ платье одного такого цвѣта, чтобы присяжный выдѣлялся изъ среды всѣхъ ихъ; привязывали ему на голову сову (укке) и вели на высокій холмъ, гдѣ съ другой стороны собирались истецъ и его родня. Присяжный съ роднею требовалъ: «возьмите вашу душу» (ал джаныигды). Въ то время присяжными бывали и малыя дѣти. Дѣло оканчивалось дракою безъ убійства. За раны не взыскивалось.

3) Прежде бывалъ еще бѣгъ въ запуски между присяжнымъ и получателемъ присяги на 40 шаговъ. Оба держали другъ

друга за руки (*). Черезъ сорокъ шаговъ одинъ поворачивалъ въ одну сторону, другой въ противоположную, чѣмъ присяга и оканчивалась.

4) Присяжный (джан бергучи, джанга шыкыр) и получатель присяги (джан алгучи, колши) идутъ въ мечеть, потому что это домъ Бога (худайдынг уйи) и произносятъ: «найди, кто изъ насъ неправъ» (кой карамызды тан) и уходятъ.

5) Берутъ коранъ въ руки. Въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ въ обычаѣ, чтобы присяжный бралъ коранъ и передавалъ въ руки получателя присяги, въ другихъ—наоборотъ.

6) Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ, иногда, по требованію получателя присяги, вырываютъ могилу, какъ для покойника; для большаго наведенія страха на присяжнаго, моютъ его и одѣваютъ въ саванъ (кебен); затѣмъ ведутъ его въ могилу, откуда онъ чрезъ отверстіе выходитъ опять наружу.

7) Кромѣ того въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ бываетъ присяга «по шаріату и по закону».

Выборъ способа присяги зависитъ отъ истца. Но истецъ всегда придерживается мѣстнаго обычая (Торгай).

По Абсалямову, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, способъ принятія присяги зависитъ, по обычаю, отъ истца, который ведетъ присяжнаго къ могилѣ какого либо мусульманскаго святаго и заставляетъ его стать одною ногою на самую могилу, или срѣзать прутъ съ растущаго на могилѣ дерева и т. п.

По бію Султану Канаеву, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, біи предлагаютъ присяжному на выборъ одну изъ слѣдующихъ трехъ формъ присяги: 1) сказать „именемъ Всевышняго Бога“ (биллягиль азим); 2) взять въ руки коранъ со словами: «пусть меня ударитъ (накажетъ) коранъ, если я и т. д.» (курган урсун, агар....), и 3) отрѣзать отъ дерева на могилѣ святаго вѣтвь (чибык), конецъ которой схватилъ колши. Теперь, впрочемъ, колши «изъ страха» не входитъ въ ограду святыни, да и присяжный не рѣ-

(*) Тѣмъ не менѣе этотъ бѣгъ называлъ сообщителемъ бѣгомъ въ запуска (арисиб).

жетъ вѣтви, а просто входитъ и выходитъ. По словамъ біи, только первые два вида суть настоящая присяга; послѣдній же видъ есть киргизская замашка (казакчылык), и въ сущности это не присяга (асылы ант имес): принимается же за присягу потому, что киргизы этимъ довольствуются (казактынг ризалыгы). Видъ присяги „жертвоприношеніе" (курмандык), описанный у Маковецкаго, I, стр. 74, бій Султанъ Канаевъ не знаетъ.

Біи и аксакалы не ходятъ на мазары и подобныя мѣста присяги. Присутствіе истца и отвѣтчика при присягѣ выборнаго необязательно и не въ ходу.

Получатель присяги, т. е. обыкновенно истецъ, не обязанъ идти къ выбираемому или приводить его: онъ только указываетъ его личность. Обязанность же отвѣтчика, если съ его стороны присяга, представить присяжнаго. Представляютъ присяжнаго всегда съ его родиею (агаин туган); иначе онъ не пошелъ бы самъ, стыдясь, что о немъ скажутъ: такой-то выходилъ на присягу (фаляичи джанга чыкты); но народъ уговариваетъ его и идетъ вслѣдъ за нимъ, не позволяя ему уклониться отъ присяги. Если бы родня не явилась, то присяга нисколько не теряетъ своего значенія.

Отвѣтчикъ, являясь къ присяжному, рѣжетъ для него бѣлую кобылу (без біи), которая называется джан садакасы, т. е. пожертвованіе ради присяги, а при небольшемъ искѣ—овцу. Его сопровождаютъ по одному старику изъ каждаго колѣна (туп) присягающей общины. Чтобы семья присяжнаго не перепугалась, обставляютъ свое требованіе въ слѣдующую форму: «мы явились къ тебѣ въ интересѣ всего народа; по наговору-ли, по враждѣ-ли такое то обвиненіе наведено на него (отвѣтчика); для этой цѣли мы дозволили указать на тебя. Погубишь ли ты его? мы всѣ убѣждены въ его правотѣ. Поэтому мы и явились всѣ. Ты ступай впереди, а мы послѣдуемъ за тобою». (Юртчилик туресиней сагаи кельдик; я тухмет менен, я хусумет менен согаи мунадай джентджал ябасты, согаи сени аттгук мунаунь куйдересин бе? актыгына беремизнинг кузимиз джетеди, беремиз сол ушун келиб отырмыз. Сен алдыныздан юр, биз сонгынгнан эрелик).

Если выбранный въ присяжные отказывается «выдти» (чыкпайныи), то старики грозятъ исключить его изъ рода (агаиа чалыктан айрылада), т. е. если кто на него пожалуется, то изъ нихъ никто не представитъ за него присягу.

Къ присягѣ являются всегда заблаговременно, за день.

Прежде всего присяга налагается на ту сторону, у которой есть настоящій свидѣтель, получившій по дѣламъ о кражѣ всенародно сююнчи за обнаруженіе вора. Если нѣтъ свидѣтеля, то присяга налагается на сторону отвѣтчика, какъ слабѣйшую. Кромѣ того, по особымъ побудительнымъ причинамъ, она можетъ быть назначена: сторонѣ истца, самому отвѣтчику, самому истцу, той сторонѣ, которую предпочитаетъ истецъ (или рѣдко отвѣтчикъ).

Сторонѣ истца присяга дается въ слѣдующихъ случаяхъ:

1) Если въ ней находится свидѣтель, какъ выше сказано.

2) Если отвѣтчикъ въ своемъ аулѣ не пользуется расположеніемъ по постороннимъ причинамъ.

3) Когда отвѣтчикъ уличенъ уже въ преступленіи, котораго касается одна часть иска или былъ раньше подъ судомъ, вслѣдствіе чего лишился довѣрія.

4) Когда истецъ лично видѣлъ совершеніе преступленія, замѣняя такимъ образомъ законнаго свидѣтеля. «Я самъ полный свидѣтель по его кражѣ» (камил узин гуа мен алганлыгына), говоритъ онъ въ одномъ изъ протоколовъ бійскихъ книгъ Перовскаго уѣзда.

5) Если отвѣтчикомъ является женщина.

На самого отвѣтчика („на черную голову его", кара басына) налагается присяга въ слѣдующихъ случаяхъ:

1) Когда онъ еще не причисленъ ни къ одному десятку податной общины, потому что выдѣлился изъ семьи послѣ составленія оффиціальнаго списка кибитокъ.

2) Когда сумма иска такъ невелика, что другой его родичъ не захочетъ изъ-за бездѣлицы подвергаться отвѣтственности передъ Богомъ.

3) Если дѣло таково, что никто, кромѣ самого отвѣтчика, не можетъ знать истины. Напримѣръ: когда при порученіи аманата не было свидѣтелей; когда отвѣтчикъ отказывается отъ удовлетворенія истца на томъ основаніи, что не онъ, а его покойный отецъ нанималъ истца или задолжалъ ему; когда время происшествія столь отдаленно, что никто не можетъ составить себѣ мнѣнія о справедливости или несправедливости иска.

4) Когда въ процессѣ открылись неблагопристойныя обстоятельства. Единоличная присяга здѣсь имѣетъ цѣлью не марать другихъ.

На семейство отвѣтчика налагается присяга при тяжбахъ о сватовствѣ и другихъ родственныхъ счетахъ, на основаніи того, что такія отношенія извѣстны именно въ семьѣ.

На самого истца и на семейство его налагаютъ присягу по тѣмъ же мотивамъ, какъ сейчасъ исчислено, конечно, только при томъ условіи, что эту единоличную присягу неудобно было дать именно отвѣтчику.

Указаніе стороны, съ которой имѣетъ быть представлена присяга, дается на выборъ истцу (или джактаму), при условіи согласія въ этомъ отвѣтчика: 1) когда аулъ отвѣтчика столь далекъ отъ суда, что неизвѣстно судьямъ, удобно ли истцу отправиться туда для выбора присяжнаго и не предпочтетъ ли онъ дозволить отвѣтчику выборъ присяжнаго изъ аула истца, менѣе отдаленнаго; 2) когда, не смотря на очевидную безосновательность иска, истецъ продолжаетъ упорно настаивать на своемъ. Предоставляя выборъ истцу, судъ желаетъ дать ему полную возможность доказать справедливость своего иска, дабы онъ, послѣ рѣшенія дѣла не въ его пользу, не могъ жаловаться на невыгодныя для него обстоятельства присяги (Микебай, Перовскаго уѣзда).

У каракиргизовъ, если у истца есть свидѣтель (айак), то присягаютъ онъ самъ и одинъ изъ родства (яиша) свидѣтеля, т. е. получаются двѣ присяги. Если у истца нѣтъ свидѣтеля, то налагаютъ на сторону отвѣтчика (тайбыш) одну присягу. Если при передачѣ денегъ изъ рукъ въ

руки не было свидѣтелей, то споръ разрѣшается присягою того изъ нихъ, кто желаетъ присягнуть. Если оба готовы присягнуть, то присяга предоставляется отвѣтчику.

По Умурбеку, бій во время разбирательства дѣла, учаетъ мнѣніе прежде всего отвѣтчика о желательномъ для него способѣ наложенія присяги, говоря: согласенъ ли ты получить съ «этого» (т. е. истца) присягу и платить, или ты хочешь представить присягу и очиститься? (сен осунан джаныи алыб нал тулеуга разы не сен я джан бериб кутулуга разы не сен).

Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ, при значительныхъ искахъ, на сумму свыше 500 рублей, назначаются двое присяжныхъ, а на сумму свыше 2.000 руб. и при искахъ о хунѣ—4.

Въ Ауліеатинскомъ уѣздѣ, въ искахъ о хунѣ за мужчину выбирается 4 присяжныхъ изъ 1000, 2000 или 5000 юртовладѣльцевъ, но не дальше круга запрещенной степени родства, а за женщину—2 человѣка. Въ искахъ о кражѣ 1—5 скотинъ присягаетъ одинъ человѣкъ изъ близкой родни; о кражѣ 6—20 головъ присягаютъ 2 человѣка; о кражѣ болѣе 20 головъ присягаютъ 4 человѣка (Чиныбековъ).

Въ сентябрѣ 1877 года, біи съѣзда Чимкентскаго и Туркестанскаго уѣздовъ постановили: «Мы должны стараться рѣшать дѣла безъ присяги. При назначеніи присяги руководствоваться нижеслѣдующимъ: въ дѣлахъ до 19 руб. присяга назначается одному человѣку отъ десятка; въ дѣлахъ до 76 руб.—одному человѣку отъ пятидесятка; въ дѣлахъ до 152 руб.—двумъ человѣкамъ отъ аула отвѣтчика; въ дѣлахъ до 500 руб.—четыремъ человѣкамъ отъ двухъ ауловъ, близкихъ къ тому, для кого назначается присяга; въ дѣлахъ до 1000 руб.—четыремъ свидѣтелямъ четырехъ ауловъ, съ которыми сватовство не допускается; въ дѣлахъ свыше 1000 руб. и въ дѣлахъ по хуну—четыремъ человѣкамъ изъ волости. Ни волостного управителя, ни аульныхъ старшинъ, ни біевъ, нельзя выбирать въ присяжные; также нельзя выбирать въ присяжные тюрей и ходжей».

Человѣкъ общеизвѣстный и всѣми уважаемый можетъ замѣнить двухъ обыкновенныхъ присяжныхъ (Перовск. уѣздъ и др.).

Если два человѣка изъ одного рода обвиняются вмѣстѣ, то достаточно одной присяги изъ ихъ рода.

Если два человѣка изъ разныхъ родовъ обвиняются вмѣстѣ, то на родъ каждаго изъ нихъ налагается по одной присягѣ, ибо присяжный соглашается оправдать только своего родича. Если же они хотя изъ разныхъ родовъ, но служатъ у одного хозяина, или живутъ въ кибиткѣ одного и того же человѣка, или имѣютъ общаго попутчика, то налагается одна присяга на этого хозяина или попутчика (Торгай).

Чѣмъ болѣе тяжко обвиненіе, чѣмъ выше сумма иска, чѣмъ чаще судился отвѣтчикъ, чѣмъ болѣе онъ пользуется извѣстностью, тѣмъ большій кругъ рода или общины можетъ быть назначенъ для выбора присяжнаго, дабы, при затруднительныхъ обстоятельствахъ, онъ могъ выдти чистымъ только при истинной невиновности, такъ какъ де его враги, которыхъ больше бываетъ въ большомъ кругу, не рѣшаются считать его виновнымъ. Напримѣръ:

При искѣ.	Налагаютъ.	На колѣна родства.
1—2 лошадей.	1 присягу.	Третье (уш ата).
3—4 лошадей.	1 присягу.	Пятое (бис ата).
Хуна.	4 за мужчину, 2 за убійство женщины.	Седьмое (ете ата).

Дальше круга запрещенной степени родства присяга не налагается.

При наложеніи присяги на родовую группу, выбираютъ всегда группы нечетнаго колѣна родства: 3, 5, 7.

Неудобство при наложеніи присяги на родовую группу заключается въ томъ, что отвѣтчику приходится привозить присяжныхъ изъ весьма дальнихъ мѣстъ, напр., Бухары, къ сроку, данному, впрочемъ, сообразно разстоянію.

Такъ какъ во многихъ уѣздахъ десятки, пятидесятки, аулы

и цѣлыя волости состоятъ изъ однихъ только родичей (аталыс), напр., десятокъ изъ родни до 3—4 колѣна, пятидесятокъ изъ родни до 5—6 колѣна (5—6 атага колоди), то наложеніе присяги на родовую группу почти равняется наложенію на податную общину.

Когда обѣ общины, родовая и податная, не вполнѣ совпадаютъ, то біи, отъ совѣсти которыхъ зависитъ наложить присягу на родъ или на податную единицу, эксплуатируютъ это обстоятельство для полученія взятокъ. Только по искамъ о хунѣ и объ есирѣ обязательно налагать на родъ, съ отводомъ тѣхъ колѣнъ, которыя родственны истцу.

Для возчиковъ, не живущихъ у себя въ аулѣ, присягу налагаютъ не на ихъ общину, а на ихъ товарищей по каравану (косдас, отъ слова кос—походная палатка возчиковъ).

	По сообщенію изъ Перовскаго у.	По Торгаю.	По каракиргизамъ: Курпетаю Даулетмулову и Даніяру.
На 10 кибит.	20 руб.	1 лош.	1 лош.
— 20 —	—	—	2 —
— 30 —	50 руб.		3 —
— 40 —	—	—	4 —
— 50 —	100 руб.	2—3 лош.	5 —
— 60 —			6 —
— 100 —	200 руб.		и т. д. не больше одного аула (по дѣламъ о кражѣ).
— аулъ	400 руб. и о дракѣ.	4—5 лош.	

Налагается присяга по всему:

Въ Чиментскомъ уѣздѣ, по сообщенію Абсалямова, по всему

объ одной лошади дается одна присяга изъ десятка; по иску о 2—4 лошадяхъ—одна присяга изъ пятидесятка, съ отводомъ до двухъ спорныхъ; по иску о 5—8 лошадяхъ—двѣ присяги изъ аула; по иску о 9—26 лошадяхъ—двѣ присяги: одна изъ аула, другая изъ волости, съ правомъ отвести изъ аула до 4 человѣкъ, а изъ волости до 8 человѣкъ. За убитаго мужчину истецъ выбираетъ изъ волости отвѣтчика четырехъ присяжныхъ, съ правомъ отвѣтчика отвести до 8 человѣкъ. За убитую женщину истецъ выбираетъ двухъ присяжныхъ: одного изъ аула отвѣтчика, другаго изъ его волости, безъ права отвѣтчика отвести кого нибудь.

Гдѣ родовыя общины вообще совпадаютъ съ податными, какъ напр., въ Семирѣчьи, тамъ присяга преимущественно опредѣляется на податную общину. Тамъ же, гдѣ въ одной податной общинѣ живутъ вмѣстѣ люди различныхъ родовъ, не имѣющіе основаній стоять другъ за друга подъ присягою, какъ въ Оренбургѣ, Троицкѣ и въ Курганинскомъ уѣздѣ (по Тургаю), назначаютъ присягу на родъ, или, какъ говорятъ, «добираясь до предковъ» (ата нууб, сюяк нууб).

Чѣмъ больше кругъ общины, изъ которой выбирается присяжный, тѣмъ больше и число спорныхъ. Обыкновенно на 50 кибитокъ бываетъ одинъ спорный. Въ аулѣ обыкновенно 2 спорныхъ, кромѣ должностныхъ лицъ. Число и иногда имена спорныхъ лицъ или кибитокъ записываются въ протоколъ, съ помѣтою: „кромѣ должностныхъ лицъ“.

Отводъ спорныхъ дѣлается тою стороною, которая представляетъ присягу. Выбирающій присяжнаго долженъ быть поставленъ въ извѣстность объ именахъ спорныхъ.

Спорными (собственно: кас, т. е. врагъ, или спур) бываютъ: 1) враги того, кто представляетъ присягу; 2) муллы, біи, должностныя лица и всѣ высшіе, предъ которыми казалось бы дерзкимъ предложеніе принятія присяги изъ-за низшаго и 3) люди уединенные, слишкомъ молодые, гости и вообще лица, по какимъ-либо причинамъ неконвретентныя въ своемъ мнѣніи по данному вопросу (Перовскій уѣздъ).

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

Для принятія присяги за простаго киргиза не выбираются тюри, ходжи, волостные управители, біи и аульные старшины (Абсалямовъ).

По бію Султану Каназову, ходжа можетъ быть выбранъ въ присяжные по иску между чернокостными. Ходжи только тогда отводятся въ числѣ спорныхъ, если они дѣйствительно состоятъ въ спорѣ или во враждѣ съ тою общиною, изъ которой имѣетъ быть выбранъ присяжный.

Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ, по сообщенію Е. А. Александрова, отъ присяги не освобождаются ходжи и вообще никто, кромѣ ишановъ (*).

У каракиргизовъ біи, манапы, волостные и др., выше стоящіе люди, не избавляются отъ присяги (**).

Когда внѣ суда кому нибудь нужно очиститься отъ подозрѣнія, или подтвердить свое увѣреніе или обѣщаніе клятвою, то или предлагаютъ сказать олда (вмѣсто валлахи, ей Богу), или испить воды (су уртташи), или перешагнуть чрезъ проведенную на землѣ черту, или произнести свое увѣреніе, обращаясь лицомъ къ святынѣ (ауліяга караб айтчи), или лизнуть лезвіе ножа (пшактынг юзин яла), или лизнуть конецъ пальца, обращаясь къ мѣсяцу. Этой несудебной клятвѣ придаютъ такую вѣру, что оканчиваютъ споръ семейнымъ образомъ (Торгай).

При договорахъ употребляется иногда клятва: „пусть Богъ накажетъ того изъ насъ, который нарушитъ это условіе“ (осу сузинизди бузганымызды кудай бузсын). Или кладутъ на голову камень (Маковецкій, I, стр. 49). Послѣдняго обычая теперь уже нѣтъ, по Торгаю; но говорятъ: „пусть меня ударитъ ваша соль или предложенная мнѣ вами пища, если я“ и т. д., или: „клянусь солью“ (тузинги урсын, нанынгыз урсын, тузинг ханында). Клятва солью общемусульманскій обычай.

При заключеніи условія для дѣйствія противъ общаго врага

(*) Прежде также членовъ султанскаго рода.

(**) Въ Сибири требуется согласіе отводимыхъ „спорныхъ“ на отводъ съ россиною о томъ, что они или ихъ родъ и родъ тяжущагося во враждѣ (Торгай).

собираются въ одну юрту старшины, юзбаши, тубеш (знаменщикъ) и прочіе почетные лица партіи, для совѣщанія; обязуются не выдавать другъ друга въ руки непріятеля; не измѣнять общему дѣлу и не прятать добычи, а представлять ее всю для раздѣла. Затѣмъ рѣжутъ лошадь бѣлую (бозат), или сѣрую съ лысиною (пок каска), или бѣлаго барана съ желтою головою (ак сарыбас), со словами: „пусть будетъ убитъ, подобно этому животному, тотъ, кто измѣнитъ этому условію" (ар ким сол шерттен тайса, сол малдай сойылсын). Шерт означаетъ здѣсь условіе, обѣщаніе, клятва (по Торгаю и Маковецкому I, стр. 49).

У каракиргизовъ при клятвенныхъ увѣреніяхъ (каргыч), предлагаютъ лизнуть ножъ и сказать: пусть ударитъ меня Богъ, хлѣбъ или книга (коранъ), или же сказать: пусть я буду найвеке. Послѣднее выраженіе, значеніе котораго неизвѣстно сообщителю, бію Даніяру, употребляется только женщинами и дѣтьми.

ГЛАВА XII.

Штрафы: аттонъ, муйнына косакъ кутине теркеу и тогузъ.—Хунъ.—Тѣлесныя наказанія.—Посрамленіе.—Изгнаніе.

Штрафы (айб) назначаются по искамъ: о кражѣ, обидѣ, дракѣ, нарушенія общественнаго спокойствія и нравственности (*).

По гражданскимъ искамъ о долговыхъ и другихъ обязательствахъ не присуждаютъ къ штрафу.

Штрафъ поступаетъ въ пользу истца; поэтому онъ можетъ согласиться на сдачу. Истецъ иногда проситъ только о возвратѣ украденнаго, отказываясь отъ полученія штрафа и расходовъ (бійскія книги Аулієатинскаго уѣзда).

Если уплатившій штрафъ отвѣтчикъ въ послѣдствіи очистится отъ взводимаго на него обвиненія, представя въ судъ настоящаго вора, то штрафъ возвращается ему.

Извѣстнѣйшіе штрафы адата слѣдующіе: аттонъ, муйнына косакъ кутине теркеу и тогузъ (**).

За кражу скота біи могутъ, по своему усмотрѣнію, назначать всѣ три рода наказаній, смотря потому, при какихъ обстоятельствахъ и въ который разъ она совершена. Нынѣ до того

(*) Перовскій уѣздный начальникъ, Микебай и др., относительно штрафовъ говорятъ, что они увеличиваютъ число несправедливыхъ исковъ, предъявленныхъ изъ жадности; побуждаютъ біевъ, дѣлящихся подъ рукою съ истцемъ, рѣшать невѣрно; разоряютъ отдѣльныхъ хозяевъ; разоряютъ цѣлыя общины, съ которыхъ они взыскиваются, когда у отвѣтчика не хватило имущества.

(**) Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ айбы бываютъ такого рода: а) чанакъ (халатъ); полагается за маловажный проступокъ и идетъ въ пользу истца; лицо, разбиравшее дѣло, бійлыка не получаетъ; б) аттонъ (лошадь и халатъ) идетъ въ пользу истца; бійлыкъ не слѣдуетъ; в) бр—тогуз (три лошади, три верблюда, три коровы) распредѣляется такъ: $1/3$ прощается, или иначе, идетъ въ пользу родственниковъ виновнаго, $1/3$—истцу и $1/3$—въ бійлыкъ; г) уч—тогуз (восемь лошадей и одинъ верблюдъ; восемь коровъ и одна лошадь; восемь барановъ и одна корова) распредѣляется также какъ и бр—тогуз.

вошло въ обычай назначать за кражу скота мущины косакъ путине терпеу, что за нарушеніе этого „адета“ заявляютъ претензіи. Аттонъ оставленъ для мелкихъ обидъ, а тогузъ—для преступленій противъ нравственности, для нѣкоторыхъ случаевъ драки и членовредительства.

Нынѣ біи, на основаніи положенія объ управленіи Туркестанскаго края, могутъ, независимо опредѣленія вознагражденія за вредъ и убытки, налагать на виновныхъ денежныя взысканія не свыше трехсотъ рублей и заключеніе подъ стражу не свыше 1½ года.

Когда украденная скотина отнималась у вора хозяиномъ ея или его знакомымъ, то вора отпускали, получивъ съ него лошадь (ат) и халатъ (тун) или шубу (тон), или другія вещи равной имъ стоимости, напр. лошадь и ружье, чѣмъ и оканчивали дѣло. Это взысканіе поступало въ пользу того именно лица, которое отнимало скотину и было для него такимъ же вознагражденіемъ, какое теперь сююнчи. Въ послѣдствіи аттонъ причисленъ къ штрафамъ, изъ числа которыхъ онъ является самымъ легкимъ, если не считать астарсиз чапан, халатъ безъ подкладки, которое почти означаетъ мировую сдѣлку. Присужденный на судѣ аттонъ иногда въ концѣ концовъ получается въ видѣ одной коровы или даже только овцы.

Аттонъ присуждается преимущественно за драку безъ членовредительства и за кражу не цѣннаго предмета. Если одинъ предметъ украли нѣсколько человѣкъ, то они распредѣляютъ между собою уплату аттона поровну. Если нѣсколько предметовъ украдено нѣсколькими лицами, то бій можетъ опредѣлить по аттону за каждый предметъ (Перовскій уѣздъ).

Аттону по стоимости равняется аттай, т. е. лошадь и жеребенокъ (Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ).

Аттюя (лошадь и верблюдъ) назначается, по Торгаю, за похищеніе невѣсты (калымдыи), послѣ уплаты калыма, безъ совершенія обряда бракосочетанія. Это наказаніе можетъ состоять также изъ одного только верблюда, или одной только лошади.

У каракиргизовъ есть аттонъ, но нѣтъ аттая и аттюи, названій вообще малоизвѣстныхъ.

Штрафъ, именуемый муйнына косак кутине теркеу, назначается единственно за кражу скота. Онъ состоитъ въ томъ, что при возвращеніи украденнаго, къ «шеѣ» каждой скотины должна быть привязана одна скотина для „прибавки", а другая къ „заду", для „опоры" (*).

Хотя бы украденная скотина была дорогая или беременная, но этотъ штрафъ въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ оставался одинаковымъ, а именно такимъ, какой полагался за скотину средней (орта) стоимости. Такъ напримѣръ, за возвращаемые:

лошадь штрафъ состоитъ въ 2 скотинахъ по 20 руб.=40 руб.
корову . . . . . — 20 руб.=40 руб.
верблюда . . . . . — 40 руб.=80 руб.
овцу . . . . . — 2 руб.= 4 руб.

По Торгаю, въ Кураминскомъ и Ауліеатинскомъ уѣздахъ, каждый разъ опредѣляютъ (киседи) стоимость украденной скотины; если же этого нельзя узнать точно, то судятъ по базарной цѣнѣ (базар нархи) средняго достоинства скота и прибавляютъ не двѣ, а только одну такого же качества скотину. Этотъ штрафъ объясняется тѣмъ, что штрафныя скотины могутъ быть моложе, напр., по Торгаю:

муйнына косак=1 бисти (5 лѣтъ).
кутине теркеу=1 кунан (3 лѣтъ).

По Абдрахману, пятилѣтній верблюдъ равнялся прежде 40 руб. и каждый штрафной верблюдъ тоже 40 руб., такъ что все взысканіе за кражу верблюда равнялось 120 руб. Теперь же такой верблюдъ стоитъ 30—40 руб., смотря по базару, а въ штрафъ идутъ:

муйнына косак=кунан атан (3 лѣтній самецъ).
кутине теркеу=тайлак (двухлѣтній).

(*) По Александрову, теркеу есть судебныя издержки, произведенныя судьями. Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ таковыхъ уже не существуетъ. Въ степи же Оренбургскаго вѣдомства біи получаютъ теркеу отъ 2 до 4 рублей сверхъ 10% біймка. Кромѣ того такъ писарь получаетъ казахами 2 руб.

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БѢЛАЯ КОСТЬ
СУЛТАНЪ ДАУЛЕТЪ БУШАЕВЪ
ПЕРОВСКАГО УѢЗДА

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Штрафы въ 4 раза больше стоимости украденнаго скота, приведенные у Загрянскаго въ §§ 113—117, объясняются тѣмъ, что въ разныя времена, для искорененія страсти киргизовъ къ воровству, уѣздные начальники на съѣздахъ предлагали біямъ назначать штрафы высокіе. Напр., въ Ауліеатинскомъ уѣздѣ за 1 лошадь былъ штрафъ въ 8 лошадей, изъ нихъ 7 для истца и 1 для бійлыка; въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ—за одного верблюда—40 тиллей (включая всѣ расходы); въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ за 1 овцу 5 тиллей (включая возвращаемую овцу, айб, расходы, сююнчи и взятки). (Абдрахманъ).

По Шаачи Чиньбекову, Ауліеатинскаго уѣзда, за одну украденную скотину должны уплатить девять головъ скота. По Баймету Сагындыкову, въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ практикуется обыкновенный штрафъ муйныма косакъ кутпе тереу. По Абсалямову, того же уѣзда, за краденаго верблюда возвращаются 2 кобылы и двухлѣтній жеребенокъ (тай), за лошадь—7 барановъ, за корову и быка—по 5 барановъ, за 3-лѣтнюю лошадь—4 барана, за хорошаго иноходца—25 барановъ, за скаковую лошадь—75 барановъ.

За краже чего бы то ни было, говоритъ дальше Абсалямовъ, виновный платитъ пострадавшему тѣмъ же, что было украдено, но въ семь разъ болѣе, при чемъ украденное должно составлять восьмое.

Сѣверные уѣзды, въ которыхъ воровство скота до сихъ поръ очень распространено, отличаются высотою штрафовъ.

По Тилену Бюльбаеву, въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ берутъ за краже:

	Въ пользу истца.	Бійлыкъ и штрафъ.	Итого.
1 коровы .	7 тиллей	3 тилли.	40 руб.
1 лошади .	40 руб.	20 руб.	60 руб.
1 верблюда	15 тиллей	5 тиллей.	80 руб
1 овцы . .	8 руб.	4 руб.	12 руб.
1 возы . .	2½ руб.	1½ руб.	4 руб.

По каракиргизу Курметаю Даулетгулову, за краду 5-ти лѣтняго самца верблюда берутъ:

куйыма косак=кунак атан (3 лѣтъ).
кутиме тораку=тай тюя (2 лѣтъ).

Когда сама скотина (малыиг басы, иуан) уже возвращена безъ суда, то въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ требуютъ дополнительно айба по суду (бійскія пинги). По Абдрахману, такой возвратъ обыкновенно означаетъ уже соглашеніе, такъ что дополнительный штрафъ можетъ быть только весьма незначительный.

Названіе тогузъ, какъ наказанія, извѣстно всѣмъ почевымъ киргизамъ (лучше казак) отъ Оренбурга до Бухары и отъ Хивы до Троицка (Торгай).

Каждый тогузъ, какъ показываетъ самое слово, состоитъ изъ девяти скотинъ (кара). Между ними самая лучшая даетъ тогузу названіе. Напр.: тюя бастаган (или бастатган) тогуз, т. е. „девять головъ, во главѣ которыхъ верблюдъ", состоитъ изъ верблюда, жеребца, кобылы, жеребенка, коровы, теленка, и т. д. до овцы. По почетному каракиргизу Муллѣ Асану, тотъ же тогузъ состоитъ изъ 1 верблюда, 4 лошадей и 4 коровъ; а за мелкую вину—изъ 9 штукъ скота и вещей, начиная съ верблюда до халата. Вообще, по его словамъ, при наложеніи тогуза судъ опредѣляетъ въ точности содержаніе его. По Халмахамеду, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, тюя бастаган тогуз можетъ состоять изъ 1 верблюда, 1 лошади и 7 халатовъ.

Ат бастаган тогуз состоитъ изъ лошади, кобылы, четырехлѣтняго, трехлѣтняго и двухлѣтняго жеребятъ, коровы, теленка, овцы и ягненка.

Сінр бастаган тогуз состоитъ изъ коровы, четырехлѣтняго, трехлѣтняго и двухлѣтняго бычковъ, овцы, потомъ ягнятъ разныхъ лѣтъ и наконецъ козленка.

Вмѣсто сінр бастаган тогуз бываетъ домалак тогуз, т. е. закругленный тогузъ, называемый также токал тогуз, т. е. безрогій тогузъ, состоящій изъ ковра и 8 штукъ халатовъ разной цѣны, при чемъ самый дешевый халатъ въ рубль. Могутъ быть и вещи, муки (Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ).

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ тогузы замѣняются денежными суммами. Цѣна трехъ тогузовъ вмѣстѣ опредѣляется въ 175—200 руб. Вообще, при русскомъ владычествѣ тогузы назначаются крайне рѣдко и при томъ недорого стоющіе; наконецъ чаще простые тогузы, чѣмъ двойные и тройные. Они замѣняются нынѣ другими взысканіями, даже аттономъ.

У каракиргизовъ прежде тогузъ назначался за членовредительство и т. п.; теперь же взыскиваютъ только деньгами.

Утверждаютъ (Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ), что прежде за пражу можно было назначить до трехъ тогузовъ, а именно: за одну овцу: кой бастаган тогуз, буйдак бастаган тогуз и улак бастаган тогуз; за одну корову: сінр бастаган тогуз, кунан укуз бастаган тогуз и тай укуз бастаган тогуз; за одну лошадь: ат бастаган тогуз, біе бастаган тогуз и сінр бастаган тогуз; за одного верблюда: тяе бастаган тогуз, ат бастаган тогуз и сінр бастаган тогуз.

По Торгаю, главные случаи, въ которыхъ можно назначить за разъ три тогуза, слѣдующіе: 1) уводъ дѣвицы съ изнасилованіемъ или безъ таковаго. Она возвращается съ тремя тогузами, если отецъ ея вліятельный; а иначе—съ меньшимъ количествомъ тогузовъ. Если у нея былъ женихъ, то онъ требуетъ съ ея отца этого самого взысканія за нецѣломудріе. Впрочемъ, нынѣ за нецѣломудріе невѣсты и одинъ-то тогузъ получить очень трудно, потому что отецъ непремѣнно заявитъ, что беременность дочери происходитъ отъ самого жениха. Въ Курганинскомъ уѣздѣ совсѣмъ перестали подавать такіе иски и берутъ невѣсту даже съ ребенкомъ. 2) Если за лишеніе глаза, руки и т. п., не желаютъ назначить хуна, такъ какъ всѣ хуны, не исключая и неполныхъ, за членовредительство, раскладываются, даже при состоятельности виноваго, на хундасовъ, равно какъ и сами дѣлятся между хундасами, тогда налагаютъ до трехъ тогузовъ, ибо тогузы раскладываются на общину только послѣ несостоятельности виноваго и не раздаются общинѣ истца.

Вышеупомянутые штрафы скотомъ могутъ быть переведены

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на деньги. Въ бійскихъ книгахъ Перовскаго уѣзда, для точности, въ постановляемыхъ взысканіямъ на скотъ записывается часто стоимость его на деньги, особенно при большихъ взысканіяхъ. На югѣ штрафуютъ обыкновенно прямо деньгами. Этотъ обычай существуетъ, впрочемъ, въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ, что видно изъ приказа по ревизіи Казалинскаго уѣзда 1886 года (*), въ которомъ сказано, что на чрезвычайныхъ съѣздахъ этого уѣзда исчисленіе хуновъ дѣлается на рубли, а не на скотъ.

Въ Чиликентскомъ уѣздѣ, по Абсалямову, все имущество (джасау) и деньги въ тяжбахъ переводятся на скотъ (малга чаглаб).

Это мнѣніе находится въ противорѣчіи съ слѣдующими показаніями біевъ того же уѣзда:

За кражу полагается платить, включая стоимость украденнаго, штрафъ и всѣ расходы:

	По бію Султану Канаеву.	По бію Кучербаю.		
			Прежде полагалось.	Нынѣ принято.
1 верблюда .	40 тиллей	40 тиллей.	Стоимость верблюда . . 10 тил. Муйныма косак . . 10 — Кутине тервеу . . 10 — Плата джигиту . . 1 — Бійлыкъ . 4 — Сюунчи . 4 — Писарю (мирзахаы) . $^1/_2$ — Путевыя издержки, пища и пр. $^1/_2$ —	20 тиллей.

(*) Отъ 26 мая 1886 года, № 88.

1 лошади .	20 тиллей	20 тиллей.	10 тиллей.
1 коровы .	15 —	20 —	10 —
1 барана 3 лѣт.	5 —	5 —	5 —
1 осла . .	9 т. (семъ бій имѣлъ случай присудить въ этой суммѣ за осла).		5 рублей.
1 рубля . .	10 р. (Цѣль — прекратить воровство, уры тіньсын. Случая крежи денегъ онъ, однако, не помнитъ).		

Понижеціе штрафовъ во второй графѣ показаній Кучербая бій Султанъ Кавасъ объясняетъ такъ: это бываетъ тогда только, когда біи просятъ истца простить часть иска по бѣдности, говоря: „откуда воръ можетъ достать такую сумму? развѣ онъ укралъ, если бы былъ при средствахъ?“ Бій Халмахаммедъ прибавилъ, что къ этому пріему прибѣгаютъ біи, получившіе что нибудь отъ вора.

За кражу денегъ не обязательно присуждать къ денежному штрафу въ размѣрѣ нуйныма косак кутиве терку (Перовскій уѣздъ).

По Торгаю, за кражу денегъ, слѣдуя одному мнѣнію, назначаютъ штрафъ въ размѣрѣ нуйныма косак кутиве терку. Слѣдуя другому мнѣнію, опредѣляютъ меньшій штрафъ, а именно: 1) если украденныя деньги сполна найдутся (тугуа табылса), то, по справедливости (висаф ныса), нѣтъ другаго штрафа, кромѣ бійлыка и сююнчи; 2) если деньги найдутся не сполна, или если отвѣтчикъ хочетъ, но не можетъ сейчасъ отдать все,

то штрафъ, сюючи и всѣ расходы слагаются въ одну цифру, равную половинѣ найденныхъ денегъ. Напр., если изъ 20 тиллей 10 тиллей тотчасъ отданы и осталось 10 тиллей, то присуждаютъ къ уплатѣ этихъ 10 тиллей+5 тиллей=15 тиллей.

По Кюльбаеву, за кражу 50 тиллей присуждаютъ, если отвѣтчикъ не отпирается, къ уплатѣ 50 тиллей+10 тиллей (подъ названіемъ сандык хакысы, „въ пользу сундука", т. е. для истца)+5 тиллей (бію).

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ за кражу вещей, но не скота, назначается денежный штрафъ не въ размѣрѣ муйныма косак кутпие теркеу, а гораздо меньшій.

По Торгаю, за кражу халата и другихъ вещей, на сумму 10 тенегъ, взысканіе составляетъ 15 тенегъ; на сумму 15 тенегъ—20 тенегъ; на сумму 100 тенегъ—120 тенегъ и т. д. Чѣмъ больше сумма иска, тѣмъ меньше процентъ штрафа.

За убійство полагается выкупъ, «хунъ», а въ случаѣ неплатежа его—смерть самаго убійцы или другаго человѣка изъ его рода (*).

Хунъ платитъ и получаетъ не лицо, а родъ. Если убитый и убійца изъ одного рода, то платитъ и получаетъ колѣно, если оба изъ одного колѣна, то подколѣно и т. д. Напр., если одинъ изъ колѣна Бисата, другой изъ колѣна Яманбай (оба названныя колѣна составляютъ родъ Кутенчи, ихъ главнаго рода Кунгратъ), то въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ всѣ пять волостей Бисата платятъ, а всѣ пять волостей Яманбаевъ получаютъ хунъ. Полученный хунъ, за вычетомъ 100—300 р. на похороны и поминки, раздѣляютъ между волостями, потомъ между аулами и т. д. Близкія и дальнія родни убитаго и убійцы, богатые и бѣдные, должны платить и получать равныя доли. Хотя бы родъ убійцы и

(*) Интересный обрядъ символической казни надъ барономъ во время полученія хуна можно найти у Маковецкаго, вып. I, стр. 71. Что этого обряда въ Туркестанскомъ краѣ нѣтъ, видно изъ словъ бія Султана Канаева: это—безначаліе (низамсиз), это—дѣйствія людей, неподчиняющихся никакому начальнику (кимбир хаммга карамаган адамнит эси).

быть удаленъ или разбросанъ на большомъ пространствѣ, тѣмъ не менѣе, за взносомъ долей хуна посылаютъ требованія, засвидѣтельствованныя приложеніемъ многихъ печатей. Нынѣ распредѣленіе получаемаго хуна не обходится безъ злоупотребленій вліятельныхъ лицъ.

Хуна не взыскиваютъ, когда нѣтъ родственниковъ въ качествѣ истцевъ.

По Торгаю, правило „кровь за кровь" (хунга хун, канга кан) было употребляемо прежде въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ. И теперь въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ родъ убитаго старается учинить убійство, чтобы взять кровь за кровь; но его не допускаютъ до этого, говоря: „это случилось волею божіею". Вообще обычай брать кровь за кровь болѣе не существуетъ.

Нынѣ, если присужденная къ хуну община, по своей малочисленности, несостоятельна, то никого изъ нея не убиваютъ, а просто считаютъ эту общину въ долгу (*).

Тѣ, которые вмѣстѣ привлекаются къ уплатѣ хуна и также къ полученію его, называются товарищами по хуну (хундас). Отказываться отъ участія въ распредѣляемой (шешиен) уплатѣ хуна едва ли возможно; иначе отказавшемуся не дадутъ доли изъ получаемыхъ хуновъ и не будутъ участвовать въ платежѣ хуновъ за его убійства.

Если малая община, живущая среди другой многочисленной общины, хотя и не родственная ей, участвовала, по какому либо случаю, въ платежѣ хуна за совершенное послѣднею убійство, то обѣ общины считаются хундасами; и за убійство, совершенное малою общиною, долженъ платить этотъ многочисленный родъ. Если онъ отказывается, то малая община напоминаетъ ему, что они когда-то стали хундасами. Если тѣмъ не менѣе многочисленный родъ не можетъ быть склоненъ къ участію въ платежѣ, то присужденной общинѣ остается взять копію съ рѣшенія и отправить ее съ требованіемъ объ участіи

(*) Говорятъ, въ Бухарѣ существуетъ обычай собирать милостиню для уплаты хуна.

въ хунѣ въ ту сторону, гдѣ живетъ остальной ихъ родъ, такъ сказать, свою метрополію. Тамъ сначала не хотятъ платить, упрекая: „отчего вы ушли отъ насъ"; но въ концѣ концовъ всетаки платятъ.

У Курамы хунъ взыскивается не съ рода, а съ семьи: отца, брата и дяди (анеси, увеси, аневеси кунди). При несостоятельности прежде убивали.

Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ хунъ взыскивается такимъ образомъ: по совѣщанію родовичей плательщика хуна, часть опредѣляется на самаго отвѣтчика, а остальную часть хуна, по распредѣленію между собою, платятъ его родичи изъ круга запрещенной степени родства.

Количество хуна за мужчину одинаково, будетъ ли то султанъ, ходжа, гость, воръ, ребенокъ, взрослый (*) и т. д., согласно пословицѣ: «дурной и добрый бываютъ равны: разъ по смерти (т. е. хунъ ихъ одинаковъ), другой разъ при жизни» (т. е. брань можетъ касаться всѣхъ одинаково) (яман иси яхсы ксиге улгенде бр тенг келеди, тирисинде бр тенг келеди).

Если вѣрить притязаніямъ султановъ, то за убійство султана или потомственнаго бія платится полуторный хунъ, а именно: къ 6 яхсы прибавляется еще 6 яхсы. (Сообщеніе Султана Даулета Бушаева).

За убійство женщины, въ томъ числѣ и собственной жены, платится половина хуна.

За убійство, совершенное женщиною, платится полный хунъ.

За убійство, совершенное въ пьяномъ видѣ, хунъ не измѣняется.

За неумышленное убійство не полагается хуна, а только

(*) Въ статьѣ Готовинскаго „Окончаніе дѣлъ полюбовно по киргизскому обычному праву" („Юридическій Вѣстникъ" 1885 г., май, стр. 194), сказано, что если вдова убитаго остается безъ средствъ съ ребенкомъ женскаго пола и если у убитаго мужа нѣтъ брата, за котораго бы она вышла, то, не дѣлая никакихъ уступокъ, она должна получить 50 лошадей; но если она молода и имѣетъ ребенка мужескаго пола, а слѣдовательно можетъ разсчитывать видти за одного изъ родственниковъ мужа, то, при рѣшеніи дѣла полюбовно (карандас киб), т. е., при полномъ сознаніи убійцы въ совершенномъ имъ преступленіи, вознагражденіе вдовѣ должно быть ограничено 25 лошадьми.

подарокъ одеждою и покрытіе расходовъ на погребеніе и поминки (асатау).

Если убійство вызвано самозащитою, то это требуется доказать передъ истцами, для освобожденія отъ платежа хуна. Впрочемъ, еще спорный вопросъ, слѣдуетъ ли платить хунъ въ подобныхъ случаяхъ, т. е. когда убитый былъ воръ, не позволявшій поймать себя, или другой преступникъ, защищавшійся вооруженною рукою противъ высланнаго для его поимки джигита, или разбойникъ, вступившій первый въ борьбу. Истцы требуютъ уплаты полнаго хуна, предлагая съ своей стороны заплатить штрафъ за нападеніе, драку, воровство и вообще ту вину, которая будетъ признана за убитымъ. Они опираются на то, что отвѣтчикъ взводитъ напраслину на убитаго для того, чтобы уклониться отъ платежа хуна. По Микебаю, за убійство вора, который хотя въ драку вступилъ первый, но къ оружію прибѣгъ не первый, долженъ платиться хунъ, а за убійство вора, который первый вступилъ въ вооруженную борьбу, хунъ не долженъ платиться.

Е. А. Александровъ сообщаетъ изъ Казалинскаго уѣзда, что оборона при нападеніи хищниковъ и разбойниковъ допускается лишь въ мѣрѣ, не доходящей до преступленія. Если же оборонющійся, хотя и нечаянно нанесетъ нападающему ударъ, слѣдствіемъ котораго послѣдуетъ смерть или поврежденіе части тѣла, то виновный въ этомъ платитъ хунъ, хотя въ тоже время хищники несутъ отвѣтственность за причиненный ими вредъ.

Если убитъ сирота, живущій у отчима, то за него требуетъ, какъ равно и платитъ хунъ, за совершенное имъ убійство, его родъ; за отсутствіемъ же рода, отчимъ можетъ требовать хуна отъ имени младшаго брата убитаго, но полученный хунъ долженъ отложить въ сторону, для выдачи роду убитаго при первомъ требованіи (Кураи. у.). По Халмаханиеду, Чиинент. уѣз., мать можетъ получить часть хуна по доброй волѣ родичей. Она можетъ платить часть хуна, если хочетъ, за убійство, совершенное этимъ сиротою.

Если у богатаго человѣка умретъ слуга и наслѣдники его

будутъ искать хунъ съ хозяина, то біи, при разборѣ дѣла, должны первымъ долгомъ изслѣдовать: замерзъ ли умершій за неимѣніемъ одежды, умеръ ли съ голода, убитъ ли на воровствѣ или другихъ порочныхъ промыслахъ. Если, по свидѣтельскимъ показаніямъ, будетъ доказано, что причиною смерти послужило одно изъ перечисленныхъ обстоятельствъ, то хозяину надлежитъ платить хунъ. Если же смерть произошла отъ перечисленныхъ причинъ и при этомъ возникнетъ споръ, за несознаніемъ стороны, то со стороны истцевъ должны принять присягу четыре человѣка, а если убита женщина, то два человѣка.

По біямъ Султану Капаеву и Халмахаммеду, если пустившійся въ погоню за ворами или непріятелями слуга будетъ убитъ, то съ хозяина нельзя требовать хуна, даже при томъ условіи, что убійца принадлежитъ къ такому племени, какъ калмыки, съ которыхъ немыслимо требовать хуна.

За убитаго мужчину, по сообщенію Баймета Сагындыкова, Чимкентскаго уѣзда, взыскивается 1.000 шаріятныхъ тиллей, каждая въ 10 тенегъ, а если считать по 4 рубля каждую тиллю, какъ это принято, то 500 тиллей или 10.000 тенегъ. Если платить скотомъ, то слѣдуетъ заплатить 100 верблюдовъ. Абсалямовъ, того же уѣзда, сообщаетъ: за убитаго мужчину платится сто лошадей и сто барановъ, а деньгами 660 тиллей. Мулла Шанчи Чиныбековъ, Аулієатинскаго уѣзда, сообщаетъ: за убитаго мужчину, отъ одного года до ста лѣтъ отъ роду, хунъ состоитъ изъ 200 кобылъ; за убитую женщину, отъ одного года до ста лѣтъ отъ роду—изъ 100 кобылъ.

Бываютъ случаи, что вліятельная родня успѣваетъ взыскать за одного убитаго родоначальника 3—5 хуновъ. Такъ напр., въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ, за убійство почетнаго лица бѣлой кости, по имени Ялавгташъ, взысканъ былъ съ 500 кибитокъ хунъ съ расходами, всего на сумму 1.300 тиллей и одна дѣвица.

По Султану Даулету, прежній хунъ за убійство былъ двухъ разрядовъ:

Первый разрядъ.

1) 1000 овецъ=1000 тиллей=2 дѣвицы.

2) 6 яхсы, т. е. 2 раба, 2 одногорбыхъ верблюда (нар) и 2 хорошія лошади. Вмѣсто лошадей могли быть звѣри: лисица, волкъ, сайга и т. п.

3) Калынгелим=коверъ въ 50 тиллей или 100 руб.

4) Кара нар, т. е. траурный одногорбый верблюдъ.

5) Кара чулак, ат, траурная раненая лошадь, т. е. лошадь убитаго.

6) Сары йипек яулык, желтый шелковый платокъ, т. е. платокъ вдовѣ, которымъ она закрывается, плача по мужѣ.

Второй разрядъ.

1) 500 овецъ или только 500 козъ, или 500 козлятъ одного года.

2) 6 яхсы, т. е. 2 пара, 2 лошади, 1 ружье и 1 звѣрь (каранкус).

3) Дешевый коверъ.

4) Маленькій нар, напр. тайлак.

5) Лошадь 3—4 лѣтъ.

6) Йипек яулык, платокъ.

Нынѣ хунъ равняется 1000 баранамъ или 2.000 руб.

На съѣздѣ біевъ Чимкентскаго и Туркестанскаго уѣздовъ, въ сентябрѣ 1877 года, размѣръ хуна былъ опредѣленъ: за мужчину 2000 руб., а за женщину 1000 руб.

Въ коканское время хунъ былъ выше, а именно 1.000 тиллей за мужчину.

Вмѣсто упомянутыхъ животныхъ можно платить другимъ родомъ скота на ту же сумму.

Часто истцы соглашаются на меньшую сумму. „Если стороны до разбора біяни, пишетъ Байметъ Сагындыковъ, пожелаютъ совершить мировую сдѣлку, вслѣдствіе увѣщаній лучшихъ

людей и біевъ, то дѣло обходится безъ присяги, и истецъ, согласно адату о мировыхъ сдѣлкахъ, получаетъ половину хуна".

Вмѣсто хуна можетъ быть дана дочь или родственница убійцы.

Если убитаго не похоронятъ, а оставятъ на съѣденіе птицъ и звѣрей, то къ хуну прибавляется тюя бастаган тогуз, подъ названіемъ „хунъ за кости" (сюягенинг хуны), ибо истцы не удовлетворяются хуномъ: они требуютъ выдачи и трупа. Если убійца, согласившись на платежъ хуна, захочетъ однако скрыть трупъ (сюяген курсетпесе) и если объ этомъ будетъ дознано, то его обязываютъ прислать на „траурномъ одногорбомъ верблюдѣ" (кара нар) трупъ, покрытый ковромъ и уплатить штрафъ отъ одного до трехъ тогузовъ, считая здѣсь и верблюда съ ковромъ. Вмѣсто одногорбаго можетъ быть данъ двугорбый верблюдъ и даже только лошадь. (Торгай).

Довѣренными отъ рода убитаго предъ съѣздами біевъ являются обыкновенно вліятельныя лица, аксакалы, волостные и др., которыя изъ получаемаго хуна вычитаютъ въ свою пользу значительную долю, подъ названіемъ путевыхъ и другихъ издержекъ (Перов. и Ауліеатин. уѣзды).

У каракиргизовъ хунъ равенъ 660 тиллямъ. Получатель хуна и его родство до третьяго колѣна включительно получаютъ 300 тиллей. Другія 300 тиллей онъ раздаетъ біямъ и прочимъ знатнымъ людямъ, не родственнымъ ему, потому что боится ихъ нерасположенія, «а они привыкли получать». Остальныя 60 тиллей идутъ на бійлыкъ и разные расходы. (Сообщено біемъ Даніяромъ).

Всякій, кто нанесъ другому рану или поврежденіе, обязанъ, помимо налагаемаго судомъ взысканія, лечить больнаго на свой счетъ и зарѣзать барана ему на пищу. Шкурою этого барана врачъ (тауб) перевязываетъ рану, а легкими его ударяетъ по ранѣ, что составляетъ добрую примѣту (прим). За раны и поврежденія, неумышленныя или полученныя на состязаніи, взыскивается только на лекарство и уходъ. Если раненый умретъ,

то взыскиваются расходы на погребеніе и поминки, подъ названіемъ „родственнаго хуна“ (варидас хун).

За тѣлесныя поврежденія хунъ взыскивается въ слѣдующихъ размѣрахъ:

У киргизовъ:	У каракиргизовъ, по сообщенію Курпетая Даулеткулова.
За легкую рану вонемъ—отъ аттона до ат бастаган тогуз.	10—15 руб.
За тяжкую рану, но не смертельную—тюя бастаган тогуз. Біямъ не слѣдуетъ, по Умурбеку, разбирать дѣло раньше, пока не выяснится безопасность положенія больнаго.	Возмѣщеніе стоимости жертвоприношенія (садака), сдѣланнаго родными о выздоровленіи.
За рану, повлекшую за собою смерть—полный хунъ. Если по поводу раны, казавшейся легкою, была устроена сдѣлка (битим) на извѣстной суммѣ, со внесеніемъ въ протоколъ, а потомъ больной умретъ, то сдѣлка недѣйствительна и возбуждается искъ о полномъ хунѣ.	Полный хунъ.
За драку съ поврежденіемъ ноги или руки, такъ что они не могутъ двигаться свободно, не больше 100 руб.	30—40 руб. Такое поврежденіе каракиргизъ назвалъ джансирек.
За рану въ голову (бас арылса)—аттонъ.	
За рану въ руку или въ ногу, съ лишеніемъ способа дѣйствовать ими—400 руб.	До 300 руб.
За лишеніе обѣихъ рукъ или обѣихъ ногъ—полный хунъ.	200 руб.

За умышленное ослѣпленіе глаза $^1/_2$ хуна (*), а если этотъ глазъ былъ единственный, то полный хунъ. По Абсалямову, за лишеніе одного или обоихъ глазъ—50 лошадей и 50 барановъ или 330 тиллей.

За поврежденіе глаза отъ 200 до 300 руб. (Перов. у.).

За искусаніе руки—25 руб. (книги Аулієатинскаго уѣзда). По Абсалямову, за увѣчье, нанесенное рукѣ или ногѣ, какъ и за лишеніе этихъ членовъ, 165 тиллей.

За отрѣзанный палецъ—$^1/_{10}$ хуна (Перов. у.). По Сагындыкову, тоже $^1/_{10}$ хуна или 200 руб., а за одинъ суставъ—$^1/_2$ этой суммы, т. е. 66 руб. 66$^1/_3$ коп.; только за суставъ большаго перста—$^1/_{10}$ хуна=200 руб. Это потому, что большой перстъ имѣетъ лишь два сустава, прочіе же пальцы по 3 сустава.

За искривленіе и поврежденіе: 1) большаго пальца—тюя бастаган тогуз (Перов. и Аулієатин. уѣзды); 2) указательнаго пальца—2 аттона, по Кунанбаю—ат бастаган тогуз; 3) остальныхъ пальцевъ—по аттону или аттай (Перов. и Аулієат. уѣз.). По Умурбеку, за всѣ пальцы одинаково: тюя бастаган тогуз.

За вышибленный зубъ платится, по Сагындыкову, $^1/_{10}$ хуна, т. е. 100 руб.

Шесть членовъ (алты сан): 2 глаза+2 руки+2 ноги=600 тиллей=одному хуну.

Каждый изъ этихъ членовъ=100 руб.

30 руб.

5—10 руб.

Если зубъ отъ уда-

(*) На съѣздѣ біевъ Чимкент. и Турвест. уѣздовъ, въ сентябрѣ 1877 года, хунъ за глазъ мужчины былъ опредѣленъ въ 1000 руб., а за глазъ женщины—500 рублей.

Если вышиблены всѣ зубы—полный хунъ. За каждый изъ четырехъ верхнихъ и четырехъ нижнихъ переднихъ зубовъ (куректис)—ат бастаган тогуз (Султанъ Даулетъ Бушаевъ); по Умурбеку—аттонъ, или лошадь, или только 8—9 руб.; по Кунакбаю—аттонъ; по Худайкулу—по 25 руб., а въ Курминскомъ уѣздѣ за передній зубъ старика—17 тиллей. Въ бійскихъ винтахъ Чимкентскаго уѣзда за 1 передній зубъ—20 тиллей.	ра сломался пополамъ—20—25 руб. Если зубъ сломался отъ удара у старика—4—5 руб.
За клыки (экыл тис), по Кунакбаю, столько же, какъ за передніе зубы.	Истецъ долженъ показать опухоль губъ (эрин), въ доказательство того, что зубъ выбитъ, а не выпалъ по другой причинѣ.
За каждый изъ клыковъ и заднихъ зубовъ, по Султану Даулету Бушаеву—аттонъ или 50 руб., по Худайкулу—10 тиллей.	
За задніе зубы, по Кунакбаю—аттонъ или ничего.	
За самые задніе зубы, по Султану Даулету Бушаеву—30—40 руб.	
За лишеніе клочка бороды—аттонъ и извиненіе (курестериб джибереди).	Ничего.
За отсѣченіе пошенъ всей бороды—ат бастаган тогуз, по Султану Даулету Бушаеву; по Умурбеку—нельзя опредѣлить въ точности, но меньше, чѣмъ за лишеніе носа, потому что борода опять выростаетъ.	Ничего.
За поврежденіе уха или носа—отъ тюя бастаган тогуза до трехъ тогузовъ, по Султану Даулету Бушаеву; 100—400 руб., при томъ за ухо меньше, по Умурбеку.	Лишеніе уха (чуван-безухій)—20—30 руб.

За лишеніе мужчины одного уха или обоихъ, или носа, по Абсаляномъ — 50 тиллей.	
За лишеніе дѣтороднаго члена — полный хунъ.	Не бываетъ.

По сообщенію Мулла Шанчи Чаныбекова, хунъ за выбитіе одного глаза у мужчины опредѣляется въ 50 кобылъ, за выбитіе обоихъ глазъ въ 100 кобылъ. Если назначается присяга, то она падаетъ за одинъ глазъ на одного человѣка, а за два глаза на двухъ человѣкъ. Затѣмъ хунъ полагается: за одно ухо — 1 верблюдъ и 9 головъ скота; за 2 уха — 2 верблюда и 18 головъ скота; за носъ — 1 верблюдъ и 9 головъ скота; за зубъ — 1 лошадь и 9 головъ скота; за переломъ или увѣчье одной руки или ноги — 25 кобылъ, обѣихъ рукъ и ногъ — 50 кобылъ; за увѣчье дѣтороднаго члена — 100 кобылъ, и если дается присяга, то она падаетъ на двухъ человѣкъ изъ рода отвѣтчика. За тѣ же увѣчья, нанесенныя женщинѣ, платится въ половинномъ размѣрѣ.

Если кто, по сообщенію Сагындыкова, отрѣжетъ кому либо языкъ, или нанесетъ столь жестокіе побои палкою, что пострадавшій потеряетъ способность говорить или лишится разсудка, отрѣжетъ носъ или сниметъ шкуру на мѣстѣ роста волосъ, именно съ подбородка, то виновный платитъ полный хунъ.

Изгнаніе плода, равно какъ и выкидышъ, происшедшій отъ побоевъ мужа, остаются безнаказанными.

За выкидышъ, происшедшій по волѣ посторонняго человѣка, платится штрафъ, смотря по виду, полу и возрасту выкидыша, отъ нѣсколькихъ верблюдовъ до половины хуна. Если выкидышъ былъ еще нѣсколько времени живъ, то платится даже хунъ.

За выкидышъ женскаго пола платится половина противъ выкидыша мужскаго пола.

Если засватанная невѣста, забеременѣвшая отъ своего законнаго жениха, изъ стыда передъ отцомъ и передъ народомъ, изгонитъ плодъ, то женихъ, если узнаетъ это, можетъ привлечь какъ невѣсту, такъ и соучаствовавшихъ въ изгнаніи плода мужчинъ и женщинъ, къ строгой отвѣтственности передъ народнымъ судомъ, который принимаетъ сторону жениха (Казалин. у.).

Если кто либо нанесетъ беременной женщинѣ побои и она отъ этого разрѣшится мертвымъ ребенкомъ, то виновный платитъ въ хунъ 100 руб., а если отъ побоевъ умретъ сама женщина, что нужно доказать, то виновный платитъ полный женскій хунъ. Если же отъ побоевъ палкою женщина преждевременно разрѣшится живымъ ребенкомъ, а затѣмъ уже этотъ ребенокъ умретъ, то за умершаго младенца слѣдуетъ платить полный хунъ, если только будетъ вполнѣ доказано, что преждевременные роды и смерть новорожденнаго произошли отъ побоевъ. При этомъ хунъ платится смотря по полу младенца. (Сообщено Сагындыковымъ).

У каракиргизовъ отвѣтчикъ, въ подобныхъ случаяхъ, оправдывается словами: «развѣ я у тебя вытащилъ ребенка?» Однако онъ платитъ за выкидышъ:

2-хъ мѣсяцевъ		30—40 руб.
3—4	—	40 руб.
5—6	—	40—50 руб.
7—8	—	100 руб.
9	—	100 руб.

Нужно отличать тѣлесныя наказанія, производимыя старшинами въ аулѣ домашнимъ образомъ, отъ оффиціальныхъ, присуждаемыхъ біями, которыя составляютъ нововведеніе, въ слабой степени проникшее въ степь изъ кокандскихъ укрѣпленій. Оффиціальныя тѣлесныя наказанія нынѣ не практикуются. Въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ современные біи не помнятъ примѣра. Въ бійскихъ книгахъ Перовскаго уѣзда можно было найти лишь два случая. Въ одномъ угрожаютъ, въ случаѣ повторенія воровства, наказать плетью (дурра); въ другомъ, на закоренѣлаго вора налагается штрафъ, а на случай несостоятельности его—25 ударовъ плетью. Въ послѣднемъ рѣшеніи, по мнѣнію Минеева, заключается ошибка: нужно было опредѣлить категорически одно изъ наказаній: либо штрафъ, либо удары плетью.

Домашнее тѣлесное наказаніе не избавляетъ отъ платежа штрафа, оффиціальное—избавляетъ. По Александрову, тѣлесныя

наказанія замѣнялись айбомъ только въ томъ случаѣ, когда потецъ выражалъ на это согласіе.

При домашнемъ тѣлесномъ наказаніи число ударовъ нагайкою (камчи) или палкою (чибык) никогда не считается, и виноваго бьютъ до раскаянія; но если онъ умираетъ отъ ударовъ, то за него взыскивается хунъ. На домашнее наказаніе за вину, напр., за прелюбодѣяніе, біи не принимаютъ жалобъ.

Отъ тѣлесныхъ наказаній, въ случаѣ поимки на кражѣ, никто не былъ изъятъ ни по своему положенію, ни по происхожденію (бѣлая кость, старцы, малолѣтнія дѣти). Къ старцамъ и малолѣтнимъ обыкновенно питаютъ сожалѣніе и щадятъ ихъ; но если ихъ свяжутъ и побьютъ, то они не могутъ жаловаться бію на побои, повлекшіе за собою болѣзнь. Пойманныхъ на кражѣ женщинъ не связываютъ и не бьютъ.

То, что мы назвали домашнимъ тѣлеснымъ наказаніемъ, когда это наказаніе было особенно жестоко, можно назвать самосудомъ. Послѣдняго понятія ни у киргизовъ, ни у каракиргизовъ нѣтъ. Случается, что у пойманнаго въ прелюбодѣяніи отрѣзываютъ носъ или убиваютъ его (*). Говоратъ, что нѣкогда убившій и прелюбодѣя, и жену, не платилъ хуна, а убившій одного только перваго платилъ хунъ. Самосудъ существуетъ до сихъ поръ. По словамъ подполковника Панкратова, во время его службы въ Чимкентскомъ уѣздѣ, былъ такой случай самосуда: связаннаго вора положили на горящіе угли, на которыхъ онъ поджаривался до тѣхъ поръ, пока не перегорѣли веревки. А. Е. Александровъ изъ Казалинскаго уѣзда сообщаетъ, что разбойника привязываютъ арканомъ къ хвосту лошади или верблюда.

По бію Султану Каппеву, до прихода русскихъ, за прелюбодѣяніе холостаго съ чужою женою назначали отъ 80 до 90 ударовъ плетью (дурра); если онъ подъ ними умиралъ, то хуна не требовалось. Если же онъ былъ женатъ, то и его, и чужую жену убивали; или же послѣднюю бросали въ мѣшкѣ съ кры-

(*) Въ обществахъ алагирцевъ и фарсалагъ, Владикавказскаго округа, женѣ, пойманной съ любовникомъ, мужъ отрѣзываетъ носъ. Въ обществахъ куртатинцевъ и тагаурскомъ мужъ убиваетъ пойманнаго прелюбодѣя (Адаты кавказскихъ горцевъ, вып. II, стр. 41—44).

ши, или ее катали въ мѣшкѣ ногами. Если она не умирала послѣ этого, то освобождалась.

Судебное членовредительство и смертная казнь практиковались только поканцами. Они подвергали растерзанію лошадьми, повѣшенію на висѣлицѣ (*), побиванію камнями (сарсан, вмѣсто персидскаго сенгсар)—послѣднее за кровосмѣшеніе и отступничество отъ религіи (**) и сажанію на колъ (хада) (***).

По сообщенію Е. А. Александрова, прежде существовали, между прочимъ слѣдующія наказанія: а) виновный крестомъ раскладывался среди аула на землю лицомъ вверхъ, за руки и за ноги привязывался ко вбитымъ для того кольямъ и чрезъ него прогонялось стадо барановъ кучею. Отъ степени вины зависѣла величина стада. Если подвергаемый такому наказанію умиралъ раздавленнымъ, то родственники хуна не получали (****). б) Смертная казнь чрезъ отсѣченіе головы шашкою. Такое наказаніе производилось съ согласія султана и по обсужденіи вины старѣйшинами на общемъ совѣтѣ „маслагат" (сокращенно: мастат).

Провинившійся въ неуваженіи къ основамъ строя жизни, рода, семьи и т. п., подвергается наказанію посрамленія, на-

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(*) Сообщитель не слышалъ, чтобы вѣшали двухъ человѣкъ по обѣ стороны верблюда, какъ сказано у Маковецкаго, I, 69.

(**) У киргизскихъ каракиргизовъ, по словамъ штабсъ-капитана Громбчевскаго, существуютъ слѣдующіе виды пытки и самосуда: 1) перекашиваютъ голову черезъ лобъ веревкою, которую начинаютъ закручивать; 2) связываютъ руки за спиною и, кругя веревку, стягиваютъ локти и плечевыя кости; 3) связанаго вора бросаютъ передъ входомъ въ баранью ограду и пускаютъ барановъ черезъ него. Наказываемый при этомъ лишается чувствъ отъ боли.

(***) При ковандскомъ владычествѣ, по словамъ очевидца, киргиза Курбана Бабаева, въ Янъ-кургане, пограничномъ пунктѣ между Россіею и Кокандскимъ ханствомъ, посадили на колъ двухъ русскихъ киргизовъ, за какую-то вину, слѣдующимъ образомъ: преступника возлагали спиною на землю; нѣсколько человѣкъ держали его за ноги, а двое потянули въ него заостренный конецъ кола длиною въ 2—3 сажени и толщиною въ человѣческую руку. Потомъ подняли его на воздухъ и утвердили колъ въ землѣ. Черезъ нѣсколько времени подъѣхалъ сартъ и ударилъ осужденныхъ шашкою по головѣ. Тотъ оба умерли.

(****) По сообщенію бія Султана Кавасова, перегонъ барановъ чрезъ преступника (устаевъ кой айдайды) бываетъ только за кражу у ближнихъ и прелюбодѣяніе съ ближними, напр. одноаульцами.

зываемаго „обходомъ народа" (эл айлантырмак). Виновному связываютъ руки за спиною, мажутъ лицо сажею, надѣваютъ на шею веревку или кусокъ старой попоны (курук) и водятъ пѣшкомъ по аулу. Спереди одинъ человѣкъ тащитъ его, а сзади верховой подгоняетъ и бьетъ (Перовскій, Казалинскій и Ауліеатинскій уѣзды и у каракиргизовъ).

Въ Казалинскомъ уѣздѣ кромѣ того осрамленіе заключается въ томъ, что потерпѣвшій высказываетъ публично о поступкѣ виновнаго.

У каракиргизовъ виновнаго водятъ три раза вокругъ селенія со старою попоною на шеѣ, бьютъ его и заставляютъ говорить: „я совершилъ такое-то дѣяніе (мен фалан иш кылдым), вотъ наказаніе за это (джазал)". Послѣ этого его сажаютъ въ яму, чтобы онъ въ ней сгнилъ (чуриб улиб китеди). Такое наказаніе практиковалось при коканскихъ серкерахъ за: 1) воровство, хотя бы первое, но застигнутое въ моментъ совершенія; 2) прелюбодѣяніе съ чужою женою, при такой же обстановкѣ; 3) безчинство передъ высшими. За кровосмѣшеніе же полагалось побитіе камнями (ташбаран).

За неудержимую страсть къ воровству прежде присуждалось отбираніе всего имущества (канау, ургаиау). Домъ такого вора (въ Ауліеатинск. у.). подвергался нападенію и разграбленію (уйин чауб алыб, малын алды), или его выдавали коканцамъ, которые его вѣшали. Нынѣ въ подобныхъ случаяхъ составляютъ приговоръ о ссылкѣ его въ Сибирь или объ изгнаніи (*) изъ своей среды, говоря: «мы его изъ нашей среды выгнали, мы не станемъ разорятся изъ-за его кражъ; пусть никто не защищаетъ его на судѣ (ичимизден чыкардук, кюймейминъ урлыгина, дауын ич ким сурамасун). Послѣ этого воръ становится бездомнымъ, не числясь ни въ какой волости (**).

(*) Изгой, исключенный изъ семьи и рода и потому лишившійся покровительства и защиты своего рода, у черкесовъ называется абрек. Абрекомъ дѣлался по преимуществу убійца, за котораго не платилъ родъ „цѣну крови". У монголовъ изгои, уходившіе изъ родовыхъ улусовъ и ойратствъ, назывались злѣтами или сабсарами. (Адаты кавказ. горцевъ, стр. 359—361).

(**) Въ приложеніи № 7 приведены два постановленія объ изгнаніи изъ общества.

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Существуетъ лишеніе дѣтей родительскаго благословленія. Это совершается такъ: ладони складываются вмѣстѣ и затѣмъ отталкиваются отъ себя троекратно.

Лишеніе довѣрія (всеинисиздик) не налагается судомъ, а составляетъ естественное слѣдствіе проступка. Всякій предосудительный поступокъ сопровождается, въ большей или меньшей мѣрѣ, лишеніемъ довѣрія.

Киргизы, какъ и каракиргизы, не продавали преступниковъ въ средѣ своей, ибо для преступленій существуютъ опредѣленные штрафы; но каракиргизы киргизамъ и обратно, также сарты киргизамъ и каракиргизамъ, продавали преступниковъ за выкупъ, т. е. штрафъ, сумма котораго не опредѣлялась обычаемъ, а назначалась произвольно. Если родичи не могли, по бѣдности, или не хотѣли, при повтореніи воровства, платить требуемую сумму, то это давало право убивать преступника.

Входъ въ кибитку.

Ѣхать мимо дверей кибитки (алдынан юру), а не сзади ея, считается невѣжливымъ. Если пріѣзжій, миновавъ уже двѣ рѣшетки кибитки (ики канат перегі), остановится только у самыхъ дверей, то ему говорятъ съ укоромъ: развѣ ты начальникъ?

Нужно останавливаться и привязывать лошадь сзади кибитки, а потомъ вызывать хозяевъ словами: сюйлес! адам барма? (желаю вступить въ разговоръ; есть ли хозяева). Но этотъ обычай соблюдается нынѣ менѣе строго.

Если привязанная спереди кибитки лошадь лягнетъ ребенка ногою, то платится штрафъ въ $^1/_4$ стоимости лошади, т. е. 5 руб. (п. ч. нога одна изъ четырехъ оконечностей), а за смерть ребенка—полный хунъ. Если лошадь лягнула на задней сторонѣ кибитки, то вина падаетъ на ребенка, отправившагося туда. Если бы тамъ лошадь убила его до смерти, то взыскалась бы только стоимость лошади, а въ случаѣ отягчающихъ вину хозяина ея обстоятельствъ—$^1/_2$ хуна.

За входъ въ кибитку въ отсутствіе хозяевъ (отагасы) не родственника смотрятъ нехорошо; напоминаютъ о томъ, что въ случаѣ пропажи подозрѣніе будетъ падать на вошедшаго.

На рѣзвязку двери (изъ камыша—эсик, изъ деревянныхъ створокъ—эргенек) въ отсутствіе хозяевъ, смотрятъ какъ на поступокъ, заслуживающій замѣчанія.

При торжественныхъ случаяхъ входятъ въ кибитку по порядку старшинства.

Содержаніе убогихъ.

Аксакалы собираютъ пищу для убогихъ, увѣщевая всѣхъ подать тенгры ханы или конгсы ханы, т. е. подаяніе, да ко-

торое нищіе имѣютъ право во имя Бога или во имя сосѣдства, хотя кратковременнаго, тѣмъ болѣе, что странствуя много, они будутъ распространять славу о своихъ благотворителяхъ въ отдаленныхъ мѣстахъ. Тѣ изъ убогихъ, которые имѣютъ силу ходить по міру, сами просятъ милостыню. Адатъ не возбраняетъ нищенство. Милостыню особенно охотно подаютъ женщины.

Молитвы бѣдныхъ, по вѣрованію мусульманъ, бываютъ услышаны Богомъ. Алтынлама дуа ал, дуа алтын инес ме? „Не бери золото, бери молитву; не то же-ли золото молитва?“ (*) Слѣпые, калѣки и др., живутъ у своихъ родственниковъ, которыхъ аксакалы и біи заставляютъ кормить на основаніи родства, прибавляя: „его недостатокъ — отъ Бога“. Если же самъ родственникъ ничего не имѣетъ, то ведетъ его по міру.

Духовенство и школы.

Въ степи нѣтъ большихъ мечетей. Онѣ устраиваются въ домахъ (там), но не въ кибиткахъ (уй). Въ нихъ рѣдко читаютъ намаз-джума, праздничное богослуженіе.

Имамъ (настоятель) киргизъ, учившійся въ медрессе, приглашается тѣмъ, кто выстроилъ мечеть, или его наслѣдниками. Ему не обѣщаютъ опредѣленной суммы дохода. Доходы имама состоятъ: 1) въ приношеніяхъ прихожанъ натурою (встык) въ пору жатвы, въ размѣрѣ $^1/_{10}$ всей жатвы; 2) въ пожертвованіяхъ (худаи или худай йолына) мелкимъ скотомъ, по различнымъ случаямъ и 3) въ натуроопѣчномъ сборѣ съ человѣка во время пріѣзда прихожанъ на разговѣнье (уразаны биттир) за день или въ самый день праздника — не позже. На счетъ этого сбора имамъ покупаетъ скотину для угощенья всѣхъ (худаи).

Муэззинъ (суфи) бываетъ обыкновенно грамотный киргизъ,

(*) Пословица.

состоящій на службѣ у инака. Приходное ему ничего не платятъ.

Мѣстныхъ или общихъ годовыхъ праздниковъ не было у киргизовъ. Теперь празднуютъ оба годовые мусульманскіе праздника: уразa—байрамъ и курбанъ—байрамъ, на которыхъ устраиваютъ скачки и кунбуре.

Школъ (мектеб) въ степи очень много. Въ каждой каракиргизской волости Аулієатинскаго уѣзда находится отъ одной до четырехъ школъ, содержимыхъ богатыми людьми.

Читаютъ тѣ же книги, какъ у сартовъ. Школы бываютъ какъ въ строеніяхъ, такъ и въ кибиткахъ. Хозяинъ послѣднихъ приглашаетъ для своихъ дѣтей учителя (молла, дамулла) изъ киргизовъ на годъ. Онъ ему даритъ лошадь, халатъ и пр. Сосѣди посылаютъ къ этому муллѣ своихъ дѣтей за плату 1 тилла въ годъ.

Духовенство и учители, если они не сарты, судятся у біевъ. Ихъ избѣгаютъ безпокоить присягою за постороннихъ.

За дурное поведеніе, извѣстное по слухамъ, имъ не отказываютъ; за осужденіе на судѣ лишаютъ довѣрія или мѣста.

Метаніе жребія.

Когда при раздѣлѣ земли или мяса возникаетъ споръ о неравномѣрности частей, то «кидаютъ жребій» (чуб тастайды). Каждый изъ участниковъ раздѣла кладетъ прутикъ, отличивъ его насѣчкою отъ другихъ, въ тюбетейку посторонняго безпристрастнаго лица, который отворачивается, чтобы не видѣть, кому принадлежитъ какой прутикъ. Затѣмъ это лицо вынимаетъ прутики и кладетъ ихъ на соотвѣтствующія стороны. Не въ обычаѣ объявлять жребій недѣйствительнымъ (чубти бузбайды).

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СТЕПНОЙ НИЩІЙ КИРГИЗЪ
ПЕРОВСКАГО УѢЗДА.

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Пари.

Киргизы бьются объ закладъ (чирт, серт) о томъ, кто изъ двоихъ правъ, или же на совершеніе чего нибудь, напр. воздержаніе отъ сна извѣстное число дней и пр. При борьбѣ и при состязаніи двухъ пѣвцовъ зрители, раздѣлившіеся на двѣ партіи, иногда держатъ закладъ о побѣдѣ того или другаго пѣвца. Ставка (тику) обязательна къ платежу выигравшему, ибо условія пари ненарушимы (чирт кайтпайды). Если ставили сестру, и она стыдится выдти изъ-за проиграннаго пари, то вмѣсто нея можетъ быть уплаченъ ея калымъ или равняющійся часто стоимости калыма тюя бастаган тогуз (Торгай). Въ Курамінскомъ уѣздѣ о видимомъ вдали предметѣ спорятъ на 2—3 рубля. Бій Султанъ Канаевъ уподобляетъ пари азартнымъ играмъ, напримѣръ, карточной, которая, впрочемъ, извѣстна только городскимъ киргизамъ.

Кунбуре.

Играютъ кунбуре (дерутъ козла) при радостныхъ событіяхъ (*), какъ-то: проводахъ дочери съ женихомъ, пріѣздѣ невѣсты въ домъ тестя, рожденіи и обрѣзаніи сына, мусульманскихъ праздникахъ и пріѣздѣ дорогаго гостя.

Устраивающій увеселеніе бросаетъ кунбуре, т. е. козленка или другую молодую скотину, съ отрѣзанною головою, на землю. Участники въ игрѣ нагибаются, не слѣзая съ лошади; одинъ изъ нихъ поднимаетъ козленка и скачетъ; другіе нагоняютъ, отнимаютъ другъ у друга, перебиваютъ. Посторонніе, видя издали игру, садятся на лошадь и принимаютъ въ ней участіе.

(*) По словамъ киргизовъ, въ Бухарѣ бываетъ кунбуре и по поводу печальныхъ событій.

Побѣдитель тотъ, кто успѣетъ довезти козленка до какого нибудь аула, гдѣ онъ бросаетъ его передъ кибиткою того лица, кого онъ желаетъ почтить. Этотъ человѣкъ, въ свою очередь, либо даритъ за козленка платокъ, тюбетейку и т. п., либо даетъ новаго козленка для продолженія игры.

Байга.

Байга устраивается преимущественно осенью, когда скотъ жирнѣе, люди освободились отъ работъ и продовольствіе дешево. Поводомъ къ байгѣ у киргизовъ служатъ: проводы невѣсты, рожденіе сына, похороны и поминки; у каракиргизовъ только послѣднее.

Байга отличается отъ кукбуре тѣмъ, что скачутъ въ одномъ только направленіи вплоть до извѣстной цѣли или мѣты, гдѣ первымъ достигшимъ цѣли раздаютъ призы. Байга не можетъ быть безъ приза (олджа). Цѣль состоитъ изъ каменной или глиняной тумбы (чартак, суре, белги), или же изъ самой могилы (мола).

Въ байгѣ участвуютъ какъ приглашенные, такъ и неприглашенные (*).

Разстояніе бываетъ въ 2, 4, 6 ташей (**), сообразно цѣнности поставленныхъ призовъ и качеству скаковыхъ лошадей.

Прежде всего отправляются на точку отправленія тихо (елиб барады), съ 2 – 4 провожатыми (айдаучи), которые снабжены палками для того, чтобы удержать отъ несвоевременнаго начала скачекъ. Доѣхавъ до этого, опредѣленнаго заранѣе, мѣста, даютъ всѣмъ краткій отдыхъ, а затѣмъ по сигналу (бата) провожатыхъ: алла акбар, „Богъ великъ", всѣ разомъ пускаются скакать обратно по тому же пути, по которому пріѣхали. Черезъ

(*) На всѣ торжества киргизовъ неприглашенные имѣютъ свободный доступъ. Приглашаютъ за день: „приходите завтра съ народомъ (за невѣсту)".

(**) Такъ—6 вер.

часъ послѣ отправленія скакуновъ, такимъ же порядкомъ отправляютъ трехлѣтнихъ жеребятъ (кунан), но съ болѣе близкаго разстоянія (напр., вмѣсто 6 ташей—2 таша). Куланы успѣваютъ придти гораздо раньше скакуновъ, поэтому призы для кунановъ особые, менѣе цѣнные.

Когда зрители замѣтятъ скачущихъ издали, то хозяева скаковыхъ лошадей ѣдутъ на встрѣчу для ободренія (кутерме) и сопровождаютъ ихъ до цѣли.

Достигшіе цѣли бросаютъ свои тюбетейки, шапки и вообще то, что у нихъ на головѣ, передъ тѣмъ лицомъ, которое стоитъ на тумбѣ или могилѣ и раздаетъ призы. Послѣ прихода всѣхъ скакуновъ эти предметы служатъ доказательствомъ достиженія цѣли.

Если скакуновъ участвовало 20, то призовъ назначаютъ около 7; если скакуновъ было 100 или 200, то призовъ 20 или 30. Первый достигшій цѣли получаетъ высшій призъ, второй—слѣдующій и т. д. Призъ можетъ состоять изъ скота, халатовъ, кусковъ ваты и денегъ. Если первый призъ лошадь, то послѣднимъ бываетъ коза или козленокъ; если первый призъ 100 головъ скота, то послѣдній—10 головъ. Говорятъ, что въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ Янаикулъ поставилъ на похоронахъ отца призъ въ 1.000 руб., а черезъ годъ на поминкахъ устроилъ опять байгу. На Чирчикѣ, Тайлибай далъ нѣсколько призовъ; изъ нихъ первый былъ 4 верблюда и 100 руб. деньгами. Къ цѣли доѣхали только на другой день.

По Султану Даулету Бушаеву, первымъ призомъ бываетъ тюя бастаган тогуз, состоящій изъ верблюда, войлоковой шкуры, парчеваго халата, лошади, халата, овцы, ягненка, козы, козленка. Второму дается не девять, а меньше предметовъ. Послѣднимъ призомъ бываетъ халатъ. На скачкахъ, гдѣ участвуютъ гости разныхъ родовъ, въ этомъ состязаніи видятъ не состязаніе личностей, а родовъ. Призъ получаетъ не побѣдитель, а родъ его, который дѣлитъ призъ между собою, или же раздариваетъ его остальнымъ родамъ. Поэтому на байгѣ кричатъ боевые клики своихъ родовъ.

Для скачекъ существуютъ слѣдующія правила.

За утрату или смерть скакуна, взятаго на время скачекъ, полагается возмѣщеніе убытковъ, безъ штрафа. Оцѣниваютъ лошадь; и если узнали, что за нее давали столько-то, а хозяинъ требовалъ столько-то, то берутъ среднее. Хозяинъ, не согласившись на такую оцѣнку, можетъ дать изъ своего рода присягу о справедливости своей собственной оцѣнки. Хозяинъ лошади, принимая во вниманіе, что съ нею случилось бы тоже самое, если бы онъ самъ на ней скакалъ, можетъ согласиться получить вмѣсто стоимости ея, призъ, выигранный этою лошадью. Призъ присуждается біями, вмѣсто стоимости лошади, въ томъ случаѣ, если лошадь умираетъ тотчасъ по достиженіи цѣли, а не на другой день. Можно, впрочемъ, присудить къ уплатѣ стоимости ея и сверхъ того къ извѣстной части, $^1/_3$ или $^1/_4$, выигранного приза (Торгай).

Если двѣ лошади достигли цѣли въ одно и то же время, то призъ можетъ быть раздѣленъ пополамъ; въ случаѣ несогласія на это, обѣимъ лошадямъ разрѣшается перескачка и первая достигшая получаетъ весь призъ, вторая получаетъ слѣдовавшій за тѣмъ ближайшій призъ.

Наемныхъ жокеевъ не бываетъ, а на скаковыхъ лошадяхъ пускаютъ молодежь изъ среды родныхъ и знакомыхъ. Если умретъ кто либо изъ скакавшихъ, то хозяинъ лошади вмѣсто хуна даетъ его роднѣ скакуна съ выигранным призомъ и несетъ расходы на похороны. Но если хозяинъ лошади не захочетъ удовлетворить такимъ образомъ родню умершаго, то съ него могутъ потребовать хунъ, въ томъ предположеніи, что ему нельзя будетъ доказать свидѣтелями или присягою, что смерть произошла безъ вины людей. Если мальчикъ самъ вызвался скакать и во время скачки умеръ, то хуна не платятъ.

На каракиргизскихъ похоронахъ устраиваютъ единоборство, называемое сенс. Два молодца (батыр) на хорошихъ коняхъ, вооруженные копьями, стараются вышибить другъ друга изъ сѣдла и уронить на землю. Иногда такимъ образомъ бьются двѣ женщины. Побѣдитель получаетъ призъ: у богатыхъ 9 скотинъ

(тюя бастагэн тогуа), у бѣдныхъ 5 или 3 скотины. Выигравшій призъ не дѣлится ни съ кѣмъ.

За смерть и увѣчье на этомъ состязаніи, не платятъ хуна.

Похороны и поминки.

Человѣка, умершаго (*) ночью или утромъ, хоронятъ въ наступившій день; умершаго вечеромъ хоронятъ утромъ. Вообще хоронятъ, какъ только всѣ близкіе собрались на обрядъ погребенія.

Покойника обыкновенно несутъ на носилкахъ изъ переге, если могила близка. Если же могила далеко, то везутъ на верблюдѣ.

Прежде преданія трупа землѣ читается молитва (искат, нидъя, даур, даур айлантырады); даютъ скотъ муллѣ для распредѣленія между собою; даютъ также одному изъ присутствующихъ бѣдныхъ, который называется мустахиик (Перовск. уѣзда).

По сообщенію Торгая, немедленно послѣ обмыванія трупа, къ нему подводятъ съ правой стороны верблюда и, перекинувъ поводъ черезъ трупъ муллѣ, сидящему по другую сторону, говорятъ ему: „мы тебя назначили для очищенія отъ грѣховъ по молитвѣ (намазинг кафаратиге сени койдык); беретъ ли ты на себя грѣхи усопшаго по неисполненію (кяза) имъ пятикратной молитвы?". Мулла три раза отвѣчаетъ, что беретъ, и получаетъ верблюда или лошадь. Этотъ обрядъ можетъ быть совершенъ сначала съ верблюдомъ, потомъ съ лошадью, съ быкомъ, наконецъ съ бараномъ. За исключеніемъ муллы, этотъ обрядъ, называемый даур, совершаетъ родственникъ.

Послѣ этого совершаютъ обрядъ погребенія (джаназа), за

(*) Обычай, приведенный въ словарѣ Будагова, подъ словомъ жирту, что киргизы рвутъ платье на умирающемъ, для облегченія агоніи, неизвѣстенъ у нѣстныхъ киргизовъ.

который имамъ получаетъ овцу или другое вознагражденіе. За чтеніе корана послѣ похоронъ мулла получаетъ опять подарокъ. Молясь по четкамъ, мулла откидываетъ на нихъ за каждый годъ жизни по одному звену, исключая первые 13 лѣтъ жизни, такъ какъ человѣкъ до 13 лѣтъ не совершаетъ грѣховъ (гунага батпайды). Въ продолженіи 5 дней, по Минебаю, или 3 дней, въ Аулієатинскомъ уѣздѣ, ничего не варятъ въ домѣ, гдѣ есть покойникъ. Сосѣди снабжаютъ этотъ домъ пищею.

На седьмой, сороковой и сотый день и въ годовщину смерти, рѣжутъ скотину и угощаютъ родственниковъ. Платье покойнаго раздается тѣмъ, кто мылъ тѣло, въ седьмой день. Нынѣ, по совѣту муллъ, какъ думаетъ Минебай, стали раздавать его въ день смерти.

У каракиргизовъ замужняя дочь приходитъ на похороны съ мужемъ и свекромъ. Если они живутъ далеко, то являются черезъ мѣсяцъ. Ихъ лошадей привязываютъ посторонніе люди аула покойнаго. Они произносятъ молитву въ родѣ: Богъ великъ, да помилуетъ Онъ (Алла акбар, рахмет кылсын). На похоронахъ устраиваютъ байгу, но не кукбуре. Если покойный былъ старикъ, раздаютъ и йиртич. Богатые даютъ даже по халату на каждое родственное колѣно (уру). Въ кибиткѣ покойнаго не варятъ пищи до 3 дней. Пищу приносятъ сосѣди. Если раньше 3 дней хотятъ варить, то должны перенести кибитку хотя на небольшое разстояніе. Иначе ангелъ смерти Азраилъ душитъ покойнаго, отчего кибитка бываетъ запятнана кровью и осквернена (макрух). Поминки на седьмой день называются хатми куран (полное прочтеніе корана). Рѣжутъ скотину. Поминки на сороковой день называются кыркач. Рѣжутъ овцу или кобылу. Поминки на годовщинѣ называются чунгач (большой пиръ). Рѣжутъ много скота, устраиваютъ байгу, бросаютъ въ огонь черный платокъ и черную одежду вдовы, дозволяя ей выдти замужъ (*).

(*) По сообщенію Е. А. Александрова, на юртѣ покойнаго въ теченіи цѣлаго года выставляется черный платокъ.

Не всѣ вдовы умѣютъ причитывать (*). Поэтому на похороны приглашаютъ плакальщицъ (йилаукер хатын). Плакальщица никогда не сидитъ на землѣ, а на постели или на чемъ нибудь другомъ. Она подпираетъ себѣ обѣими руками бока и наклоняется туловищемъ впередъ. У каракиргизовъ она должна сидѣть на землѣ, обращаясь тыломъ къ двери; на подогнутой лѣвой ногѣ покоится лѣвая рука; правая ея нога поставлена ступнею на землю. На колѣнѣ правой ноги находится локоть правой руки, подпирающей щеку. Плачъ ея касается дѣятельности, ремесла и богатства покойнаго. Плачущая по мужѣ носитъ на головѣ черный платокъ (кара кулы); плачущая по другомъ человѣкѣ, напр., по сынѣ, носитъ бѣлый платокъ (**).

Для угощенія народа на похоронахъ и поминкахъ (ассу, асатау), со скачками, родственники богатаго человѣка тратятъ до 1.000 тиллей; бѣдные тратятъ меньше, смотря по состоянію, но совершенно обойти этотъ обрядъ не могутъ изъ стыда передъ народомъ.

По И. И. Ибрагимову (***), по женщинѣ совсѣмъ не бываетъ пышныхъ поминокъ. Однако, по своей бабушкѣ (улькун шешем) Торгай устраивалъ поминки въ теченіи трехъ дней, съ байгою. Поминки хотя приходятся во всякое время года, но бываютъ болѣе торжественны (улькун ас) осенью.

Бѣдные, устраивая скромныя поминки (кичинне ас), посылаютъ вѣстовщика (шакыруши) не раньше самаго дня поминокъ и приглашаютъ только на одинъ день. Въ этотъ день можетъ быть устроена байга, а до прихода скакуновъ — борьба. Пѣвецъ (джирчи), приглашенный или явившійся самъ, поетъ не днемъ, а только вечеромъ и ночью.

Богатые оповѣщаютъ заранѣе и даютъ знать имя урочища,

(*) При отказѣ отъ чего либо употребляютъ поговорку, взятую съ отказа женщинъ отъ знанія причитанія: „я не знаю причитанія; кто знаетъ причитанія, пусть у той жены умретъ мужъ" (йилаудн билмейиен, йилау билгеи хатынинг бейи улсын).

(**) Въ приложеніи № 9 причитанія (йилау).

(***) Очерки быта киргизовъ И. И. Ибрагимова. („Древняя и Новая Россія", 1877 г., № 9, стр. 51).

гдѣ будетъ находиться аулъ; день учаннаку, въ который предполагается «рыть очаги»; день малсою, въ который будутъ рѣзать скотъ; день ас беру или батасынону, въ который будетъ угощеніе и молитва и наконецъ день атчабу, день скачекъ. Каждый гость старается привезти, лѣтомъ, лучшій кумысъ. Родственники привозятъ подарки аза. Для гостей ставятъ, въ 50—100 шагахъ отъ аула, кибитки, по одной для каждаго колѣна, такъ какъ изъ каждаго колѣна пріѣзжаютъ и почуютъ только лучшіе люди. Не помѣстившіеся въ кибиткѣ входятъ попеременно для угощенія. На поминкахъ въ кибиткѣ покойнаго развѣшиваются на веревкахъ всѣ его вещи: одежда, сѣдло, нагайка, оружіе, какъ принадлежность траура (туздаб кайды), а вдова сидитъ у постели, съ распущенными волосами, окруженная причитывающими женщинами. (По И. И. Ибрагимову и Торгаю). На поминкахъ у киракиргизовъ играютъ на зурнѣ.

Путникъ, умершій въ дорогѣ, хоронится проходящими съ краткою молитвою. Если родственники найдутъ трупъ своего сочлена, уже разложившимся, то соскабливаютъ ножемъ мясо, собираютъ кости въ мѣшокъ, привозятъ ихъ домой, моютъ, завертываютъ въ саванъ и хоронятъ по обряду (Перовск. уѣздъ).

Гости, возвращающіеся съ похоронъ, называются сюякчи, въ отличіе отъ обыкновенныхъ путниковъ (юлаучи). За оскорбленіе сюякчи штрафъ полагается больше. Если напавшій запирается въ нападеніи, а между тѣмъ есть другіе свидѣтели этого факта, напр., свидѣтели изъ числа прочихъ сюякчи, то нападеніе принимается тогда за доказательство виновности въ убійствѣ покойнаго, и присяги не требуется. Если же, не отрицая нападенія, отвѣтчикъ отрицаетъ убійство, то на этотъ предметъ полагается присяга.

Впрочемъ, если нѣтъ подозрѣнія въ убійствѣ и если напавшій не успѣлъ ничего отнять и не нанесъ раны, то, на общемъ основаніи, не взыскивается (Торгай).

По бію Султану, въ этомъ случаѣ, одно только нападеніе, при отсутствіи другихъ уликъ, не можетъ служить доказательствомъ виновности въ убійствѣ.

Въ Перовскомъ уѣздѣ, сюнчи приносятъ съ собою на похоронный пиръ по сосуду (сава) съ кумысомъ. Передъ уходомъ имъ кладутъ въ пустые сосуды лошадиное сало (кавы, кююмшаи), со словами: „чтобы ваши сосуды не вернулись пустыми" (савангыз куру кайтцасын).

Хозяинъ печальнаго торжества самъ принимаетъ видъ гостя, отдавая предсѣдательство на пиру (жыиидиит бійлиги) одному родственному аксакалу или бію. Варку и разноску пищи принимаетъ на себя одинъ молодой родственникъ, называемый таваксши.

На кладбищахъ (мазар, курум) помѣщаются могилы разныхъ родовъ.

Кладбища помѣщаются на холмахъ и высокихъ мѣстахъ твердаго грунта, гдѣ снѣжная вода не можетъ разрушить могилъ. Надъ могилами богачей строятъ кельи съ куполомъ, съ небольшими минаретами, съ оградою. На надгробныхъ камняхъ бываютъ высѣчены родовыя тамги.

Могилы навѣщаютъ обыкновенно въ четвергъ. Приходя домой, заказываютъ чтеніе корана.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

Пословицы и поговорки (*).

1) Имѣющій покровителя у хана не задумается кататься на лодкѣ по землѣ.

2) Рѣшетомъ не накроешь ртовъ народа.

3) На безлюдьи свиньи забираются на верхъ.

4) Оскорбленіе, нанесенное посторонним, переносится легче, чѣмъ полученное отъ своего.

5) Если дурному дать власть, то съ головы твоей не будетъ сходить палка.

6) Если имѣешь здоровую колотушку, то вколотишь въ землю и кошенный полъ.

7) Каждый ученый имѣетъ свою ошибку.

8) Ахъ! еслибъ у меня было пшено да соль, то я сварилъ бы кашу, но жаль, что нѣтъ масла.

9) Не увидѣвъ воды, не снимай сапоговъ.

10) Скупаго стыди своей щедротой.

11) Вѣтеръ разбиваетъ горы и камни, а человѣка портитъ наговоръ.

12) Не испытавшій невзгоды не можетъ цѣнить спокойствіе.

13) Добрый молодецъ никогда не выдаетъ тайны.

14) Поручить дурану дѣло, значитъ потерять конецъ нити.

15) Не ожидай добра отъ человѣчества.

16) Имѣвшаго черныхъ предковъ мытьемъ не обѣлишь; родившагося дуракомъ наставленіями не поправишь.

(*) Собраны частью непосредственно А. А. Диваевымъ; частью заимствованы изъ хрестоматіи Лютца и изъ матеріаловъ для статистики Туркестанскаго края (Вып. II, статья Н. И. Ибрагимова).

17) Говорящій невпопадъ умираетъ не хворая (*).

18) Пока топоръ собирается рубить, дерево отдыхаетъ.

19) Если сведешь дружбу съ хорошимъ человѣкомъ, то имя твое прогремитъ далеко, а если съ дурнымъ, то получишь въ бокъ пинка.

20) Что услышали двое, то будетъ извѣстно семи (**) частямъ свѣта.

21) Цѣну золота знаетъ золотыхъ дѣлъ мастеръ.

22) Государь есть солнце, для всѣхъ одинаковое.

23) Слова, вышедшія чрезъ тридцать зубовъ, доходятъ до тридцати родовъ.

24) Если встрѣтишь добраго молодца съ хлѣбомъ-солью, то онъ прославитъ твою голову добромъ.

25) Лошадь жирѣетъ отъ хорошихъ травъ, покойникъ отъ прочитанныхъ стиховъ корана, высокопоставленный отъ лести.

26) Собака приноситъ пользу, а жена горе.

27) Сытый говоритъ, что отъ карты (***) воняетъ.

28) Пока не подуетъ вѣтеръ, не шевелятся верхушки кустарниковъ.

29) Голодный ребенокъ не играетъ съ сытымъ.

30) Черпая ложкою озеро не истощишь, воровствомъ населеніе не изведешь.

31) Хорошему намекъ, дурному палка.

32) Населеніе, живущее въ согласіи, не портится; платье, широко скроенное, не износится.

33) Страна, не имѣющая старшаго, подобна туловищу безъ головы.

(*) Т. е. надо быть въ разговорѣ осторожнымъ, ибо одно лишнее сказанное слово можетъ повести человѣка къ погибели.

(**) По древнему сказанію, существуютъ 7 частей свѣта.

(***) Карты—жирная лошадиная кожа, считающаяся у киргизовъ самымъ вкуснымъ блюдомъ.

34) Быкъ съ рогами коровы не имѣетъ силы; корова съ бычьими рогами не имѣетъ молока.

35) Не гонись за тѣмъ чего не достанешь; не ропщи на то, что не суждено тебѣ получить.

36) Слова рождаются изъ словъ; если не говорить, то откуда они могутъ родиться.

37) Добрый не задумается отдать послѣднее; храбрый не разбираетъ многочисленности непріятеля.

38) Мужчина, имѣющій женскій голосъ, неспособенъ къ супружеской жизни.

39) Неучъ не видитъ своей вины, а замѣчаетъ вину другихъ.

40) Уповающій на Бога полетитъ какъ птица, а надѣющійся на своего коня неожиданно упадетъ съ него.

41) Справедливый царь похожъ на раннюю весну, а несправедливый — на зиму.

42) Невѣжда подобенъ безводному арыку, а образованный подобенъ рѣкѣ.

43) Женщина безъ совѣсти подобна пищи безъ соли; молодой человѣкъ безъ приличія похожъ на лошадь безъ узды.

44) Ложное слово уничтожаетъ истину.

45) Дурной бываетъ злонамѣренный, хорошій бываетъ основательный.

46) Если ты честенъ, то не дружись съ плутомъ.

47) Безъ смерти душа не выходитъ.

48) Чѣмъ безтолковый товарищъ, лучше умный врагъ.

49) Взбѣсится пичужка, летитъ въ погоню за беркутомъ.

50) Рыба живетъ водою.

51) Разжирѣетъ собака — кусаетъ хозяина.

52) Узбекъ, будь остороженъ: не называй сосѣда воромъ.

53) Вода мутится съ верховъ.

54) Чѣмъ ѣздить на плохой лошади, лучше ходить пѣш-

вомъ; чѣмъ жениться на дурной женщинѣ, лучше быть холостымъ.

55) Домъ съ дѣтьми базаръ, а безъ дѣтей мазаръ (*).

56) Ворона играетъ съ ястребомъ, накличетъ смерть.

57) Быстротою не догонишь, а то, что суждено, не уйдетъ.

58) Не считай хорошаго человѣка посторонним, не называй дурнаго своимъ.

59) Разбогатѣетъ сартъ, строитъ домъ; разбогатѣетъ киргизъ—набираетъ женъ.

60) Около рѣки колодезь не копаютъ.

61) Есть пища, найдется и котелъ; есть душа въ тѣлѣ и міръ найдется.

62) Глазами видѣнное вѣрно, ушами слышанное ложь.

63) Безъ времени не свѣтаетъ, прежде смерти душа не покидаетъ.

64) У справедливаго царя народъ не портится.

65) Дни считай послѣ мѣсяца, а мѣсяцы послѣ года.

66) Всѣ звѣзды, вмѣстѣ взятыя, не составляютъ блеска мѣсяца; всѣ бѣдняки не сравняются съ однимъ богачемъ.

67) Богатый похвалится—найдется; бѣдный похвалится—разворится.

68) Не говори, что нѣтъ непріятеля—онъ подъ яромъ; не говори, что нѣтъ волка—онъ подъ шапкою.

69) Гони качагана (**) въ яру, голаго лови на снѣгу.

70) Дочка, тебѣ говорю; сноха моя, слушай (***).

71) Хорошаго не чуждайся, дурнаго къ себѣ не приближай.

72) Для хорошаго нѣтъ непріятеля; дурному нѣтъ мира.

(*) Т. е. могила.

(**) Качаганомъ называется строгая лошадь, которую трудно поймать.

(***) Т. е. сноха должна принять къ свѣдѣнію замѣчанія, дѣланныя отцомъ дочери.

73) Не хвастай, что имѣешь брата, если за нимъ нѣтъ ума.

74) Если черный арганакъ устанетъ, то ему трудно сдѣлать и воронiй шагъ.

75 Если на черныхъ очахъ потухнетъ блескъ, то полдень покажется ночью.

76) Хотя и говоритъ чепуху, но онъ сынъ богатаго.

77) Къ чему богатство, если въ немъ нѣтъ добра; къ чему быть бекомъ, если не имѣешь справедливости.

78) За невозможное не берись, съ сильнымъ не борись.

79) Худаго человѣка какъ ни умоляй, не проститъ; плохой ножъ сколько ни правь, рѣзать не будетъ.

80) Малоумные люди не слушаютъ правоученiй.

81) Не говори, что бабка баранья (маленькая), а дѣлай ее, если удобно, маткой (т. е. той, которой бьютъ) (*).

82) Два дурака не составятъ аула; собака, сколько бы ни щенилась, не будетъ дойною.

83) Настоящiй щедрый подаренным не хвастается; богатырь отъ сказаннаго слова не отказывается.

84) Глупый другъ, думая, что приноситъ пользу, самъ не замѣчаетъ, что причиняетъ только вредъ.

85) Первое слово узбека въ камень проникаетъ, а послѣднее на вѣтеръ уходитъ

86) Не всегда довѣряй свою тайну другу, ибо у твоего друга есть тоже другъ, которому онъ также разскажетъ.

87) Состарится бернутъ, превратится въ мышелова.

88) Два безтолковыхъ посла, желая привести къ одному мнѣнiю четырехъ, въ тоже время разстраиваютъ шестерыхъ.

89) Если будешь умолять хорошаго, онъ проститъ тебя; если будешь умолять дурнаго, то онъ, думая, что ты струсилъ, возгордится.

(*) Т. е. не говори, что молодъ, если онъ уменъ, а признавай его старшимъ.

90) Если Богъ захочетъ покарать богача, то онъ пошлетъ его на баранту; если Богъ захочетъ покарать кобылу, то она выкинетъ жеребенка.

91) Свое дитя хоть толкнешь, такъ не уйдетъ, а чужое дитя, если и приласкаешь, такъ не удержишь.

92) Чѣмъ увидѣвъ взять красавицу, лучше не увидѣвъ взять родовитую.

93) Хитрый съ хитрымъ сватается, но не проходитъ и года, какъ ихъ сватовство разстраивается.

94) Продѣлки джигита отзываются на бекѣ; продѣлки жены на мужѣ.

95) Дочь дома, а поступки ея наружи.

96) Если соединятся два хорошихъ человѣка, то сольются какъ олово; если заговорятъ два дурака, то будутъ горячиться, какъ пламя.

97) Съ хорошимъ поговоришь — развеселишься, съ дурнымъ поговоришь — разстроишься.

98) Если заговорятъ двое умныхъ, то окончатъ нескончаемое дѣло; если заговорятъ два дурака, то испортятъ совсѣмъ оконченное дѣло.

99) Родовитый молодецъ выдѣляется въ толпѣ.

100) Кланяющемуся кланяйся до земли, предъ задирающимъ голову поднимай и ты свою до неба.

101) Куда бы ворона ни полетѣла, вездѣ будетъ хуже соколя.

102) Отъ хорошаго не услышишь дурныхъ словъ, отъ дурнаго не услышишь хорошихъ словъ.

103) Лучше сорока, чѣмъ плохой ястребъ.

104) Хорошій никого не чуждается, дурной ни съ кѣмъ не сближается.

105) У справедливаго біи нѣтъ родственниковъ, а у вилаюшаго нѣтъ религіи.

106) Плохой ястребъ служитъ пищею сорокѣ.

107) Хотя грива и хвостъ густы, но не пускай молодого жеребца въ косякъ; хотя отецъ невѣсты и богатый, но не бери дочь не родовитаго.

108) Брань не дымъ, глаза не ѣстъ.

109) Умѣющій сосать двухъ матокъ сосетъ.

110) Если уважаешь хозяина, брось и собакѣ кость.

111) У богача жена умретъ—постель обновится, а у бѣднаго жена умретъ—голова вскружится.

112) Кто не боится Бога, того ты бойся; а кто боится Бога, того ты не бойся.

113) Острый ножъ полезенъ для рукъ, но вреденъ для ноженъ.

114) У кого нѣтъ родныхъ и друзей? Но отъ нихъ меньше участья, чѣмъ отъ чужаго.

115) Собака лаетъ, а караванъ идетъ.

116) Если ты выхолишь отощавшій скотъ, то носъ и ротъ твои въ маслѣ будутъ; а если ты выростишь дурнаго человѣка, то носъ и ротъ твои въ крови будутъ.

117) Хорошій хорошему знаетъ цѣну; дурной не можетъ хорошему знать цѣну.

118) Сѣрый гусь, плавающій въ водѣ, оцѣнитъ ли прелести суши; живущая въ степи дрофа можетъ ли знать цѣну озеру?

119) Даже и ангелъ, увидя золото, сойдетъ съ дороги.

120) У кого родится хорошій сынъ, тотъ зажжетъ огонь, а у кого родится дурной сынъ, того и на верблюдѣ собаки заѣдятъ.

121) Не та красавица, которая красива, а та, въ которую влюбишься.

122) Воспитанный отцемъ будетъ строгать стрѣлы, а воспитанный матерью будетъ кроить халатъ.

123) Кормившему тебя одинъ день кланяйся сорокъ дней.

124) Двѣ бараньи головы не помѣстятся въ одномъ котлѣ.

125) Получаемое — благо, а отдаваемое — несчастье.

126) У пугливаго глаза цѣлы.

127) Если обжегъ ротъ, будешь пить подувши.

128) Тамъ, гдѣ валялась лошадь, останутся волосы.

129) И самый дурной хвалитъ своего ребенка.

130) Воронъ ворону глазъ не выклюетъ.

131) Берегись — и ты не будешь униженъ.

132) Не тотъ опытенъ, кому много лѣтъ, а тотъ, кто много видѣлъ.

133) Уважай себя, какъ чужой, чтобъ и чужіе уважали тебя.

134) Когда золото въ рукахъ, то оно цѣны не имѣетъ.

135) Живая мышь лучше мертваго льва.

136) Сиротъ отъ матери, лошадь отъ кобылы.

137) Если упасть, то упасть съ нара (*).

138) Народъ — святъ.

139) У двухъ молодыхъ одно желаніе.

140) Если есть печаль, отправляйся къ хану; а если голоденъ, отправляйся къ богачу.

141) Болѣзнь отъ пищи; тяжба отъ родныхъ.

142) Для себя и своего ума достаточно.

143) Гдѣ чешется, оттуда рука не сходитъ; кого любишь, отъ того словъ не оторвешь.

144) Красивая женщина не можетъ не быть развратницей.

145) Горькое отъ прѣснаго можетъ отличить тотъ, кто отвѣдалъ; далекое отъ близкаго можетъ отличить тотъ, кто проѣхалъ рысью.

146) Кто меня уважаетъ, тотъ и близкій мнѣ.

147) Мщеніе хорошаго человѣка продолжается пока высох-

(*) Т. е. съ большой высоты.

нетъ шелковый платокъ; нищаго же дурнаго человѣка продаётся вся голова (противника) склонится до земли.

148) Не спрашивай, когда плачутъ, а спрашивай, когда смѣются.

149) Пѣшему сабля найдетъ; бѣдному богатство найдетъ.

150) Если золотое сѣдло тягостно для лошади, возьми его и сожги.

151) Кто много видитъ, тотъ дѣлается умнѣе, а кто много говоритъ, тотъ дѣлается краснорѣчивѣе.

152) Земля безъ горъ не бываетъ; народъ безъ султана не бываетъ.

153) Не тотъ рабъ, кто отъ рабыни родился, а тотъ, кто дурно ведетъ себя.

154) Если ты будешь преслѣдовать труса, то и онъ сдѣлается храбрымъ.

155) Боль отъ тороповъ знаетъ не хозяинъ, а лошадь; достоинства джигита извѣстны не ему самому, а чужимъ людямъ.

156) Если сойдутся двое глупцовъ, дай Богъ имъ остаться живыми.

157) Темная ночь не имѣетъ глазъ.

158) Сытый голоднаго не разумѣетъ, а здоровый больнаго не разумѣетъ.

159) У Бога нѣтъ скота, котораго онъ пасетъ; беретъ у одного и отдаетъ другому.

160) Рабу, которому Богъ захочетъ дать, отнесетъ на самую дорогу; а у раба, которому не захочетъ дать, послѣднюю лошадь украдетъ воръ.

161) Босымъ ногамъ непріятна колючка.

162) Заблудившагося нельзя обвинить, если онъ возвратится на прежнее мѣсто.

163) У человѣка глаза впереди, а недостатки назади.

164) Нѣтъ врага сильнѣе жены; она незамѣтна—лежитъ въ объятіяхъ.

165) У пропавшаго коня рукоять золотая; пропавшая корова давала много молока.

166) Лошади по ржанію узнаютъ другъ друга; люди, поговоривъ, узнаютъ одинъ другаго.

167) Хвостъ у арганака—одинъ волосъ серебряный, другой конскій.

168) Воръ подобенъ ложкѣ, народъ подобенъ морю; легче первому погибнуть отъ собственнаго воровства, чѣмъ послѣднему отъ вора.

169) Если у тебя нѣтъ благонадежнаго пастуха, ступай самъ къ овцамъ.

170) Въ 15 лѣтъ становится хозяиномъ кибитки.

171) Не великій великъ, а тотъ великъ, кого любитъ сердце; не хорошій хорошъ, а тотъ кого любитъ сердце.

172) Если гость разъ остановится—хорошо, если два раза—голодъ.

173) Безъ грѣха нѣтъ иного, кромѣ одного Бога.

174) Не всегда являются кипчаки, когда ихъ призываютъ на помощь; не всегда помогаетъ Богъ, когда рыдаютъ.

175) У всѣхъ узбековъ происхожденіе общее.

176) Отъ цыгана (т. е. бродяги) бѣжитъ и великанъ.

177) Дурной и добрый бываютъ равны: разъ по смерти (т. е. хунъ ихъ одинаковъ), другой разъ при жизни (т. е. брань можетъ касаться всѣхъ одинаково).

178) Гусь гогочетъ, у паршиваго сидѣніе испускаетъ звукъ.

179) Дно котла треснуло, у паршиваго сидѣніе свистнуло.

180) Паршивому поставили на голову котелъ; котелъ треснулъ, у паршиваго сидѣніе свистнуло.

181) У подошвы той горы побѣжалъ заяцъ; гнавшись за нимъ [illegible] не возвращенія я ѣлъ только баранину и утолялъ жажду видомъ дѣвицъ (*).

(*) Эту пословицу употребляютъ, когда молодой парень попадаетъ въ общество дѣвицъ.

182) Тридцать утокъ и одинъ журавль, покуда сидятъ, царапаютъ землю (*).

183) Паршивый мой, паршивый мой! не завивай своихъ волосъ; и если ударятъ тебя разъ по плечу, не оборачивайся назадъ.

184) Въ травѣ кенере, въ травѣ кенере, изъ травы кенере выскакиваетъ наѣвшійся заяцъ (**).

185) Дурной родственникъ хуже чужаго.

186) Если твой падишахъ справедливъ, то ты имѣешь въ изобиліи землю, траву и воду.

187) Кто не пьетъ кумыса, кто не сватаетъ дѣвицу?

188) Не стыдно говорить съ высшими; если твои шутки понравятся, то шути съ своимъ отцемъ (***).

189) Между непріятелями условія не дѣйствуютъ (все позволено)

190) Отъ добраго остается имя, отъ дурнаго остается вопль (о его жестокости).

191) Складчина сажаетъ гостей на лошадей, пособники обращаютъ непріятелей въ бѣгство (****).

192) Вездѣ съ добрымъ живетъ злой; когда добрый живетъ съ добрымъ, то какая это жизнь?

193) Въ невиданномъ народѣ есть неслыханныя вещи (*****).

(*) Эту пословицу въ насмѣшку употребляютъ о паршивомъ, который чешетъ себѣ голову.

(**) Это говорятъ о человѣкѣ скупомъ, который, подобно зайцу, самъ ѣстъ, а другимъ не даетъ.

(***) Это говорится въ диссилларіи... [illegible]

(****) То есть, чѣмъ больше народа въ аулѣ, тѣмъ больше угождаютъ гостей и тѣмъ лучше отражаютъ непріятелей.

(*****) Говорятся про сообщенія путешественниковъ.

194) Изъ тысячи словъ одно обладаетъ убѣдительностью; послѣ тридцати дней поста одинъ день праздника; послѣ сороналѣтней баранты одинъ день примиренія.

195) Ключъ къ просяному на небѣ (*).

196) Да не сядетъ твоя (ловчая) птица на дерево; да не зависитъ твое дѣло отъ дурнаго человѣка.

197) Сиротское имущество сушитъ семь рѣкъ (т. е. злоупотреблять имъ опасно).

198) Женщина безъ ума, лягушка безъ хвоста.

199) Не жалѣй сироту: сироте „сигер кутингди“ (т. е. отъ сироты нельзя ожидать благодарности).

200) Если наточить, то сталь рѣжетъ, если упросить, то добрый прощаетъ.

201) Не бойся того, у кого наружность привлекательна.

202) Кто злоупотребитъ аманатомъ, тотъ понесетъ наказаніе въ будущемъ.

203) У добраго нѣтъ кичливости, у дурнаго нѣтъ серьезности.

204) Голодная собака ѣстъ ремень; птицы любятъ высь; добрый оставляетъ добрую память, дурной дурную.

205) Мулла читаетъ, что видитъ; воронъ клюетъ что видитъ.

206) Кто не цѣнитъ достоинство мужа, тотъ не знаетъ единства Бога.

207) Чистосердечный потѣетъ много (**).

208) Лучше ударить того, кому дѣлаютъ подарокъ, чѣмъ спросить его, хочетъ-ли онъ подарка.

209) У безстыдника праздникъ продолжается шесть дней, у безроднаго семь дней.

210) Похвала поддерживаетъ, дурной отзывъ убиваетъ.

(*) Говорится, когда трудно попросить у сирени.

(**) Т. е. почтен о такихъ друзьяхъ.

211) Если являются къ тебѣ, прости, даже жертвуя хуномъ отца.

212) Когда являются въ твой домъ, то, хотя бы ты имѣлъ претензію съ домъ, уваличивай о ней.

213) Ударъ палкою возвращается палкою (т. е. око за око, зубъ за зубъ).

214) Драка и ссора есть древній обычай.

215) Въ пятьдесятъ лѣтъ народъ обновляется; сто лѣтъ превращаютъ въ прахъ.

216) Дырявый камень на землѣ не останется (*).

217) Изъ многихъ одинъ приносится въ жертву (**).

218) Пока не наступилъ мѣсяцъ бешъ-тогузъ, нѣтъ настоящаго лѣта.

219) Если ты хорошъ, то тебѣ вездѣ найдется мѣсто одного человѣка.

220) Два человѣка для одного человѣка Богъ (***).

221) Между знакомыми уважается тѣло (****), между незнакомыми уважается одежда.

222) Въ здоровьѣ нѣтъ постыднаго (*****).

223) Не стыдно заблудиться, если только опять найти свой домъ.

224) Отъ смерти нельзя откупиться.

225) Кому не суждено умереть, тотъ не умретъ даже съ голоду.

226) Звать на молитву—дѣло муллы.

(*) Говорится къ тому, что дѣвица всегда выйдетъ замужъ.

(**) Говорятъ въ томъ случаѣ, когда посылаютъ кого нибудь нарочно или послонъ, рискуя его жизнью.

(***) Т. е. два человѣка сильнѣе одного человѣка.

(****) Т. е. самъ человѣкъ.

(*****) Употребляется въ смыслѣ: беречь здоровье непредосудительно.

227) Лошадь, которую кормятъ, не похудѣетъ.

228) Пока умный думаетъ думу, глупый уже оканчиваетъ дѣло.

229) Для безумнаго не существуетъ правилъ.

230) Кто уповаетъ на Бога, не будетъ презрѣннымъ; рабы, уповающіе на Бога, не подвергнутся никакой печали.

231) Если ты выйдешь, уповая на Бога, то вернешься благополучно.

232) Если Богъ хочетъ дать своему рабу, то у него отовсюду скопляется; если Богъ не хочетъ дать своему рабу, то у него воры крадутъ послѣднюю лошадь.

233) Лучше мужчина съ мѣдною головою, чѣмъ женщина съ золотою головою.

234) Подсматривающій другъ хуже живущаго далеко врага.

235) Близость и дальность знаетъ путникъ, горечь и сладость знаетъ тотъ, кто ихъ отвѣдалъ.

236) Сердце матери (стремится) къ ребенку, сердце ребенка (стремится) въ степь.

237) Когда ты выбираешь дѣвицу, смотри на мать; когда ты выбираешь холстъ, смотри на длину; когда ты выбираешь ястреба, смотри на бѣлизну.

238) Что не вошло съ молокомъ матери, то не войдетъ съ молокомъ теленка (то есть никогда).

239) Кто не понимаетъ, что онъ говоритъ, тотъ и умретъ, не чувствуя боли.

240) Безсовѣстный мулла можетъ обобрать глупый народъ.

241) Гдѣ прошло переднее колесо телѣги, тамъ пройдетъ и заднее колесо.

242) Когда у тощаго коня поправляется грива, то онъ не даетъ привязать къ своему боку нѣхъ; когда у бѣднаго умножается скотъ, то онъ не позволяетъ приточевать къ его сосѣдству, а если и позволитъ, то не дастъ поить.

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243) Тощему всюю нагайка въ тяжесть.

244) Не тотъ знаетъ, который ѣдъ, а тотъ, который прощалъ (страшалъ).

245) Кто торопится, тотъ не доводитъ своего дѣла до конца; благоразумный мужъ не потеряетъ своей лошади.

246) Кто не торопится, тотъ догонитъ на телѣгѣ и зайца.

247) Кто не слушаетъ отца, тотъ недолго проживетъ благополучно.

248) Не гони коня нагайкою, гони его корномъ.

249) Если ты будешь гнать коня одною только нагайкою, то пойдешь пѣшкомъ.

250) Когда лошадь похудѣетъ, то она годится на тулупъ (*); когда мужъ похудѣетъ, то онъ идетъ въ гости.

251) По слѣдамъ лошади идетъ жеребенокъ.

252) Кто не видалъ лошади, тотъ заганиваетъ ее до смерти.

253) Если твоя лошадь дурная, то можешь избавиться, продавъ ее; если твоя жена дурная, какъ тебѣ избавиться?

254) Кто не перестаетъ болтать попусту, тотъ на свадьбѣ (гдѣ нужно импровизировать стихи) ни одного слова не найдетъ.

255) Кто боится медвѣдя, тотъ не войдетъ въ лѣсъ.

256) Если ты богатъ, будь самодоволенъ; если ты бѣденъ, будь услужливъ.

257) Съ богатыми нельзя ссориться; съ деревомъ нельзя бороться.

258) Дѣло богача приказывать, дѣло бѣдняка трудиться.

259) Дѣти! Все, что сдѣлано дѣтьми, сдѣлано на половину.

260) Сыну не приходится учить отца.

261) Можно говорить: медъ, медъ, но во рту не будетъ вкуса.

(*) Тулупъ—лошадиная шкура, употребляемая вмѣсто попоны.

262) Кто отвѣдалъ меду, облизнетъ пальцы.

263) Кто боится баранты, тотъ не будетъ скотоводомъ.

264) Будь доволенъ тѣмъ, что есть; переноси терпѣливо, если чего либо нѣтъ.

265) Гдѣ есть начинатель, тамъ явится и подражатель.

266) Тотъ Богъ, который далъ голову (жизнь), дастъ и пищу.

267) Пусть только голова будетъ невредима, а другая шапка найдется.

268) Кто даетъ, тому кажется, что пяти много, а тому, кто получаетъ, кажется, что и шести мало.

269) Не смотри въ лицо тому, которому ты даешь.

270) Не ропщи на не давшаго, не бросай данное.

271) Не дающаго пристыди подаркомъ.

272) Если дашь, то получишь; если посѣешь, то пожнешь.

273) Одному коню двухъ уздъ не надо.

274) За всякимъ голоданіемъ слѣдуетъ сытость.

275) Въ землѣ (подъ кибиткою) одного хозяина не уживаются двѣ мыши.

276) Въ одинъ сапогъ не входитъ двѣ ноги.

277) Въ одномъ котлѣ не стоитъ варить двухъ зеренъ пшеницы.

278) Цѣлый мѣхъ съ масломъ испортитъ одинъ только шарикъ помета; одинъ добрый поведетъ за собою тысячу человѣкъ.

279) Кто одинъ день давалъ пищу, тому сорокъ дней (нужно давать) салямъ (привѣтъ).

280) Въ одинъ день рождаешься; въ одинъ день умираешь.

281) На одну тенгу нѣтъ побылы, на двѣ тенги нѣтъ верблюда; кто зарится на чужое добро, у того не останется своего собственнаго.

282) Если ты укусишь одинъ изъ пяти пальцевъ, то всѣ пять одинаково болятъ.

283) Невѣдѣніе избавляетъ отъ тысячи бѣдъ.

284) Разсердившись на вшей, не бросай свою одежду въ огонь.

285) Одинъ говоритъ про голову, а другой про ухо.

286) У холостяка умъ находится въ обоихъ глазахъ его.

287) Когда облачно, пойдетъ дождь, когда ведро, будетъ жара; только глупый человѣкъ можетъ забыть мѣста, гдѣ онъ родился и выросъ.

288) Слова древнихъ никогда не напрасны.

289) Вмѣсто того, чтобы обогнала лошадь чужаго аула, пусть лучше обгонитъ жеребенокъ своего собственнаго аула.

290) Лучше будь пастухомъ въ своемъ родѣ, чѣмъ царемъ въ чужомъ народѣ.

291) Ссуженая пища поломаетъ зубы, но войдетъ.

292) У кого есть недугъ, у того нѣтъ силъ.

293) Друзей двое, а враговъ восьмеро.

294) Другъ скажетъ, заставляя плакать; врагъ скажетъ, заставляя смѣяться.

295) Съ другомъ не считайся, а ѣшь пищу вмѣстѣ.

296) Мой другъ расположенъ ко мнѣ, и мое дѣло обстоитъ хорошо.

297) Если ты позволишь врагу мириться съ тобою, то онъ сядетъ тебѣ на голову.

298) Когда сойдутся двѣ женщины, то будетъ базаръ (шумно).

299) Если погонишься за двумя зайцами, то не поймаешь ни одного.

300) Когда говорятъ (одновременно) два человѣка, то не поймешь ни одного изъ нихъ.

301) Двое муллъ какъ женщ[illegible]ворятъ; одинъ мулла какъ два человѣка (силенъ).

302) Когда два кречета дерутся, то одиночной воронѣ достанется пища.

303) Если напрягешься, то будешь сосать.

304) Поверхность бараньей кожи ѣдкая, слова дурнаго человѣка ѣдкія.

305) Лѣтомъ—пиръ, зимою—посмѣшище (*).

306) Хорошему коню одна нагайка, плохому коню тысяча нагаекъ.

307) Хорошій конь смиренъ, плохой конь съ норовомъ.

308) Доброму человѣку злой (остается) близкимъ, злому человѣку добрый (становится) постылымъ (**).

309) Доброе имя лучше богатства.

310) Цѣну доброму знаетъ добрый.

311) Если будешь сопутствовать доброму, то достигнешь цѣли желаній; если будешь сопутствовать дурному, то будешь опозоренъ.

312) Добрый человѣкъ основателенъ, дурной человѣкъ задоренъ.

313) Лѣнивому каждый день праздникъ.

314) Лѣнивый лежитъ себѣ, а пропитаніе перепадаетъ для него.

315) Если ты сдѣлаешь дурнаго человѣка есауломъ (***), то онъ поведетъ непріятелей на тебя.

316) Если дурной человѣкъ уличенъ въ проступкѣ, то онъ говоритъ: вотъ этотъ тоже мой участникъ (****).

317) Дурной жеребецъ норовитъ въ табунъ, дурной зять скучаетъ по своей родинѣ.

318) Кто не терпитъ невзгодъ, не находитъ счастія.

319) Нѣтъ лучше бѣдности, кабы только была нища такая, что можно ее добывать лежа.

(*) Т. е. кто лѣтомъ пируетъ, тотъ зимою можетъ бѣдствовать.

(**) Въ подлинникѣ суть—холодный.

(***) Джигитомъ.

(****) Т. е. старается скомпрометировать другихъ.

320) Лучше будь рабомъ богатаго, чѣмъ сыномъ бѣднаго.

321) Проживший не знаетъ, ходивший знаетъ (*).

322) Послѣ того, какъ непріятель схватилъ (тебя) за воротъ, собака схватитъ тебя за полу.

323) Послѣ ухода непріятелей ботвин свой мечъ въ землю.

324) Масло хорошо, хотя бы не приходилось ѣсть его; богачъ хорошъ, хотя бы онъ и не далъ ничего.

325) У бѣднаго недостатокъ, но онъ сытъ.

326) Кто сидитъ на иноходцѣ, тотъ не оглянется на своего спутника.

327) Изъ смиренника выйдетъ толсто (**).

328) Кто сидитъ на рысакѣ, тотъ забудетъ и Бога.

329) Ребенокъ, который хочетъ плакать, заиграетъ съ вещами отца.

330) Не тотъ достигаетъ, кто бѣжитъ, а тотъ, кому суждено (достигнуть).

331) Кто ходитъ, (у того умъ какъ) море; кто сидитъ, (у того умъ какъ) цыновка.

332) У народа пятьдесятъ ушей.

333) Народъ не безъ воровъ, горы не безъ волковъ.

334) У кого есть младшій братъ, у того есть покой (отъ работы).

335) Мужа убиваетъ стыдъ, зайца убиваетъ тростникъ (***).

336) Мужчина видитъ дѣйствительное (положеніе дѣла), жена видитъ ошибочное.

337) Хотя мужчинъ много, но нѣтъ топлива; хотя женщинъ много, но нѣтъ воды.

338) Мужъ—голова, жена—шея.

(*) Т. е. не тотъ знаетъ, кто много прожилъ, а тотъ, кто много видѣлъ.

(**) Т. е. неожиданно рѣзкій поступокъ.

(***) Препятствуя ему спастись бѣгствомъ.

339) Лучшій изъ молодцовъ самъ не знаетъ (что онъ лучшій), а другіе знаютъ.

340) Мужчина имѣетъ носъ, лошадь имѣетъ губы (*).

341) Спасающая достояніе, обмывай ноги ослу (**).

342) Когда ноша осла тяжела, то онъ хочетъ лечь.

343) Хотя бы ты положилъ собаку на золотое блюдо, но она соскочитъ съ него.

344) Вся собаки не слышитъ волкъ, вся волка не слышитъ Богъ.

345) Собачій кормъ — черный (мучной) кисель.

346) Лисица не любитъ бѣга собаки, больной человѣкъ не любитъ смѣха.

347) Когда сумѣютъ сложить, загорится и снѣгъ; когда не сумѣютъ сложить, не загорится и масло (***).

348) Одна собака приказываетъ другой, а та приказываетъ своему хвосту (поджимаетъ хвостъ, повинуется).

349) Когда собака безъ ошейника, то она не обращаетъ вниманія на зовъ.

350) Собачьему брюху не пристало (ѣсть) коровье масло.

351) Когда собака разжирѣетъ, то она укуситъ своего хозяина.

352) Собака найдетъ мѣсто, гдѣ она насытилась, мужъ — мѣсто, гдѣ онъ родился.

353) Смотря по хозяину бываетъ и кобыла, смотря по мѣху (для кумыса) бываетъ и мѣшалка.

354) Худшіе изъ киргизъ становятся сартами, худшіе изъ сартовъ становятся киргизами.

355) Безпечный толстѣетъ и отъ одной воды.

(*) Признакъ хорошаго бѣга лошади — толстыя губы; признакъ мужества человѣка — большой носъ.

(**) Т. е. не гнушайся никакою работою.

(***) Т. е. лучше топливо.

356) Отъ того, кто ѣздилъ въ городъ, не ожидай ума до трехъ дней.

357) У хана умъ сорока человѣкъ.

358) Ханъ (когда нибудь) будетъ нуждаться и въ своихъ подданныхъ.

359) Ханъ не можетъ быть безъ подданныхъ.

360) Если у хана будутъ подданные, то онъ можетъ пустить и лодку по сушѣ.

361) Срамъ черной собаки передается и бѣлой собакѣ.

362) Пока черный (брюнетъ) входитъ въ гнѣвъ, у желтаго (блондина) уже выходитъ душа.

363) Черный человѣкъ не можетъ быть бѣлымъ, бѣлый человѣкъ не можетъ быть чернымъ; когда ножъ не рѣжетъ руку, то и раны нѣтъ

364) Ворона говоритъ своему дѣтенышу: мой бѣленькій! ежъ говоритъ своему дѣтенышу: мой гладенькій!

365) Волоса у женщинъ длинные, умъ у нихъ короткій.

366) Если твоя жена зла, что пользы отъ спокойствія народа? если твой сапогъ тѣсенъ, что пользы отъ обширности міра?

367) Когда твоя жена дура, то пусть твоя нагайка будетъ толста.

368) На чьей землѣ живешь, того и пѣсенку поешь.

369) Что къ вечеру не уложено, никогда не уладится.

370) Маленькій камень пробиваетъ и голову.

371) Когда много пастуховъ, то баранъ умираетъ безъ присмотра.

372) Не тѣ собаки побѣдятъ, которыя сѣрыя, а тѣ, которыхъ больше.

373) Кто видѣлъ многое, тотъ подобенъ озеру.

374) Если между множествомъ стариковъ находится одно дитя, то оно дѣлается умнымъ; если между множествомъ дѣтей находится одинъ старикъ, то онъ дѣлается ребенкомъ.

375) Изъ множества словъ немногія хороши; немногія слова сами по себѣ хороши.

376) Кто много говоритъ, тотъ пустомеля.

377) Если много плевать, будетъ озеро.

378) Для боязливаго (все) видится вдвойнѣ.

379) Боязливый не узнаетъ своего отца, глупецъ не понимаетъ своей ошибки.

380) Если будешь играть съ зайцемъ, устанешь; если будешь играть съ огнемъ, обожжешься.

381) Чужая лошадь потная, чужая одежда маркая.

382) Что дано человѣкомъ, то не составитъ пропитанія для человѣка.

383) Не пой пѣсню людей, пой свою пѣсню.

384) Глаза—трусы, руки—богатыри.

385) Когда надъ куланомъ (дикимъ конемъ) взойдетъ солнце (*), онъ не будетъ ждать своего жеребенка.

386) Если куланъ упадетъ въ колодезь, лягушка поплыветъ на его ушахъ.

387) Если высказать, то выходитъ грязь (горе) изъ сердца; если вымыть, то выходитъ грязь изъ рубашки.

388) Видѣвшаго побѣдитъ и невидѣвшій.

389) Въ дѣвицахъ что красное пламя; ставши женою, лишена цѣны.

390) Не смѣйся надъ другомъ, (несчастіе) доберется и до тебя.

391) Когда выѣзжаешь въ дневное [illegible]ствіе, то бери съ собою [illegible] съ собою запаса на недѣлю.

(*) Т. е. наступаетъ опасность.

392) Въ хвастовствѣ пользы нѣтъ.

393) Въ присутствіи муллы придержи языкъ, въ присутствіи мастера придержи руку.

394) Кто не былъ страннинонъ, тотъ не мусульманинъ (*).

395) Что посѣешь, то пожнешь.

396) Положеніе бабки стойки портитъ игру; дуракъ портитъ собраніе.

397) У женщины, пришедшей за огнемъ, есть тридцать предметовъ для разговора.

398) У царя подмышка (защита) просторна, палка длинна.

399) Терпѣливый выждетъ, нетерпѣливый вспыхнетъ.

400) Кто имѣетъ терпѣніе, тотъ доходитъ до цѣли.

401) Корень (плодъ) терпѣнія есть желтое золото.

402) Береженаго Богъ бережетъ.

403) Кто берегся, тотъ достигъ благополучія.

404) Если ты будешь привѣтствовать глухаго, то онъ будетъ говорить про голову твоего отца.

405) Если будешь торопиться, то не найдешь своего хозяина (Бога).

406) Говорить про мое и твое, указываетъ на узкость сердца; говорить: ложись подальше, ложись поближе, указываетъ на узкость одѣяла.

407) Все, чего проситъ слѣпой, это его два глаза.

408) У задняго верблюда кладь тяжелѣе (**).

409) Вода есть нѣмой врагъ.

410) Султанъ не накажетъ свою кость (родню).

411) Не красивое красиво, а любимое красиво.

(*) Только тотъ, кто былъ самъ въ положеніи странника, можетъ имѣть должное состраданіе къ страннинамъ. Эта пословица перешла къ киргизамъ отъ сартовъ. Положеніе странниковъ на востокѣ тяжело. Сравни арабскую пословицу: ассафару китъатуи мин ассакар (путешествіе есть часть отъ ада), или: ассакару китъатуи минассаф (адъ есть только часть путешествія).

(**) Заднимъ верблюдамъ трудно держать шагъ съ передними.

412) Коровы не ходятъ не толкаясь.

413) У лошади, которую холятъ, зубы не почернѣютъ.

414) На позонъ найдется починка.

415) Слово проходитъ по костямъ, палка проходитъ по мясу.

416) Кто безумѣло выражается, тотъ обращаетъ дурныя слова противъ себя же.

417) Если хочешь говорить, то много найдется предметовъ для разговора.

418) Характеръ, вошедшій съ молокомъ (матери), выйдетъ только вмѣстѣ съ костями (смертью).

419) Человѣкъ съ паршивою головою бываетъ болтливъ.

420) Лучшій жеребенокъ идетъ за лошадью, худшая лошадь идетъ за жеребенкомъ.

421) Кувыркаясь, жеребенокъ не провадетъ изъ табуна.

422) Глотка (жадность) повергаетъ въ адъ.

423) Того, кто ударилъ тебя камнемъ, ударь пищею.

424) Вмѣсто того, чтобы дать желаній съ гору, дай счастья съ палецъ.

425) Языку каждый день праздникъ.

426) Языкъ острѣе меча.

427) Хотя бы у нищаго наполнилась сума, но его глаза не насытятся.

428) Куй желѣзо, когда оно горяча.

429) Волкъ не пожретъ скота того, кого поддерживаетъ Богъ.

430) Божьихъ дней больше пруса.

431) Глупецъ забудетъ мѣсто, гдѣ онъ родился.

432) Если идти на свадьбу, то идти мѣшкаясь и оставивши свои дѣла.

433) Слыша о свадьбѣ, даже и черепъ (старикъ) хочетъ вовратиться туда.

434) Свадьба для тѣхъ, у кого есть халатъ, вымыти—для тѣхъ, у кого есть лошадь (для скачекъ).

435) Не береги долго соль—она превратится въ воду; не береги долго дѣвицу—она превратится въ рабыню.

436) Между четвероногими верблюжата дружны, между двуногими сверстники дружны.

437) Не тотъ знаетъ, кто вмѣстѣ родился, а тотъ, кто приблизился.

438) Въ неугомонныхъ устахъ есть бѣда.

439) Снаружи блеститъ, внутри трясется (отъ голода).

440) Мыши нужна смерть, кошкѣ нужна игра.

441) Когда твой верблюдъ околѣетъ, пропадетъ твое счастье; когда твоя телѣга сломается, она будетъ починена.

442) Протяни ноги, смотря по одѣялу.

443) До входа гость стѣсняется, послѣ входа хозяинъ стѣсняется.

444) Дорога, хотя и далекая, хороша; дѣвица, хотя и дурнаго нрава, хороша.

445) Кто самъ упалъ, не плачетъ.

446) Каждому свое какъ огонь горячо (мило).

447) Спрашивай совѣта у того, кто одну рубашку раньше тебя износилъ (старшихъ).

448) Кто не сытъ отъ молозива, тотъ не насытится отъ девятаго (блюда).

449) У кого есть домъ, у того есть и пѣсня.

450) Стыдъ сильнѣе смерти.

451) Большой начнетъ, малый броситъ.

452) Что не подвергалось спору, не пойдетъ въ счетъ.

453) Когда твой спутникъ русскій, то пусть у тебя въ рукѣ будетъ желѣзный топоръ.

454) Кто слушается наставленій, не погибнетъ.

455) Мастеръ (даже) бываетъ безъ ножа.

456) Подставленную шею не рѣжетъ мечъ.

457) О прошедшихъ дѣлахъ не жалѣй; хотя бы ты жалѣлъ, но оно не будетъ по прежнему.

458) Нанесенныя (оскорбленія) были взаимны, а прочее (что не было взаимно) прощается.

459) Тупой ножъ также рѣжетъ руку.

460) Когда попутаетъ сатана, то глазомѣръ не дѣйствуетъ.

461) Клевета убиваетъ; похвала поддерживаетъ.

462) Если ты не примешь приглашенія, то ты не дождешься больше приглашенія.

463) Кто задираетъ носъ, передъ тѣмъ задирай и ты носъ — онъ не сынъ же пророка; кто наклоняется, передъ тѣмъ наклоняйся и ты—онъ не рабъ, завѣщанный тебѣ отцемъ.

464) Кто боится саранчи, тотъ не будетъ сѣять.

465) По корыту и ведро.

466) Конь, путанный на трехъ ногахъ—мой собственный конь; конь путанный на двухъ ногахъ—это мой вольный конь.

467) Около гнилого кружатся мухи.

468) Провожатый, который не провожаетъ до конца, не считается за провожатаго.

469) Кто боится воробьевъ, не посѣетъ проса.

470) У кого нѣтъ дѣла, у того нѣтъ и пищи.

471) Старое платье не грѣетъ.

472) Безъ стараго не бываетъ новое, безъ новаго не бываетъ старое.

473) Кто не нашелъ дѣла, у того изъ штановъ выглядываютъ вши.

474) Я попалъ въ пучину, не замѣчая того; гдѣ мнѣ выходъ?

475) Другъ горекъ (не милъ), спотъ сладокъ (милъ).

476) Если ты сдѣлаешь добро человѣку, какой нибудь

(*)

мерзавецъ не пойметъ твоей доброты; много жало на свѣтѣ душъ, лишившихся вѣры потому, что отвѣтили на добро зломъ.

477) Кто проситъ у людей, худѣетъ, кто проситъ у Бога, имѣетъ; благоразумный мужъ распознаетъ всякое дѣло умомъ.

478) Порча людей внутри ихъ, порча скота снаружи его.

479) Безъ приличія нельзя войти въ домъ; безъ начальника нельзя жить въ странѣ.

480) Есть люди, которые не обуздываютъ страсть, великаго врага; подружившись со страстью, они не могутъ отвести глаза отъ міра.

481) Моя собственная кибитка свѣтлая, подобная просторному сараю.

482) Другъ, намѣревающійся разстаться, начинаетъ требовать задней луки сѣдла (*).

483) Слова, обращенныя къ другу, напрасны.

484) У чистосердечнаго лошадь не похудѣетъ, халатъ не износится, и онъ, при всей щедрости, не обѣднѣетъ.

485) Дѣтенышъ бѣлаго кречета не можетъ самъ отыскивать кормъ; въ устахъ подлеца молитва не имѣетъ силы.

486) Дѣтенышей бѣлаго кречета бываетъ пять—шесть, между ними одинъ только выучится ловить лебедей; не умѣющіе ловить лебедей станутъ посмѣшищемъ мелкой птицы.

487) Если сказать умному, то онъ пойметъ; если сказать глупому, то онъ осмѣетъ.

488) Сближайся съ умнымъ, сторонись отъ глупаго.

489) Умному намекъ, глупому дубина.

490) Умъ пищѣ, удаль въ молодости, цѣнность въ камнѣ.

491) Когда начальство сойдетъ съ пути справедливости, то хруститъ поясница народа.

492) Слово: беремъ—правда, слово: отдадимъ—неправда.

Т. е. невозможнаго, ибо киргизское сѣдло не имѣетъ луки.

493) Безсильный откладываетъ до будущей жизни.

494) Когда есть у тебя пища, ты знаешься съ людьми; когда есть у тебя лошадь, ты видишь страны.

495) Торопливая утка ныряетъ (не головою, а) хвостомъ.

496) Киргизъ, котораго отецъ и дѣдъ не были біями, не поступитъ согласно обычаю; просителей онъ выслушиваетъ съ намеками (на взятку), а передъ высшими онъ не встанетъ, изъ гордости.

497) Дочь сбывается, благодаря славѣ отца; ткань сбывается, благодаря славѣ маты (*).

498) Съ иноплеменнымъ не охоться на зайцевъ: онъ помѣшаетъ тебѣ стрѣлять, находясь у тебя подъ бокомъ.

499) Бываетъ такой четырехлѣтній жеребенокъ, что не промѣнять на лошадь; бываетъ такая вдова, что не промѣнять на дѣвицу.

500) Сидящій на лошади не присвоиваетъ себѣ имущество пѣшаго, а если присвоитъ, то народъ не одобритъ.

501) Лошадь, смотря по бѣгу, превращается въ деньги; дурной человѣкъ, отъ бѣганья, превращается въ раба.

502) Если не будешь дорожить лошадью, то тебѣ придется ходить пѣшкомъ; если не будешь дорожить пищею, то будешь голодать.

503) Хорошая лошадь—конь Буракъ на дорогѣ; хорошій сынъ—свѣтило сердца. Если у тебя лошадь плохая, уходитъ удовольствіе; если у тебя сынъ плохой, уходитъ сила; если у тебя жена плохая, уходитъ изъ твоего дома гости; а если и придутъ гости, то ты уйдешь отъ нихъ понурый.

504) Когда собака аула дрянна, то она входитъ въ соглашеніе съ волкомъ.

505) Голодному желудку кажется, что онъ никогда не на-

(*) Мата—бумажная матерія мѣстной работы, идущая на рубахи и нижнее бѣлье.

сытится; сытому желудку кажется, что онъ никогда не проголодается.

507) Злоба—кинжалъ, умъ—другъ, къ своему уму прибавь ума.

508) Ступай на базаръ: тамъ ты испытаешь свое счастье.

509) Богачъ гибнетъ отъ одного бурана, богатырь гибнетъ отъ одной пули.

510) Когда похвастаетъ богачъ, найдется масло; когда похвастаетъ бѣднякъ, что найдется?

511) Посылай ребенка за дѣломъ, но бѣги самъ съ нимъ же.

512) Кто не могъ поймать рыбу, мутитъ воду.

513) Достатокъ позволяетъ говорить, что угодно; недостатокъ заставляетъ ѣсть оскверненное.

514) Когда есть, утрись парчею; когда нѣтъ, утрись своею душою.

515) Когда есть, мокай да ѣшь; когда нѣтъ, продай да ѣшь.

516) Что случается съ головою, то видитъ и глаза (*).

517) Если спросить совѣта у богатыря, то онъ покажетъ свой мечъ, ружье и знамя; если спросить совѣта у скотовода, то онъ покажетъ одноѣтняго и двухлѣтняго верблюжатъ; если спросить совѣта у мясника, то онъ покажетъ свой ножъ и оселокъ.

518) Если ты богатырь и богачъ, то чѣмъ ты не царь? если ты бѣденъ, но бекъ, то чѣмъ ты не посмѣшище?

519) Не приравнивай къ себѣ дурнаго своего родственника, не называй своимъ глазомъ (**) дурнаго, отчуждившагося отъ добрыхъ.

520) Вмѣстѣ родиться приходится, вмѣстѣ жить не приходится.

(*) Варіантъ: то теряетъ и душа.

(**) Стражемъ, доброжелателемъ.

521) Есть дорога дальняя; хотя дальняя, но она близкая (*); есть дорога близкая; хотя близкая, но она дальняя (**).

522) Если гость одинъ день пробудетъ, чти; если два дня пробудетъ, проглоти (***).

523) Разъ ты за одну тенгу пригласилъ пѣть, то ты уже за тысячу тенегъ не заставишь замолчать.

524) Кто говоритъ: я знаю (о преступленіи), того хватаютъ, кто говоритъ: не знаю, тотъ улизаетъ.

525) И знающій иногда допуститъ дѣло (****), и незнающій допуститъ дѣло (****).

526) Гдѣ твое знаніе, если ты не простишь незнаніе?

527) Дурно выросшій камышъ сгоритъ и подъ водою.

528) Народъ, предводитель котораго юноша, не уцѣлѣетъ; стадо серпъ, предводитель котораго малолѣтняя серна, не уцѣлѣетъ.

529) Нечистоты нехороши, но хуже всего бѣдность.

530) Когда ты кушаешь гуся у кого нибудь, то облупи свою утку (для него).

531) Кто прыгаетъ отъ сытости, а кто отъ голода.

532) Когда ты въ могуществѣ, прожили могущественно, пробѣги какъ бѣлый иноходецъ; когда ты поймешь, что ты пересталъ быть могущественнымъ, запрягай пару воловъ мужа (чужаго).

533) Когда въ бурѣ и вьюгѣ падаетъ снѣгъ, земля покроется снѣгомъ; признакъ молодца тотъ, что онъ очиститъ путь, по которому прошелъ.

534) Кто не видѣлъ счастья, тому кажется, что счастья

(*) Удобная для проѣзда.

(**) Непроѣзжая.

(***) Дуютъ имѣетъ два значенія: голодъ и проглоти. Эту пословицу можно слѣдовательно перевести и такимъ образомъ: если гость одинъ день пробудетъ, чти; если два дня, то ти будешь голодать.

(****) Ошибку.

никогда не будетъ; онъ начинаетъ завидовать человѣку, стоящему выше его.

535) Другъ смотритъ на голову, врагъ на ноги (*).

536) Когда другъ пьянъ, то становится противникомъ.

537) Если погонишься за міромъ, онъ удаляется; если удалишься отъ міра, онъ погонится за тобою.

538) Два мѣста не составляютъ нула; назвавъ собакою или щенкомъ, нельзя погладить (польстить).

539) Когда два дромадера трутся другъ о друга, то муха, посреди ихъ, умретъ.

540) Если ты добръ, то найдешь; если ты золъ, то похудѣешь.

541) Не оттягивай руки (**) отъ добраго: онъ пригодится на многіе дни; этотъ міръ не будетъ спутникомъ, это могущество приходитъ и уходитъ, не имѣя постоянства ни для кого.

542) Между хорошими мужчинами лежитъ сѣдло и лошадь; между хорошими самками (***) лежитъ люлька и сынъ.

543) Добрый человѣкъ никогда не будетъ дурнымъ, добрый конь, хотя бы и похудѣлъ, не будетъ клячею.

544) Если жить съ добрыми — рай, если жить съ дурными — перебранка.

545) Если ты назовешь добраго дурнымъ, то онъ вытягиваетъ шею, какъ бѣлый лебедь; если ты назовешь дурнаго дурнымъ, то онъ уходитъ безъ слѣда.

546) Нравъ добраго знаетъ добрый; откуда могутъ знать дурные дешевизну и дороговизну вещей?

547) Отъ добраго польза, отъ дурнаго вредъ.

548) Отъ добраго слова душа жирѣетъ.

549) Добрый сынъ есть волосокъ сердца, дурной сынъ — нечистоты носа.

(*) Употребляется въ томъ случаѣ, когда кто нибудь смѣется надъ босоногимъ. Голова называется священною (кзм).

(**) Не удаляйся.

(***) Женщинами.

550) Одно бревно не можетъ быть домомъ, одинъ только человѣкъ (*) не можетъ быть біемъ.

551) Одной бараньей шкуры мало для шубы; собраніе однихъ только дурныхъ не можетъ быть пиромъ.

552) Не дѣлай добра злому: онъ нападетъ на твою голову.

553) У дурнаго разумъ появляется только послѣ полудня.

554) Не слушайся дурнаго, не забывай добраго.

555) Не должай у дурнаго человѣка, а если и задолжалъ, то не расходуй взятаго.

556) Дурной человѣкъ не остается при одномъ и томъ же; дѣло непостояннаго человѣка Богъ не обратитъ къ лучшему.

557) Дурной не знаетъ умѣстнаго, слѣпой не знаетъ ямъ.

558) Дурное, доброе и всяческое дѣло вчиняетъ Богъ; ихъ приписываютъ людямъ нѣкоторые простяки.

559) Лучше быть безъ жены, чѣмъ брать дурную жену; лучше быть безъ дѣтей, чѣмъ имѣть дурныхъ дѣтей; лучше ходить пѣшкомъ, чѣмъ ѣздить на дурной лошади.

560) У дурнаго человѣка выстрѣлъ не попадаетъ, слова не оправдываются.

561) Кто причиняетъ боль душѣ, тотъ не другъ.

562) Если ты бѣденъ, не слушайся; если ты въ долгахъ, не зазнавайся.

563) Есть люди взрослые лѣтами, но молодые умомъ; есть такіе, которымъ вредитъ собственный умъ.

564) Отъ пѣшехода не видно пыли, отъ одиночнаго не слышно голоса.

565) Украшеніе земли деревья, украшеніе народа скотъ.

566) Въ двадцать лѣтъ у юноши выростаетъ борода; весною у твоего сына разыграются стремленія.

567) Змѣя бѣжитъ извиваясь, а входитъ въ свою нору прямо.

(*) Есть поговорка родня.

568) Если скажешь теплыя слова, то и змѣя выйдетъ изъ норы; если скажешь колотя (палкою), то умъ выходитъ изъ памяти.

569) Джигита дурнаго поведенія непріятель схватитъ посреди его народа.

570) На надменнаго есть Богъ, на твердое желѣзо есть молотъ.

571) Если отдашь свою пищу людямъ, то они поласкаютъ твою голову; если отдашь свою пищу собакамъ, то онѣ растерзаютъ твою голову.

572) Когда говоритъ мужчина, открывается дорога; когда говоритъ женщина, открывается сидѣніе.

573) Не бросай утренней пищи, не жди вечерней пищи.

574) На шеѣ мужа волосяной арканъ не сгніетъ.

575) Не бери ту, которую ты видѣлъ сквозь дверь; бери ту, которую ты видѣлъ съ колыбели.

576) Собака вѣрна, звѣрь лютъ.

577) Я желаю только одного, а именно воронаго жеребца; когда получу воронаго жеребца, то сдѣлай, что хочешь.

578) Между людьми вывелось доброжелательство, между добрыми вывелось благодѣяніе.

579) На покинутомъ озерѣ лягушка жеребецъ, у покинутой жены работникъ жеребецъ.

580) Воздержность насыщаетъ желудокъ, невоздержность заколетъ послѣднюю лошадь.

581) Несправедливый ханъ потеряетъ свое положеніе; несправедливый бій потеряетъ свою вѣру; неблагодѣтельный богачъ потеряетъ свой скотъ; кто жалѣетъ свой скотъ, тотъ потеряетъ своего друга.

582) Не будь противникомъ хана, не будь грѣшникомъ передъ Богомъ.

583) Родственники ссорятся, но не отказываются другъ отъ друга.

584) Родной идетъ къ родному, а на чужаго обрушивается бѣда.

585) Не повѣряй своей тайны женщинѣ, не вѣрь, пока не убѣдишься.

586) Народъ, надъ которымъ начальствуетъ женщина, останется ни съ чѣмъ.

587) Иной дуракъ подружится съ своимъ врагомъ и поссорится съ своимъ другомъ.

588) Шитый, по совѣщанію, халатъ не окажется короткимъ.

589) Я поставилъ блюдо передъ тобою, и далъ тебѣ въ руки ножъ.

590) Кому принадлежитъ кошма, тому принадлежитъ и сужденіе.

591) Отъ стаи псовъ не убѣжитъ и лисица.

592) Много пугаетъ, глубоко запускаетъ (руки).

593) Многословіе—сквернословіе.

594) Человѣкъ, которому предстоитъ будущность, имѣетъ дѣло до людей; человѣкъ, которому не предстоитъ будущности, какое имѣетъ дѣло до людей?

595) У кулановъ пастьба сообща, отдыхъ врозь.

596) Бороться нѣтъ мочи, утро кипитъ, какъ котелъ.

597) Знатная (невѣста), которую (ты) засваталъ, не видѣвъ ея, лучше красивой, которую (ты) засваталъ, видѣвъ ее.

598) Птица летаетъ посредствомъ крыльевъ, а садится посредствомъ хвоста.

599) У агнеика, изъ котораго выйдетъ самецъ, лобъ бываетъ выпуклый; у юноши, который будетъ добрымъ, подолъ и рукавъ просторны.

600) Короткой нитки не хватитъ на петлю.

601) Когда кочерга длинна, руки не жгутся; когда твоихъ родичей много, люди не тронутъ тебя.

602) Отдавай скотъ пасти тому, кто его нашелъ; заставляй печь дрова того, кто ихъ набралъ.

603) Нѣтъ царя, который бы не пріобрѣлъ скота; нѣтъ женщины, которая бы не пріобрѣла сына.

604) Когда хозяина нѣтъ, рабъ войдетъ въ ограду; когда собаки нѣтъ, кабанъ хрюкнетъ у ограды.

605) Замашка дрянныхъ людей ходить вдвоемъ, да брыкаться.

606) Корова не бываетъ (*) желтою, верблюдъ не бываетъ (*) гнѣдымъ.

607) Пока не переѣхалъ черезъ рѣку, обѣщаю за перевозъ дать свою дочь; послѣ того, какъ переѣхалъ черезъ рѣку, тебя и знать не знаю.

608) Кто даетъ не просившимъ, того можешь смѣло назвать щедрымъ; конь, который бѣжитъ неподгоняемый, можешь смѣло назвать бѣгуномъ.

609) Говорить можно къ тому, который слушаетъ; но для того, который крѣпко заткнулъ себѣ уши ватою, не все ли равно сказанное и несказанное?

610) Кто гонится за словомъ, наживетъ бѣду; кто гонится за путемъ, наживаетъ казну.

611) Не говорить лучше, чѣмъ говорить: въ голову говорившаго попадаетъ палка.

612) Сошедшіеся не становится близкими, родственники не становится далекими.

613) Если ѣсть въ проголодь, останется жеребенокъ; если ѣсть досыта, останется баранъ.

614) Камень тяжелъ для того, на комъ онъ лежитъ.

615) Когда въ горахъ болѣютъ рога у оленя, тогда въ долинѣ болѣютъ рога и у коровы.

616) Текущій съ горъ ручей изливается въ море; не радуйся, что у злого родился добрый: онъ пойдетъ по стопамъ его же.

(*) Не называется.

617) У дурака восемь ногъ: когда одна не попала, другая попадетъ.

618) Пока ты живъ, присматривайся и пріобрѣтай знаніе, слѣдуй всѣмъ добрымъ людямъ.

619) Безрогій новелъ, желая выросить себѣ рога, лишился своихъ ушей.

620) Воробей отъ дождя защищаетъ своего дѣтеныша, а отъ града защищаетъ свою голову.

621) Не дѣлай зла тому, у кого ты ѣлъ хлѣбъ-соль.

622) Туркменъ разбогатѣлъ во снѣ.

623) Когда четыре человѣка въ союзѣ, они могутъ достать то, что надъ ихъ головою; когда шесть человѣкъ въ разладѣ, они теряютъ то, что у нихъ во рту.

624) У кого есть сердце и душа, на того есть и смерть: мы имѣемъ страхъ передъ смертью.

625) Самъ не знаетъ и не слушается того, кто знаетъ.

626) Собака тотъ, кто спроситъ о дальнихъ предкахъ того, кто самъ сдѣлалъ изъ себя джигита (добраго человѣка).

627) Въ своихъ собственныхъ согрѣшеніяхъ не каются; когда хотятъ скрыть слѣды, они не закрываются.

628) Когда для себя нужно, то у меня есть пара воловъ; когда людямъ нужно, то у меня разнаго рода дѣла.

629) Когда самъ размышляю, то добиваюсь беременной кобылы; когда другому поручаю размыслить, то мои ноги едва дотронутся до земли (*).

630) Кто самъ себя хвалитъ, тотъ скоро будетъ настигнутъ смертью.

631) Незваный гость сидитъ на голой землѣ.

632) Если его бить, то онъ толстѣетъ какъ барсукъ.

(*) Т. е. кто въ тамбахъ самъ занимается свое дѣло, то легко выигрываетъ его и наоборотъ: кто поручаетъ веденіе своего дѣла другому, тому приходится бѣгать въ суда.

633) Кто не знаетъ своей собственной страны, тотъ не будетъ біемъ въ своемъ народѣ.

634) Не говорите, что кибитки ваша: за кибиткою есть и другіе люди.

635) Пѣніе прилично пиру, дородность прилична барану.

636) Ловкій мужъ ныряетъ противъ теченія.

637) Воръ не разбогатѣетъ, блюдолизъ не разжирѣетъ.

638) Сердце вора знаетъ, да сердце истца знаетъ.

639) Правда въ устахъ лжеца пропадаетъ даромъ.

640) Лживое слово врагъ душѣ, острый ножъ врагъ ножнамъ.

641) Если будешь спать, то добудешь сонъ; если не будешь спать, то добудешь табунъ.

642) Лошадей изъ разныхъ табуновъ соединяетъ недоуздокъ, людей изъ разныхъ родовъ соединяетъ Богъ.

643) Безтыжій сынъ плохъ, своевольная дочь плоха; плохая дочь какъ иней: она уйдетъ когда-нибудь; дурная сноха какъ постоянный иней: твоя душа терзается каждый день.

644) Худшій кормъ это трава селеу, худшій людъ—это родъ Телеу.

645) Шустрый ѣстъ два раза; сутуловатый что найдетъ?

646) На навшаго (сыплются) кулаки.

647) Съ непріятелемъ, къ которому привыкли, сражаться легче.

648) Для крѣпкаго желѣза есть молотъ; для самонадѣяннаго человѣка есть Богъ.

649) Обиженнаго Богъ призрѣетъ.

650) Мечъ условій не знаетъ.

651) Врагамъ отдай душу, но не выдавай тайны.

652) Съ одного барана двухъ шкуръ не дерутъ.

653) Злой собираетъ палки, глупецъ набираетъ женъ.

4: Grodekov RQ2 Kazak

654) Если умретъ братъ, то снохи—наслѣдство; если сдохнетъ лошадь, то шкура—наслѣдство.

655) Жена не уважаетъ мужа, потому что часто видитъ его голое тѣло; свекоръ не будетъ уважать невѣстку, если часто видитъ ея лицо.

656) Проданъ сына, имѣлъ лошадь; проданъ дочь, имѣлъ пищу.

657) При отцѣ сирота, безсовѣстная сирота, при матери сирота—цѣнная сирота.

658) На головѣ сироты при матери играетъ рука и гребень; на головѣ сироты безъ матери играютъ вши.

5: Levchine G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kaissaks [Description of the Kirghiz-Kazak, or Kirghiz-Kaissak, Hordes and Steppes]

Translated from the Russian, Opisanie Kirgiz-Kaisach'ikh ili Kirgiz-Kaisakskikh Ordi Stepei, St. Petersburg, 1832]

Alexis de Levchine

L'Imprimerie Royale: Paris
1840

Translated from the French by Barbara Krader

Human Relations Area Files
New Haven, 1961

[Title Page]

5: Levchine--i G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the 721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic gen-

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

eral (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peo-
631 ples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away
727 from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [721 181 771] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[139 cont.]
175 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the
101 documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are
[721] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

175 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish politi-
648 cal relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the
439 Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[648
439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[141 cont.]

175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.
648
662

3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22.

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[721] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[143 cont.]

131 it is 60 versts /64 km./. And the water is salty in the Blue Sea. The river Arzas flows out of the Blue Sea and into the Sea of Khvalymsk.

131 "And in the east the Amu-Darya River flows into the Arzas
133 River. The Amu-Darya is 300 versts /320 km./ long, and the Arzas is 1,060 versts /1131 km./ long. And 300 versts from the Blue Sea is the Uruk Mountain (1). The Uruk is 90 versts /96

1. The Uruk or Airuk, or Airuruk, is a branch of the Mugodzhar ridge.

km./ long, and out of it flow three rivers: the Vor (Or) River, which flows into the Yaik /Ural/ River to the north (toward the night); the Irgiz River, which flows into Lake Akbashly (2), to

2. Now called Aksakal-Barbi.

the east; and the Gem (Emba) River, which flows south toward the Sea of Khvalymsk and falls into a lake before reaching the sea.

"And 280 versts /299 km./ from the Irgiz River toward the Blue Sea are the sands of Barsuk-Kum. It is 25 versts /27 km./ across these sands, and the sands of Kara-Kum, 200 versts /213 km./ from the Sea.

"The sands of Kara-Kum are 250 versts /267 km./ long and 130 versts /139 km./ wide, and these three /sic/ sands reach the shores of the Blue Sea.

"The Syr flows into the Blue Sea in the east, and the Kenderlik flows into the Syr. And the Kenderlik River flows out of the Ulutau Mountain in two beds.

"And from the mountain, [144] the course of the Kenderlik is 330 versts /352 km./ (1). And another river, the Kenderlyk,

1. We spoke of this river in the geographical description [not translated].

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied
721 with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[145 cont.]

175 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was
721 always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is re-
[114] ferred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years
[662 later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed
578] Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

175 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his
721 disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[146 cont.]
175 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the
721 Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely exterminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent
722 lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring
175 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed
723 half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of
648 Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

[147 cont.]
175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[721] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[114] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]
175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
649 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[151 cont.]
175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]
175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[153 cont.]
175 [66 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[156 cont.]
x 648 [662] a power over the Great Horde which he did not possess, to make himself important in the eyes of the Russian court and thus to acquire influence over the entire Kazak nation.

Empress Anna's letter patent of July 10, 1734 proves Abulkhair's deceit. First of all, this letter is presented in the name of various beys and elders and not in the name of Djulbars, who was then commander of the entire Great Horde, as is known from several documents and Rychkov's History of Orenburg. Furthermore, in the letter patent it says: "Our subject Abulkhair Khan has reported to us as a faithful subject that he has already accepted you among the ranks of our subjects, and for this purpose he has sent your deputies Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr to our court." These words are founded upon Abulkhair's writings and the oral declarations made by his son, but neither the one nor the other promoted anything but falsehoods. On the one hand, it is recognized that Abulkhair, who lived a long distance from the Great Horde, could never have any influence upon it. On [636] the other hand, we see that this horde never took an oath of loyalty to Russia and was not counted among her subjects. In the third place, it must be noted that the head of the Orenburg expedition, Kirilov, who received this letter patent at the moment of his departure from Petersburg, did not even send it to its destination. It is probable that he felt this move to be [57] indecorous when he arrived at the border and was able to appreciate the truth of the circumstances mentioned in this document.

x 648 439 The second proposal to admit the Kazaks of the Great Horde as Russian subjects is much more probable than the first, though little more sincere. This was made in 1738, not by a man claiming to be chief of the Great Horde but by Djulbars, the true and legitimate chief of this horde. Having learned of the founding of a Russian city at the mouth of the Ori River and the opening of trade with the Kazaks of the Middle and the Little Hordes, he sent to ask for the same benefits, and to help [157] attain his end, he proposed making not only his own people Russian subjects, but also the neighboring nations, if it was

x648 [157 cont.]
439 desired to protect and facilitate their trade at Orenburg. The conditions suggested by Djulbars show that he was thinking less about submission than of profiting from the advantages of trade relations, and experience justified this assumption. Djulbars did not swear his loyalty and never even came to the border. The letter patent prepared in Petersburg on July 17, 1739 as a result of his promises still rests today in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

x648 Later the Russian government received several more proposals related to the submission of the Great Horde, but these were made by sultans or individual tribal chiefs whose authority did not extend over the entire horde and who desired the gifts which the Russian sovereigns made to their new subjects more than the protection of the empire.

Besides, if the Great Horde had decided to submit with the Little Horde in 1730, or with its Khan Djulbars in 1738, it would have found great obstacles to the fulfillment of its desire. The contiguity of the Dzungars and the distance of the Great Horde from the Russian frontier would have stopped it. Galdan Tsyren or Cheren, Kungtaidji of the Dzungars, would never have allowed his Kazak neighbors to take such a step, for he sustained a hereditary hatred against them and never allowed an opportunity to escape for oppressing them or avenging the wrongs done to
[721] his forefathers. The union of the Middle and the Little Hordes with Russia persuaded him to reduce the Great Horde to a position where it could not follow the example of the others; he attacked it, defeated it, and subjugated it.

x648 This conquest, however, like all victories won over nomadic
181 peoples, could not be a permanent one. Even though the Russian employees who were then (1) in the [158] Kazak steppes said

1. See Lt. Gladyshev's journal preserved in Orenburg at the Border Commission.

that Galdan's new subjects gave him a korsak /steppe fox/ pelt apiece as a sign of their submission, nevertheless misfortune could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

[158 cont.]
×648 could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

When they realized that it was impossible for them to keep their old regions on Lake Balkash, they drew back to the Tsuya
[726] and Sara-Su [Sary-Su?] rivers. Later when they united their forces, they attacked Tashkent and Turkestan and laid them waste, as well as many other cities and villages belonging to those two states, and they acquired so much power over the residents of Tashkent that they forced them to choose their khans from the horde.

Shubai, Arslanov, and Mansur, residents of the former province of Vyatka, came from Tashkent to Orenburg in 1742 (1)

1. See the file for 1742 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and told how the khan named above ruled in Tashkent until 1739, and that a powerful old Kazak named Tiul Biu shared his authority,
[651] and every year they levied a tribute on the city. Later Djulbars was killed, but Tiul Biu continued to rule after him for a time and to levy tribute. A certain Kussiak Bek, a tributary subject of Galdan Tsyren, and perhaps his lieutenant, put an end to the power of Tiul Biu.

He was the ruler of Tashkent while Shubai and Mansur were there, but the Dzungarian sovereign received the tribute he took from the people. According to our travelers, under Kussiak Bek the Kazaks had no more influence over Tashkent, but they re-
[726] strained the environs of this city to such a degree that it was as though under a state of permanent siege. They cultivated land under its walls, seized the neighboring forests, and at the slightest dissatisfaction they seized the residents of the city and the merchants who came to trade with them.

×648 Turkestan too was for a certain time in a [159] similar
721 position, although the Kazaks did not hinder the Dzungars from
[439] trading there. As for the small towns between Tashkent and Turkestan, the Kazaks who conquered them during this period kept them until the beginning of the present [19th] century.

[159 cont.]

×648 721 We are obliged to note with surprise, however, that in spite of these conquests and hostilities of a people subject to Galdan Tsyren, the Great Horde never dared to go and attack the Dzungars, nor even to call themselves independent of them.

×648 662 Some years later, in 1749, Tiul Biu, who had been driven out of Tashkent by Kusiak [sic] Bek and was dissatisfied by his insignificance, wished to elevate himself through the protection of Russia, and he sent deputies to Orenburg to propose that he become a Russian subject (1). His weakness was no doubt known

1. Tevkelev mentions this in one of his journals.

to the Russian government, and his proposal also had no effect.

[152] The terror with which the Dzungars filled the Kazaks and the apparent submission of the latter lasted until internal dissensions began to weaken the Dzungars and until these dissensions finally led to the complete dispersal of this people, as is known. The disagreement had scarcely begun to be noticeable when the Kazaks took the most active part in it. They offered asylum to all the exiled Dzungarian princes and zaisangs, and joined with [726] them to avenge their wrongs. They attacked their enemies, and on the pretext of helping the unfortunate, they never let the opportunity pass of weakening their old enemies by raids. Finally, when the Chinese wished to interfere in the dissensions of the Dzungars, and the success of their arms had reduced Galdan Tsyren's successors to a state of utter weakness, then the Kazaks of the Great Horde took Amursan's (2) side and formed a part of

2. This prince was the last Dzungarian sovereign. At first he was a subject of China, then her enemy, and he died in Russia.

the army which opposed the invaders [160] until 1756, the time when the Dzungarian empire, which had been so powerful ten years earlier, fell under the blows of the Chinese. The people who had

[160 cont.]

×648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

×648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

×648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
×648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

648 [160 cont.]
726 approach of the [161] Torguts to his lands and of the misfortunes
[721] they had had to endure in the Middle Horde, he prepared at once to fight them once more and with the utmost severity. He called upon Sultan Ablai to attack them from the rear and his weaker allies to make a flank assault, while he himself marched to meet the enemy at the head of his elite troops, taking the precaution of sending his family, as well as the women, children, and old people, and their most precious possessions, to places sheltered from danger. These first plans were very well conceived but were not as fully successful as was expected, for Ablai refused to participate in carrying them out. Erali (1) remained alone, and

1. Prince Tsichi calls this sultan Erelinasali. This name is not Kazak and was no doubt erroneously composed from two names or was distorted by the Chinese.

since he was much weaker than the Torguts, he could not attack them openly. But his presence of mind and military strategems took the place of the assistance he lacked. He disclosed his intention of halting the fugitives and not allowing them to pass through.

Ubashi and his subjects, who had already suffered so many mishaps during their journey, were struck with terror by this hostile move of the Kazaks, and instead of overthrowing their enemy at once, they halted before him and began to take counsel and to reflect, and spent 18 days in complete inactivity. Erali was able to profit from their indecision. While the Kalmuks busied themselves with fruitless deliberations, he gathered around him auxiliaries and allies from all sides to defend himself. Sometimes he indicated the injustice done them by the closeness of the Kalmuks, or else he dazzled them with hopes of the rich booty which would be the reward of victory over a people moving from one land to another with all its wealth and a large number of women.

[162] Ubashi, who saw the forces of his enemies constantly increasing, completely lost his courage and instead of fighting

x648 [162 cont.]
726 preferred to humbly ask permission to pass beyond toward the Ili River. Erali pretended to consent but had the intention of striking
[662] a most terrible blow against the fleeing prince after having lulled him into security to some extent. And this is exactly what happened. Scarcely had the Kalmuks moved away from the Kazaks and set up their camp to spend the night when Erali and his allies attacked them abruptly, annihilated whole groups which had gone
[727] to sleep without taking precautions, and took an immense booty of prisoners, various objects, and livestock. The third part of the Great Horde, which had camped in the neighborhood of Tashkent from the time of Galdan Tsyren, did not move after the annihilation of the Dzungars but began to establish itself on the spot in the localities it occupied, and persecuted the neighboring cities and villages more strongly. Tashkent was the city which suffered most. Raids, the pillage of caravans, and the almost complete loss of arable lands brought about the absolute ruin of its inhabitants. Although they were not subjects of the Kazaks, they were dependent upon them for everything and were obliged to purchase all the necessities of life and trade from them at a high price.

In 1760 a large number of Karakalpaks [Kara-Kalpak] joined this part of the Great Horde. These Karakalpaks lived at the mouth of the Syr [Darya] River, but being hemmed in by the Little Horde, especially under Khan Nurali, they had retreated further east. It is not known why the Kazaks, who were so powerful, did not seize Tashkent completely and establish themselves there. But there is no doubt that this city has had to suffer from their aggressions until our day. The khans of this country, being weak and unenterprising, have tried to avert these raids by favors, gifts, and concessions more than by resistance and
[829] vigorous measures. The Kazaks are accustomed to viewing indulgence as [163] a sign of weakness, and consequently this kind of behavior, far from disarming them, leads them to renewed violence.

Tashkent proved the truth of this by its own experience some time later when Iunus Khodja became ruler of this city.

×648 [163 cont.]
726 He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners de-
[727] capitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously
[721 828] resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

×648 Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in
[727] their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally
[651] he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire
[164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighbor-
[166] ing him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[164 cont.]

x 48 foreign domination. In 1814 this territory became the property of the khan of Kokand, and the Kazaks were also obliged to submit themselves to this new master. Even on this occasion some of them proved how difficult it is to control a nomadic people against its will. Those branches which were in the neighborhood [167] of the town of Chimket /Chimkent?/ abandoned their arable fields and even their gardens and retreated toward the Chinese border (1).

1. See the memoirs of Nazarov, who was sent to Kokand in 1813 and 1814, p. 34.

The result of what we have said above is that the Great Horde does not form any whole. One part is obedient to China, another to the khan of Kokand, and a third is regarded as independent. Several thousand tents of the last group, which was camping on the site of Semrek [Semirechye] (the seven rivers) as well as near the Kuk-Su and Kara-Tal rivers and close to the Chinese border were recognized as Russian vassals in 1819, under the command of Siuk, son of Khan Ablai.

In addition some Kazaks of the Great Horde have left the steppes altogether to become settled in one spot within the Russian borders. This was how Sultan Churigei was received with 4,000 Kazak tents of both the Great and the Middle Hordes. He received a concession of lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk, by ukase of the Empress Catherine II of February 28, 1789.

[165] Likewise, in 1793, Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, petitioned to become a subject immediately, forever, with a hundred tents of his subjects who had actually crossed over the border into Siberia.

[165 cont.]

Chapter V. Historical Studies of the Kirghiz-Kazak Middle and Little Hordes from 1730 until our Times (1832).

x648 The events which have taken place among the Middle and Little Hordes since their union with Russia are so interrelated that it is impossible to separate them. For this reason we are combining into a single description the historical account we wish to give our readers concerning these two hordes from the year 1730 until our times.

At the end of Chapter III we said that the Kazaks who refused to submit to Russia at a time when the public interest would have forced them to do so later became subjects of Empress Anna for the personal advantage of a single individual.

x648 643 This individual was Khan Abulkhair, of whom we have already spoken. He was chief of a large part of the Little Horde, and his power extended over some tribes of the Middle Horde, and he had the well-being of his people in mind. But he thought [662] still more about means of consolidating his power and rising above his rivals and enemies, especially above Khan Kaip, who also ruled over a part of the Little Horde.

The situation of the Kazaks in 1730 favored Abulkhair's ambitions. His subjects were enervated by frequent losses of men and goods; hemmed in on all sides by their neighbors, who warred against them; and expected [166] new misfortunes at every moment; and they were ready then for any sacrifice. The Khan knew how to profit from their frame of mind, and he announced to them definitively that there was no way out except voluntary submission to Russia.

x648 662 At first this proposition was rejected, but Abulkhair no doubt knew how to point out, with such paternal solicitude and persistence, the misfortunes which menaced the Kazaks without the support of Russia; he depicted them so vividly and his arguments were so convincing that they were irresistible. When Abulkhair's adherents had compared the remote advantages they

x648 662 [166 cont.]
could derive from their liberty with the pressing need for immediate help, they decided to submit themselves to Empress Anna, perhaps with a firm resolve to return to their independence at the first opportunity. The number of those who took part in this resolution was not great (1), but the Khan could not lose time

1. Tevkelev said very clearly in his report to the Empress after he returned from being among the Kazaks (this will be discussed below) that Abulkhair was submitting himself to Russia without the consent of the people, with the exception of a small number of his trusted followers.

in increasing it and thus fail to profit from the first effects of his remonstrances. At once he chose several deputies from among those on whom he could count the most and sent them to Buturlin, voivode of Ufa, under the escort of Aldara, chief of the Bashkirs, with a written proposal acknowledging allegiance to Russia. These deputies arrived in Ufa in the month of July, 1730, and from there Buturlin sent them to St. Petersburg.

In his letter Abulkhair explained the reasons which had led him to submit himself. He spoke of the misfortunes and adversities which the Kazaks had had to endure from the Dzungars. He recalled the attacks of the Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks. He promised to maintain himself at his own expense, allowing Russia to hope for his aid in overthrowing her enemies, and in the meanwhile, he demanded troops [167] to help him overcome the people of Khiva, the Karakalpaks, and the Aral people, and finally he acknowledged himself and his horde to be subjects of the empire forever.

x648 This unexpected event, the reasons for which were not yet known, produced the greatest joy in Petersburg. It was that much more glorious for the empire that without the slightest bloodshed it acquired several hundreds of thousands of additional subjects. It promised peace and safety to the southeastern

[167 cont.]

x649 provinces, which had suffered from the ravages of the Kazaks for so long. Finally it prognosticated the most brilliant political hopes for the government. It was hoped that these hordes which had voluntarily submitted themselves would be willing to engage in weakening the Dzungars, whose ruler, Galdan Tsyren, a man who had inspired fear in Peter the Great himself, still lived.

[661] It was also hoped that the Kazaks could be used to bring to reason the enemies which Russia had within her, such as the Bashkirs, whose frequent revolts were alarming the government. It was also impossible to ignore Abulkhair's proposal to subject his neighbors, the Aral people and the Karakalpaks, to the Russian scepter, and particularly the people of Khiva, whose hands were still red with the blood of Prince Bekovich-Cherkaskii, shamefully assassinated during the reign of Peter the Great with all his unfortunate companions. Once she had punished this perfidious people, Russia could found a profitable trade with Central Asia on a solid basis, and even (as was generally hoped) with India.

The vast genius of Peter the Great had already seized upon most of these prospects, but he had neither the time nor sufficient means to accomplish his projects. He would have found them if death had not struck him at the moment when he had just terminated the war with Sweden and had begun to fix his attention upon the Asian border (1).

1. Rychkov, in Chapter I of his History of Orenburg, says: "This is why [168] His Majesty (Peter I), as is known, I believe, by many highly distinguished persons, had reflected several times about ways of insuring himself against the attacks of this changeable people (the Kazaks." Farther on he says: "Thus, after having ended the war with Sweden victoriously, he sought means of securing against the Kazaks the very places where, with God's help, the Orenburg line is now being raised, and of

[167 cont.]

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opening a thoroughfare to southern Asia along that way and of putting the capricious nation of Bashkirs in its place once and for all. And although His Majesty received with kindness several representations with regard to this enterprise, which was as great as it was necessary, especially from the hand of Prince Alexei Mikhailovich Cherkaskii, then governor of Siberia, who later became Grand Chancellor, death, which surprised His Majesty suddenly, did not permit him to carry out his projects." Rychkov wrote his history of Orenburg under the reign of Empress Anna (it was published in 1759), at a time when the events of the reign of Peter the Great were still fresh in everyone's memory. Thus he could not have attributed to the sovereign plans which he had invented, for the lie would have been disclosed instantly by eyewitnesses.

[168] Six full years had not yet passed after his death when the Kazaks evinced the desire to submit themselves to Russia. Those who had aided in his administration of the empire still lived, and they remembered his plans. Thus Abulkhair's envoys arrived in Petersburg at a very favorable moment. The court was charmed to see on the banks of the Neva the very men for whose submission it had sent troops to the Ural and the Irtysh rivers, and was ready to satisfy all their wishes.

Laden with favors, kindnesses, and gifts, Abulkhair's envoys returned to their master with a letter from the Empress, in which she accepted his submission and promised him the assistance and protection he had asked. In order to certify the truth of what had been asserted and to induce the new subjects to swear the oath, Murza Tevkelev, interpreter at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of whom we have already spoken and who will often appear later in this work, was sent with them. They were also accompanied by

[168 cont.]
[648] several gentlemen from Ufa, several faithful Bashkirs, and some Russian Cossacks. Also two geodetic officers were charged with making a map of the country occupied by the Kazaks.

[169] Tevkelev's arrival at the horde revealed all of Abulkhair's ambitious scheming. The officers charged with re-
[576] ceiving the oath from the new subjects not only were not received in conformity with their rank, but were in danger of death scarcely after they had arrived. The Kazaks were incensed at the very thought of losing their rude freedom and revolted spontaneously when they saw the Russians among them, wishing to sacrifice Tevkelev instantly to their anger. The Khan saved him but could not quiet the uprising. His more daring subjects even attacked him and asked him by what right he had opened relations with foreign powers without the consent of the people, promising his obedience as well as that of the hordes. One would naturally expect a violent opposition of this kind upon learning that Abulkhair had had difficulty in obtaining the consent of a small number of Kazaks to send his deputies into Russia. This bold trick could even have cost him his life, and if at that time he did not fall under the blows of his angered compatriots, he owed his salvation more to luck than to his power, for we shall soon see how limited it was.

Tevkelev himself, whose life was threatened by the Kazaks several times, owed his survival less to the protection of the Khan than to his profession of the Moslem faith, and above all to his eloquence, by means of which he disarmed those who had come to take his life several times. The story of these events is preserved in the archives.

[554] In his report of them in his History of Orenburg, Rychkov says that the power and captivation of Tevkelev's speech caused him to be regarded by the Kazaks as an extraordinary man. We will add that he owed his success partly to Batyr Taimas, a Bashkir elder who was then with him and who had made himself known among the Kazak hordes through his exploits and his valor.

Tevkelev's pains and troubles were not useless. No matter how strong the resistance of the people with whom he had [170] to deal was, too much effort finally tired them, and

[170 cont.]
×648 cleverness triumphed over force.

662 Vexed by the presence of the Russians and fearing their in-
+648 fluence, the Kazaks firmly resolved to rid themselves of these distasteful guests. For this reason they announced to Tevkelev that they were going to call a general assembly of the nation, at which they would definitively decide whether they would or would not swear the oath of allegiance to Russia, and that he himself should be present at the assembly without being accompanied by anyone. It was all but certain that they wished to assassinate him, and yet Tevkelev did not refuse this invitation and even knew how to turn it to his own advantage.

×648 He knew the greediness of the Kazaks, and he was guided
646 by the Khan and his partisans. He took care to secure himself
662 by gifts to certain of his principal and most dangerous enemies, and next he appeared at the assembly. Emboldened by the hope of having defenders and seeing himself placed in a position where he must perish or distinguish himself, he showed all the firmness, eloquence, and presence of mind of which he had given so many indications to the Kazaks and which had yielded him the greatest consideration on the part of the Moslems. Bukenbai, a Kazak elder who was as eminent as he was respected in the Middle and the Little Hordes, was the first to proclaim himself his protector. Tevkelev,together with this elder and with Khan Abulkhair, who presided in person over this assembly, spoke with such force and authority in favor of Russia that the party which was opposed to the Khan was won over by the arguments of his partisans. The result was that all the persons in attendance, starting with Abulkhair and Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, swore the oath of loyalty to Russia. All this took place in 1732. As he was far from the border, Tevkelev had not yet had time to inform the government of the success of his mission when violent disturbances took place in the Middle Horde.

×648 At first the Khan and the tribal chiefs envied the [171] power which Abulkhair was to gain by his alliance with the court of Petersburg, and they even feared him. But the common people, among whom there were fewer partisans of Russia than in the Little Horde, did not wish to give up their independence. They saw

[171 cont.]

648 only slavery and oppression in this submission, not the tranquility and peace which would be its fruit, and they forcibly opposed the Kazaks who were partisans of Russia.

648 This opposition was not enough for them, and they attacked
669 the Bashkirs living within Russia, but were driven back by force. Shortly afterward a second attack was prepared against the Bashkir settlements, and Khan Shemiaka, who had sworn loyalty to Russia, did not refuse to lead the campaign. However, this second attempt was just as unlucky for them as the first.

648 The unrest fomented by these displays of the partisans of liberty affected those Kazaks who had sworn the oath of loyalty. They became uncertain once more and began to disavow their oath, and Tevkelev's position again became very critical. At that time he began to dream of ways of returning to Russia, but they did not wish to allow him to leave. Yielding to circumstances and lucky to escape death, he had to be content with permission to send his suite back to Russia with reports on the state of matters entrusted to his charge. He himself remained with the horde under the protection of Abulkhair.

Thus it appeared that Tevkelev had been abandoned as a sacrifice to the semibarbarous Kazaks. The danger which menaced
[166] him seemed to become even more imminent when he was forced to accompany Abulkhair when he went to camp at the mouth of the Syr [Darya]. But this journey, on the contrary, was the source of the very successes for which the government had hoped and which its representative among the hordes had striven to obtain.

Abulkhair's move to the Syr took his subjects further away from [172] those who stood for independence and from his personal enemies, and it brought them closer to the peaceful Karakalpak nation, which had long been oppressed from all sides. As soon as they perceived the power of Russia, they sought her protection through Tevkelev, acknowledged themselves as subjects of the empire, and took the oath of loyalty immediately. Abulkhair was the man who took the most active part in this event, for two reasons: first, to make his power and services more glorious in the eyes of Russia; and second, in order to use this example in

[172 cont.]

*LAS order to make a strong impression on the minds of the Kazaks and to incline them more easily to similar submission. Actually, his subjects became much more peaceful after this and finally decided to acknowledge themselves the subjects of Empress Anna. Finding no more adversaries, the Khan and Tevkelev once more took the road to the Russian border, the latter in order to return to Petersburg and bear the good news of the successes of his mission, and Abulkhair with the intention of sending his son to court to present his submission and those of his people to the Empress in person and at the same time to reveal various plans which will be discussed later.

When he had reached the Russian border in December, 1732, Abulkhair sent to Petersburg with Tevkelev an embassy composed, first of all, of his son Erali, then sultan, who later achieved the rank of khan, and second, Sultan Niaz, his close kinsman. Third, there were several Kazak elders, and fourth, out of vanity he added Aralbai and Arasgeldi-Batyr, elders of the Great Horde, of whom we spoke in Chapter IV. They all arrived in Ufa with Tevkelev in January, 1733. Tevkelev left them there and hastened to present himself alone in Petersburg, as much to report what had happened to him as to obtain permission to present the Kazak embassy to the court. His unexpected arrival caused the ministry of Empress Anna as much astonishment as [173] it did pleasure. They had believed him to be either dead or enslaved. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had even sent money to Ufa to ransom him. This was within an ace of putting an end to all the political plans which had been created by Abulkhair's proposals. But suddenly Tevkelev arrived in Petersburg with an air of triumph, made his report concerning the successes he had won, the arrival in Ufa of the Kazak embassy, and finally, the oath of the Karakalpaks, which he had recently received.

At the same time Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, sent deputies to Ufa to express his regret at the hostilities undertaken after the swearing of the oath and to offer to submit himself to Russia again.

This pleasant news revived all the old hopes. Tevkelev,

[173 cont.]

148 after having been received at court with all the consideration he deserved, was sent back to Ufa to conduct Sultan Erali with all his suite to Petersburg.

These journeys and negotiations filled the entire year of 1733, and the Kazak embassy did not arrive in Petersburg until the month of January, 1734.

In February Sultans Erali and Niaz, the elders who accompanied them, as well as the supposed representatives of the Great Horde sent by Abulkhair, were formally presented to the Empress. On this occasion Erali delivered a short speech in which he announced the submission of his father and of the entire Kazak nation and requested that they be received under the protection of and in dependence upon Russia.

The Empress listened to this address most graciously and commanded that rich gifts be presented to each member of the embassy. And she saw to it that they were provided with every comfort and every pleasure imaginable, at the expense of the Crown, during their sojourn in Petersburg.

Their return could not take place until [174] all Abulkhair's demands had been examined soberly, until they had been brought into accord with the interests of the empire, and until the principles had been finally resolved which should be the basis of the conduct of the Russian government toward the Kazaks. Time was needed for the resolution of all these matters. In the meantime, so as not to leave Abulkhair in uncertainty about his son's fate and the proposals he had made, on April 20 a letter patent was sent to him through two Kazaks attached to the embassy, in which first of all gratitude was expressed to him for the trouble he had taken to lead the Great and the Middle Hordes to become vassals of Russia, and at the same time he was charged to strengthen them in their obedience (1). Secondly, it was an-

1. We should call attention here to the fact that Sultan Erali had no deputy from the Middle Horde with him.

nounced to him that his son, as well as his suite, had been most

[174 cont.]

×648 graciously received by the Empress and would return home soon. Thirdly, he was told that the reports given by Tevkelev had made known Abulkhair's ambitions, and he was directed to keep on good terms with the hordes and with the Karakalpaks.

Abulkhair, who had been wearing himself out at the long wait, having been soothed for a time, the examination of his promises and proposals continued, in order to make them agree with the good of the empire. He was put under obligation verbally and in writing: first, to enforce the safety of the Russian borders [651] contiguous to his horde; second, to defend the merchant caravans and to escort them across the Kazak steppes; third, to furnish in case of need, like the Kalmuks and the Bashkirs, troops levied from among his subjects; fourth, to pay a tribute, or iasak, in animal hides.

He could not carry out a single one of these promises, for, like all the other khans who succeeded him, he did not have enough authority over his subjects. Several experiences soon proved how impossible it was for him to fulfill the first and [175] second promises. At first there was no reason for reminding him of the third, but in time it was proven that it was as risky as the others. The government at first believed it should decline the fourth, and later it was not even brought up, the matter being regarded as impossible.

In exchange for these promises, which were so pompous, Abulkhair, through his son and Tevkelev, asked two things above all: "the confirmation of the office of khan in his family forever, and the building of a city and a fort at the confluence of the [712] Ori and the Ural rivers, which could serve him as asylum in case of danger."

The Khan's requests and the attention of the government, and the State Councilor Kirilov was charged with satisfying them. He was a man who had distinguished himself by his geographical knowledge, a mapmaker whose collection of detailed information on upper Asia had aroused admiration as widespread as it was deserved. In addition he had kept all the treatises of Peter I regarding his views and plans concerning the Asiatic principalities contiguous to Russia. These facts decided him to draw up and

[175 cont.]

*649 present to the cabinet of the Empress two plans concerning the Kazaks and their neighbors, one on the means of maintaining their obedience and governing them, and the other on the need for building the city and fort asked by Abulkhair to attain the first end, and finally, one on the political and financial advantages to be gained from the possession of the Kazak steppes. His views were so well founded and promised such advantages that the Minister and the Empress herself could not help but approve them.

His views having been accepted as their rule of conduct, it was decided to entrust Kirilov himself to carry out all the government projects with regard to the new subjects, and they presented him with all the powers and means necessary to their success. Several engineers were sent with him to build the forts, several geodetic specialists to draw maps, and three naval officers with builders and [176] sailors to build and man some sailing vessels. [54] At Moscow he was joined by mine workers, artillery officers, a historian, a botanist, an apothecary, a painter, a physician, students of the Slavic-Latin school, and several other employees of different classes charged with various functions (1). At

1. At this time Kirilov demanded and was granted permission to be sent several young officers from the Cadet Corps, so that they might study under his supervision the languages as well as the customs of Asia, and thus become capable of later occupying positions in these lands. This idea, which is worthy of imitation, does the greatest honor to Kirilov's foresight.

Kazan he took command of an entire regiment and adequate artillery. At Ufa he was joined by an infantry battalion, a suitable number of Cossacks, and several other detachments of troops, regulars and irregulars. Kirilov was given free disposition of part of the revenues of Ufa to pay the expenses of the expedition. In addition he was given as aide and interpreter for his communications with the Kazaks, Murza Tevkelev, of whom we have already

[176 cont.]

[648] spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[311] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [342] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[439] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[177 cont.]

X 648 [439] with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

[654] 11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

[504 501] 13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted [716] to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

[705] 14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

[654] 15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

[662] 3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[178 cont.]

x 648 called the Dvoedantsy /"payers of double taxes"/. If any movement was noticed on their part, to report it immediately to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inform the border commanders of it;

[705] 6. Not to give Abulkhair any help other than powder and arms in the war against the people of Khiva and to give him no auxiliary troops.

We have made it our duty to transcribe here in full the letters patent entrusted to Kirilov for the Middle and the Little Hordes. The first was given to Abulkhair after Kirilov arrived in the area in question. The second [179] could not be delivered because of the death of Khan Shemiaka, to whom it was addressed. Both are presented below.

"We, by the grace of God, Anna, Empress and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., etc.

"To Abulkhair, khan and elder of the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, and to all the Kirghiz-Kazak army, greetings from Our Imperial Majesty.

"It is our hope that the Kirghiz elders, Tatlymbet-Batyr and Baibek-Telengut, who were here with your son Erali and whom we sent, in the company of three Bashkirs, with a gracious letter patent, have already arrived in your presence. This letter patent apprises you, Abulkhair Khan, of our imperial favor toward you and of the fact that your son has been well provided for in our vicinity. And today, we, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, by particular benevolence to you, Abulkhair Khan, our subject, and toward the elders and toward the entire nation of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, have most graciously acceded to your prayer, Abulkhair Khan, and have deigned to send from here our State Councilor Ivan Kirilov and our Colonel Murza Mahmet Tevkelev, and have commanded that a city be built at the mouth of the Ori, and that it be provided with men, artillery, mortars,
[712] cannon, and other munitions of war, to protect you and to defend you, our subject, Abulkhair Khan, more easily and quickly, and the elders and all the army, as well as the other khans and elders of the Kirghiz-Kazak and Karakalpak hordes who have submitted

[179 cont.]

x248 themselves to us, as well as all the army and the mission, against your enemies and our own. And to this end power has been given on the part of Our Imperial Majesty to State Councilor Kirilov and to Colonel Tevkelev; and with them your son Erali Sultan and your brother Niaz Sultan are being sent back to you, and with them the elders and their suite with the rewards of Our Imperial Majesty presented upon their departure, that their journey might be made pleasurable. And you, Abulkhair, khan of the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, as well as the elders, the army, and all the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, knowing the favor of Our Imperial Majesty toward you, are bound to render us important services, namely, on the first occasion, during the building of the city, as well as always, you must protect it from all unforeseen attack from enemies and give timely warning to our State Councilor Kirilov and Colonel Tevkelev and our armies, according to the circumstances, of every kind of hurtful and injurious machination, and confirm our said subjects, the khans, elders, and the army in this, and in everything you must act according to the oath of obedience which you, Abulkhair Khan, and the elders and the army did swear. In addition the said Kirilov and Tevkelev have [180] more extensive ukase from us to communicate to you, and they will assure you by word of mouth of the favor of Our Imperial Majesty. See them often, Abulkhair Khan, for this reason, and believe what they will tell you concerning the matters which are to take place, and carry them out accordingly.

"Given at St. Petersburg, June 10, 1734."

On the original letter patent is the seal of Her Imperial Majesty.

" We, by the grace of God, Anna, empress and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., etc.

"To our subject, Shemiaka Khan, to the elders and to the entire Kirghiz-Kazak army of the Middle Horde, greetings from Our Imperial Majesty.

"It is known to us, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, how you, Shemiaka, in 1731 as well as during the sojourn of our envoy Murza Tevkelev with the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, did enter

[180 cont.]

x/648 into obedience to us and swear loyalty; and later, violating this oath, the Kazaks of your horde desired to attack our Bashkir subjects and do damage to them, and subsequently you yourself, Shemiaka, came to attack these same Bashkirs with your Kazaks. It is known to us how in the first attack as well as in the second you were vanquished by the said Bashkirs, our subjects; and in this second attack, without having come to extremities, you joined the Bashkirs and were reconciled; and you, Shemiaka, and the elders and all the army, once again as before did swear allegiance to us, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, and did send deputies to Ufa expressly with a most humble prayer that you might be received among our subjects. These deputies were returned to you. And since today, by the most gracious wish of Our Imperial Majesty, our State Councilor Ivan Kirilov and Colonel Murza Tevkelev mentioned above, have been sent to erect a city at the mouth of the Ori River, and they have been given every power to announce our consent to the Khan and the elders of the Kirghiz-Kazak horde and to the entire army, and to assure our faithful subjects of our good graces, and to receive the oath of those who wish to be dependent upon us. To this end, we, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, in accordance with our power as autocrat and above all in accordance with our compassion for the Kirghiz-Kazak people, do most graciously grant pardon to you, Khan Shemiaka, to the elders, and the entire Kazak army of the Middle Horde, for the violation of your first oath, if it is your intention to wish to place yourself under our domination and to remain there. And you, Khan Shemiaka, and all the Kazak army of the Middle [181] Horde may know what you are to do and how it is proper to conduct yourselves by our ukase, concerning which the State Councilor Ivan Kirilov and Colonel Tevkelev are to make declaration to you.

"Given at Saint Petersburg, June 10, 1734."

The original of this letter patent was likewise invested with the seal of the Empress.

Armed with these letters and accompanied by Sultan Erali and his suite and Tevkelev, Kirilov paid his respects to the Empress

[181 cont.]
248 and left Petersburg on June 15, 1734.

The extent of the means afforded Kirilov, the indulgence and generosity with which the government gratified all his demands, the authority with which he was invested, the privileges granted to the city of Orenburg, which was planned to be built, and the zeal with which relations were opened with the new subjects at once, show the degree of importance attached by the cabinet in St. Petersburg to the submission of the Kazaks and the number of advantages it expected from this. Unfortunately most of the plans made on this basis were not realized, first because of the revolt of the Bashkirs, and then because of the premature death of Kirilov.

The new mission with which he had been charged during his trip from Petersburg to Ufa had the same fate. At this time troubles broke out among the Volga Kalmuks, and Kirilov was ordered to prepare the Kazaks to punish them if they did not resume their duties soon (1).

1. See the ukase of August 26, 1734 under the name of Kirilov at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Instead of busying himself with all these political matters with the Kazaks, when Kirilov arrived at the border he had to
[69] devote his full attention to pacifying the revolt of the Bashkirs.

This people presented obstacles to the realization of all the new plans. From the time of their submission to Russia, the limits of the lands they occupied had not been fixed, and they had had complete liberty to extend their camping grounds on all sides and complete ease not only in crossing the Yaik /Ural/ River freely and [182] attacking the Kazaks, but also in using the first favorable opportunity to rise against Russia herself.

With the erection of cities on the Yaik and the setting of the border on this river, which left the Bashkirs surrounded by Russian colonies and Russian troops, they felt their danger. In order to impede the execution of these measures, they formed a plan to oppose Kirilov's passage to the mouth of the Ori, where he had been ordered to lay the foundations of the new city and fortress.

[182 cont.]

[648] This attempt was fruitless, however. Although some detachments did suffer from their attacks, Kirilov himself reached his goal, and on August 15, 1735, he laid the foundations of the new city on what is now the site of the fortress of Orsk.

As soon as the fortifications began to rise, and troops and artillery had been introduced, Sultan Niaz, kinsman of Abulkhair Khan, was sent to the horde with several elders to announce to the Khan that his request had been fulfilled, in other words, that Orenburg had been built on the site which he had chosen, and also to invite him to present himself with all the chiefs of the hordes in the spring of 1736 in the new city to confer with Kirilov. At this same time the merchants of Tashkent who had come into [439] Russia with goods were sent back. In order to induce them to come and trade in the new city, various assistance was given them and many gifts, and they were informed of the privileges accorded to Orenburg.

[649] Moreover the revolt of the Bashkirs far from being put down grew more and more violent, and constant attacks were made on the supplies of our armies. Count Rumiantsev, commander in chief of the armies and father of the famous Zadunaiskii (1),

1. This means "beyond the Danube" and was a nickname given the famous Rumiantsev after his Turkish campaign. Note of [French] translator.

was appointed to force them to submission. Meanwhile Kirilov, who was constantly occupied with him about Bashkir matters, had no time to make closer contacts with the Kazaks.

[183] These facts indicated to him that another fortified line from this river to Samara, independent of the line of fortresses on the Yaik, was indispensable in order to guarantee the safety of Russia's relations with her Yaik colonies. As soon as he saw a chance, Kirilov endeavored to establish both the one and the other. From his reports to the imperial cabinet (1)

1. See the report of October 27, 1736.

[183 cont.]
[648] we know that in 1736, in addition to the fortress of Orenburg, he had founded the forts of Guberlinsk and Ozernaya on the Yaik, which still exist today, and three fortified ports, Sredny, Berdskoy, and Krylov. We do not speak here of the forts erected on the Samara River and in the interior of the country of the Bashkirs since they have no connection with our subject.

The arrival of Russian troops at the Ural River could not help but influence the peace of the Kazak hordes, even if only momentarily. But this did not prevent them from harassing Russian subjects in the west.

Although Kirilov had not succeeded in seeing the Kazak princes and consequently could not carry out the order he had received to prepare their hordes to attack the Volga Kalmuks who were revolting, the Kazaks had no need of being urged to an act toward which they were naturally inclined.

x648 726 Scarcely had they heard of the disturbances on the Volga, when they hastened off to pillage the Kalmuks (2). The successful

2. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of February 9, 1737, under the name of Kirilov, and the copies of reports of Prince Repnin and Beklemishev which are appended to it.

outcome of this campaign and the seizure of many prisoners and some livestock in 1736 was not enough to satisfy the greed of the Kazaks, and they repeated their attacks in 1737, returning home with considerable booty.

x648 Kirilov was charged (3) with making Abulkhair realize how

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 8, 1737.

much the ravages which his subjects were inflicting upon those of the empire [184] were contrary to the views of the government, and ordered to take measures to prevent them from committing similar acts in the future. This admonishment did not achieve

[184 cont.]
*648 its aim, for Kirilov, who had spent the winter of 1736 to 1737 drawing up plans, which he had firmly resolved to carry out in the spring, for the regulation of Kazak matters, died in the month of April of the same year.

It is especially unfortunate that he did not have time to carry out two acts: first, to meet with the Khan and tribal chiefs who were soon to arrive in Orenburg at his invitation, and second, to send to Tashkent a caravan which had been lead by Tashkent [439] merchants who had come to Kazan by way of Orenburg in 1736. Elton, a naval officer in the British service, was to accompany this caravan as a merchant (1), in order to gather information on

1. This same Elton later went into the service of Shah Nadir and was the cause of diplomatic explanations between the Russian and English ministers.

the principality of Tashkent, and especially to explore the Aral Sea, on which it was being proposed to establish a flotilla, as was said earlier. Elton's order had already been written, as was found among Kirilov's papers after his death; but it remained without consequence, as did the plan to erect a city at the mouth of the Syr /Darya/, on the Aral Sea, which it was planned at first to populate with criminals who had been condemned to exile (2).

2. There was an ukase on this subject of February 11, 1736.

The importance of the matters entrusted to Kirilov and their anticipated results required that a man be chosen to replace him who was both intelligent and energetic, and this was the case. Tatishchev, famous for his history of Russia, was appointed as chief of the Kirghiz [-Kazak] expedition, or, as they said then, the Orenburg expedition. This appointment was made known at once to the Kazak Middle and Little Hordes by two letters patent in the name of the Empress. One was immediately delivered to Abulkhair, but the other, addressed to the deceased Khan [185] Shemiaka,

[185 cont.]

X648 was never sent and still remains today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg (1).

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of December 30, 1737.

X648 669 The Bashkir revolt had still not been put down. Abulkhair was afraid to take any part in this revolt, and he himself suggested to Tatishchev that he help to subdue the rebels. The higher authority was informed of this proposal and gave permission for it to be accepted (2), authorizing the Khan to enter the land of the

2. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 22, 1738.

Bashkirs, provided however that in acting against the rebels he would leave in peace those who remained loyal and would defend their persons and properties if necessary. In defiance of this order, X648 726 Abulkhair pillaged the lands of the Bashkirs for two consecutive months without distinguishing between rebels and loyal subjects, and the results proved that he had no other end in proposing his [662] services but to gorge himself and his Kazaks on booty. It is even asserted that he intended to make his son khan of the Bashkirs, X648 726 727 and when he entered the lands of this people, he announced himself their protector and defender before the Russian government, but when he saw that his deceit was a failure he began the pillage. As a consequence it was commanded that he be made to depart from the lands of the Bashkirs as soon as possible. Tatishchev carried out this order with gentle means and without wrangling.

The son of Abulkhair Khan, Erali, remained in Orenburg as hostage, however.

While Abulkhair was carrying out his ravages against the Bashkirs, part of his horde, which was camping at the mouth of the Ural, renewed its attacks against the Kalmuks and took many Russians prisoners during one of the raids (3). Fearing the just

3. See the reports sent from Astrakhan,

x648 [185 cont.]
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727

and the ukase of February 6, 1738 addressed to Tatishchev, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

punishment for their misdeeds, Abulkhair and his partisans were terrified to hear that Tatishchev was approaching from Orenburg with troops in the month of July, 1738. They believed that this army, which according to [186] rumor had been joined by several thousand Kalmuks, was coming to punish them, whereas Tatishchev, who was being escorted by the army, had no other purpose but to open meetings with the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans.

x648 Wishing to assure themselves of his intentions, they sent Batyr Bukenbai, of whom we have already spoken and who was universally respected, to meet Tatishchev. The ostensible reason for his mission was to discover at what time Abulkhair should come to Orenburg and the number of sultans who should accompany him. The true reason was to reconnoiter the strength of the army and to find out if there were Kalmuks.

[728] In spite of the fact that Bukenbai had calmed his compatriots on this subject, Abulkhair, who was conscious of his crimes, took a long time to decide to go to Orenburg. He finally arrived, and halted with his entire suite below the walls of the fortress, but he was afraid to surrender himself before Tatishchev, making the excuse that it was not befitting the person of a sovereign to make the first visit to a general. He held to this idea primarily because of the arguments of the elders who accompanied him. However Tevkelev, as his coreligionist and an old acquaintance, reassured him and made him decide to renounce his proud claim. The assurance that he was surrendering himself to the imperial camp and not to the State Councilor Tatishchev made him reduce his pretentions and go to Orenburg, which was then no more than an armed camp.

The interview was scheduled for the month of August, 1738.

In order to give it greater pomp, and thus to strike the fancy of the Asiatics, who love pageantry in all things, a major

[186 cont.]

×643 was sent before the Khan with a company of dragoons, two platoons of grenadiers, a military band, and twelve stud horses. This detachment met Abulkhair on the road and escorted him to Orenburg. The other troops in the city were armed and lined the route, and when the Khan passed by the artillery, they saluted him with nine rounds of cannon. When he dismounted from his horse near [187] Tatishchev's tent, Abulkhair was met by a lieutenant, outside the door of the tent by a major, and inside the door by a colonel. The portrait of the Empress was placed at the far end of the tent. The Khan was awaited in the middle of the room by the commander, surrounded by senior officers and subalterns. As he approached him, Abulkhair made an address in his language of which this is the translation:

"Her Majesty, the Empress of Russia, surpasses all other sovereigns just as the sun in the skies eclipses all the other stars. Although distance prevents me from seeing her, nevertheless I am sensible of her grace in the depths of my heart. You, lord and illustrious chief, I consider as the moon, illumined by the light of Her Majesty. For this reason I declare to you my submission to her and my loyalty as her faithful subject. I congratulate you upon the victories won over the enemy and wish you future success. I place myself, my family, and my hordes under the defense and protection of Her Majesty, as under the wing of a powerful eagle, and on my part I promise eternal submission. To you, lord general and my friend, I present my compliments upon your arrival here. I commit myself and my close kin to your friendship, and I hereby assure you of a friendship which is reciprocated on my part (1)."

1. This address was not written down at all but delivered orally, and was later put in the account of the first visit of the Khan. For this reason we have permitted ourselves to correct the mistakes of the translation without changing the meaning. Rychkov placed it in his history of Orenburg, likewise making certain corrections in the translation.

[187 cont.]

X648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it [793 again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was [778 ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was 641] brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's [431] presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [554] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev 439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned 579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[191 cont.]

Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter, Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

[192 cont.]
648 641 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this [439 meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should 728] escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to [721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] [662 and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. 152] But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

*648 [193 cont.]
of 1741 gave reason to doubt the sincerity of their demonstrations and promises. We said above that Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir [167] rebels, had retreated to the Kazak hordes. It is not known which khan or sultan took him under protection, but it is recognized that having announced himself to be the brother of Galdan Tsyren, the general of the Dzungars, he went out and laid waste the settle- [726] ments of the latter people at the head of a large number of armed Kazaks. Galdan had been warned of this attack and sent to punish these brigands an army of 15,000 men, who pursued them [127] almost to Orenburg across the Kazak steppe and devastated the auls in their path, killing or taking away men and livestock. The subjects of Abul Mahmet and Ablai suffered most from this situation, which causes one to suppose that they had supported Karasakal and aided him, and that this had brought down all these misfortunes upon them. The swift advance of the Dzungars was stopped by the commander of Orenburg, who saw them approaching the border and sent word to them that they were violating the peace which existed between Russia and Galdan Tsyren. The head of the Dzungarian army withdrew at once, after declaring that neither he nor his master had been informed of the submission of the Kazaks to Russia, and that these peoples had made all their neighbors lose patience with them because of their constant brigandage. They were told that in future they should address their [194] complaints about the Middle and the Little Hordes to the Russian government and not take justice into their own hands. It can be imagined that neither Galdan nor his general could understand the justice of this diplomatic solution, and that they continued to act toward the new Russian subjects as they had during their independence.

This event made Abul Mahmet request the Russian government to erect a fortified city in the midst of the grazing lands of the Middle Horde. He knew that a similar promise had been made to Abulkhair, and he considered himself worthy of being treated on the same footing.

[726] Although the Kazaks had been given a strong lesson by the Dzungars, a still more terrible storm menaced them from the

x648 [194 cont.]
[726] southwest. Shah Nadyr, the terror of Asia, was nearing Khiva, and once he had conquered it he could easily attack the Kazak hordes. The cabinet in St. Petersburg had already taken measures to fortify the new border along the Ural as much as possible. But this precaution was useless, for Nadyr passed around the Kazak steppes without paying any attention to it. He could not help but know that the conquest of a nomadic people is difficult in general, and that the booty which can be gained from it is practically nothing. Thus it is not surprising that he left the Kazaks in peace.

Abulkhair had seized Khiva in 1741 and was there when the Persian armies entered this country. At that time with him was Muravin, a geodetic officer who, as we said above, had been ordered in 1740 to explore the site on the Syr /Darya/ where Abulkhair had requested that a city be built. Relying upon this officer more than upon his sultans, Abulkhair sent him as his representative to meet the Shah to pay him his respects and to beg the latter to allow him to remain khan of Khiva. Nadyr received Muravin most graciously, gave him gifts in silver and clothing, and sent him back, directing him to tell Abulkhair to present himself in the Persian camp, where he would be received and rewarded as a subject of the [195] Empress of Russia, with whom the Shah wished to maintain peace and good terms (1).

[727]

1. As proof of his sincerity we cite the following fact: Zhanaiev, a Russian Tatar, brought to Samara ten Russian slaves who had been prisoners in Khiva. Nadyr freed them and gave each one 50 rubles and a horse to return home.

x648 Whether from fear, or from lack of faith in Nadyr's words,
726 or because of a conspiracy plotted by the Khivans, Abulkhair refused to appear before the Persian conqueror and withdrew within his horde. After his departure the Khivans decided to resist the Persian army and shut themselves up in the city. Nadyr took it by assault in three days (2) and gave the people of Khiva one of

2. See in the archives of the Orenburg

*649 [195 cont.]
[726]

Border Commission the reports of the Tatar Zhanaiev, already mentioned, who himself was in Khiva during the siege.

[669] his generals as khan. But this new prince had few troops at his disposal, and the Khivans were not slow in getting rid of him.

Nurali, son of Abulkhair, was chosen to replace this chief, who had done nothing more than appear, but his reign was no longer than that of his predecessor. When he learned that Nadyr was angered at the revolt of the Khivans and was preparing an army to punish them, he hastened to leave Khiva and to rejoin his father within the pasture lands of the Kazak Little Horde.

[726] He had not yet found security, however. Galdan Tsyren had grown impatient with the raids the Kazaks made while he had been engaged in war with China, and having finished his most important affairs, he again sent two bodies of troops, one of which attacked the Little Horde and the other the Middle Horde. Abulkhair appealed at once to the Russian government, requesting help. In order to respond to the Khan's wishes, the Imperial Cabinet gave orders that in case of danger he should be allowed to enter the fortress of Orenburg with his family and servants.

This permission was a kindness to Abulkhair, but it did not protect him from the attacks which the Dzungars might make later. Since he lived most of the time in the midst of the steppes or near the Syr /Darya/, [196] it was not always easy for him to seek refuge in Orenburg, which was too far away; the Dzungars could always cut him off from it by occupying the northern part of the Kazak steppes. In the west the Dzungars would have been aided by the Kalmuks, who belonged to the same race. It was still more dangerous for Abul Mahmet and Ablai. In many localities their subjects were the closest neighbors of the Dzungars and often themselves lived as nomads closer to the lands of the latter than to Orenburg.

When the danger was proven by the abduction of Ablai, the

[196 cont.]
x648 Dzungarian sultan (1) made the Kazak leaders see that they were

1. See the orders given in 1742 to Major Miller who was then sent from Orenburg to Galdan Tsyren, having been charged to work for the freeing of Ablai.

obliged to have recourse to the mercy of Galdan in spite of their dependence on Russia. Abul Mahmet sent him an embassy to pay him his respects, and finally he gave him his own son as
x649 hostage (2). Abulkhair, who was cleverer than Abul Mahmet

2. See the reports of Prince Irakov, who was with the Middle Horde in 1742, in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

and who lived closer to the Russian border, had, on the one hand, less to fear from the Dzungars and, on the other, greater need for the protection of the Russian Empress. Consequently he decided to employ the most subtle deceit in this case. Through his agents he made it known to Galdan's army that he was ready to obey him and that he would send assurances of his submission if it was so desired.

Galdan received this message and, regarding Abulkhair, no doubt, as the most powerful of the Kazak princes, sent his own officers himself to make certain of his submission and to receive the hostages which had been promised. The arrival of these deputies did not cause the Khan, who was as wily as he was full of resources, to lose his natural presence of mind. He did not wish to carry out the request of the Dzungars, and as a Russian subject he was afraid to do so. Therefore he resolved to lead them to Orenburg, where he was [197] preparing to go on the invitation of Nepluev, who was the new commandant there. He had two reasons for such an action. First of all, he could prove his trust in, and absolute obedience to, the Russian government

[197 cont.]
x648 in this way, and second, he could make his excuses to Galdan
662 for not having sent him hostages, for he was certain that the border commander would not permit this.

This was exactly what happened. Abulkhair had scarcely arrived in Orenburg when Nepluev announced to the Dzungarian envoys that since the khan of the Little Horde was a subject of Russia he had no right to negotiate with foreign princes or to give them hostages. The same was stated for the Middle Horde and Khan Abul Mahmet. The Dzungars replied that the Kazaks were
[728 constantly making raids in their territories; that it was impossible
651] to have any peace without taking hostages from them; and that besides they themselves had offered to satisfy this demand just as the Great Horde, which having become their vassal, not only gave hostages but also paid a tribute, and because of this there was perfect peace. The Dzungars were told once more that Russian subjects could neither make nor carry out such promises without the consent of their government. Nepluev himself assumed the burden of preventing any more Kazak raids into Dzungarian territory. It was then suggested to the deputies that they return home, but they answered that although they were thoroughly satisfied with their reception by Nepluev, his words were still not enough; for knowing the Kazaks intimately, who had deceived the Russians and the Dzungars alike with their promises of submission, they could expect nothing but pillage and robbery in the future, and that therefore they dared not return home without hostages. Finally, they said openly that they had been sent by their kungtaidji to Khan Abulkhair and not to the Russian government.

x648 Nepluev and the Khan had considerable trouble in persuading them to leave with the promises they had been given, but they finally departed from Orenburg to go directly to their [198] country. Major Müller, who had been in command of the first Russian caravan which was pillaged by the Great Horde, was sent with these deputies, in order to persuade Galdan Tsyren more firmly that the Kazak hordes were vassals of Russia, and to deliver a letter to him from Nepluev.

[198 cont.]

x648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[128] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg. But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

[199 cont.]
*[618] of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent
[662] him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

[644 431] Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were ~~overwhelmed with~~ favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

[576] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

[200 cont.]

x248 662 No matter how insincere the Kazaks' protestations of obedience were and how vain their promises to return the prisoners, protect the caravans, etc., at least from the moment they had declared themselves vassals until the year 1743, neither they nor their subjects had dared to make raids openly on the Russian borders or against their fortresses. But in the course of this year, they gave evidence of extraordinary daring, secretly incited by the same Abulkhair, who never ceased to assure the Russian government of his good faith and of his carrying out of all the duties of a faithful subject. Having been met with a formal refusal to accept his illegitimate son Chingis in place of his son Khodja Akhmet, he was [152] so angry that he began to incite the Kazaks to attack the border villages. One can imagine that his subjects were not slow to profit by counsel which was both advantageous to them and in accord [579] with their customs. At once pillaging, murder, and the carrying off of men and beasts began. Groups made up of from 1,000 to 2,000 bandits threw themselves upon sparsely settled villages, which had only just been founded, and carried away across the Ural River everything which could not escape them or which they could not destroy. Even the fortresses and fortified posts were exposed to their attacks. In one day, [201] 82 men were carried off from the small town of Iletsk. We will not enumerate the other robberies and violences which were committed (1), but limit

1. See the reports of Nepluev to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ourselves only to saying that the leader of these furious bands was Derbeshali, a sultan and kinsman of Abulkhair, and that his aim was to go to the fortress of Sarachinsk where Khodja Akhmet was and carry him off, after he grew tired of brigandage. Russian troops prevented him from carrying this plan out, but being busy building forts, they could not stop the other raids. Part of their horses were worn out by labor and part ran away into the country, and this made them a prey to plunderers.

[201 cont.]

×248 622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [61] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[724] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

[202 cont.]
×648 their attacks on the borders while he, fearing to come near the
[726] Ural River, found a way in the heart of his deserts to avenge himself upon the Russians who had retained his son. First he robbed a caravan going from Astrakhan to Khiva, which had the misfortune to pass through his lands. Later he stopped the journey of Lieutenant Gladyshev, who was going from Orenburg to the Karakalpaks. Nor was he satisfied with robbing the Karakalpak envoys who had come from St. Petersburg and were accompanying Gladyshev, but he even seized the imperial letter which was entrusted to them (1).

[739]

1. It is worthy of note that in his journal Gladyshev speaks of having found an English merchant named Djake [Jack?] with the Little Horde in 1742, and that he bought various articles from him in order to present them to the Karakalpaks as gifts.

×648 This conduct strengthened the Russian government in their
721 intent to punish the Kazaks through the Volga Kalmuks, inasmuch as the quarrels of these two peoples and their raids upon each other had become more intense at this time. Consequently, on April 24, 1744, Dunduk Dash, deputy of the Kalmuk khanate was presented with a letter patent commanding him to collect as many armed Kalmuks as possible, who would receive powder and shot at Astrakhan, would march against the Kazaks, and would act under the orders of the governor of Orenburg, Nepluev. By way of recompense, the Kalmuks were promised all the plunder they could take from the Kazaks, except for elders and their children. This letter, out of precaution as much as through confidence in [203] Nepluev, was sent to him directly instead of to the horde, so that he could use it if it were indispensable. It is not known what he thought of such a decisive measure, but this letter remained at Orenburg, and the original is still preserved in the archives of the Border Commission.

[203 cont.]

*648 The order given in this letter was not carried out. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave orders that the Kalmuks as well as the Kazaks were to be prevented from crossing the Ural to attack each other.

[726] It must be supposed that the government changed its mind because of the troubles which broke out at that time on the Siberian frontier. The Dzungarian kungtaidji suddenly advanced with his troops toward the Russian border, and his subjects began to threaten the garrisons with war, while the rumor spread that he wished to attack the establishments of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, where he was attracted by the mines of precious metals.

At this time the Dzungars were still formidable, and an attack by them could not be compared to the raids of the Kazaks. Therefore it was indispensable to prepare adequate forces against them. As a result the insolence of the Kazaks was forgotten, and Nepluev received an order (1) to persuade them to

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 3, 1744.

make raids against the Dzungars.

It was a difficult task to carry out. Khan Abulkhair still [186] held resentment against Russia in spite of the indulgence granted for his crimes. Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, retreated toward Turkestan in order to avoid Abulkhair's intrigues, and thus practically put an end to his relations with the border authorities. Besides he had less need for the help of Russia than the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, who held his son as hostage. [662] Finally, Abul Mahmet sought to be khan at Turkestan, and this city recognized the authority of Galdan Tsyren.

[664] [204] Sultan Barak, who had sworn allegiance to Russia two years earlier, lived far from her border, and fearing the Dzungars more than the Russians, he, like Abul Mahmet, had given his son to Galdan Tsyren as hostage.

[662] The latter sought to attach the sultans and the common people of the Middle Horde to himself by every means. To attain

[204 cont.]
x 248 this he used threats and favors by turns, and finally he bought
[162] various Russian articles at his own expense which he had sold to the horde, not only without profit but even at a loss.

[186] Although the circumstances were so opposed to the views of the Russian government, yet the hereditary and inveterate hate of the Kazaks for the Dzungars still had enough power to keep them from being entirely indifferent to the hints of the Russians. They preferred to leave their border in peace rather than neglect the opportunity to attack their perpetual enemies, who at this time threatened to reduce them to complete subservience. In spite of their submission to Galdan Tsyren, the khans and sultans feared his domination more than that of the Russians. However, they took part with the people in the preparations for hostilities which were being made. The tribes of the Middle Horde, who were still suffering from the ravages committed against them in 1741, almost under the walls of Orenburg, were the most anxious to help the Russian troops. They were only waiting for the opening of war between them and the Dzungars, and at the first news of the beginning of hostilities they would have thrown themselves upon the settlements of their enemies with all the fury of semi-primitive people. But their hopes were dashed, for the Dzungars, in spite of their threats, left Russia in peace. This was the only way the Kazaks could have avoided the storm which threatened them, for in spite of all the patience with which the Russian government had borne their raids on the border for more than a year, it had been firmly decided to use the troops [205] stationed on the Orenburg line and others to be added to them in order to punish the Kazaks severely.

During the interval, Sultan Khodja Akhmet, who until then had been detained as hostage in the fort at Sarachinsk, was transferred to St. Petersburg. Although Abulkhair could not have been
[152] happy to see his son taken further away when he wished him closer, and although he was furiously angry with Nepluev and allowed
[72] himself new violence in his relations with him, still his subjects

x 648 [205 cont.]
[721] made no raids during the year 1745. Rychkov says (1), according

1. The continuation of his history of Orenburg.

to a Russian Cossack who was with the Little Horde then, that this year as in 1773, Khan Abulkhair incited his subjects to renew their raids on the right bank of the Ural, but on this occasion the people refused to obey. However we cannot accept this report as accurate for the following reasons:

1. The Kazaks were too accustomed to pillage to refuse the proposal of their khan to attack a foreign country, especially when they had not had a chance to test the force of its arms.

2. At that time Abulkhair's attention was directed to Khiva, whose inhabitants, attacked by those of Turkestan, had sent to him to ask help, and who although subjects of Persia wanted to have Sultan Nurali as khan later. He sent Nepluev the letters he had received from Khiva on this subject and asked his advice.

[727] 3. It was at this time that he swore an oath of loyalty in his aoul in the presence of a Russian officer, to Emperor Peter III, successor to Elizabeth, and afterwards liberated 30 prisoners, Russians as well as Kalmuks, who had been taken by his subjects.

[66] 4. He complained about Nepluev to the highest authorities (2),

2. See Abulkhair's letter and Nepluev's rescript of September 17, 1745 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and indicated that except for his personal quarrel with this governor and the displeasure he had felt at the refusal to exchange [206] his son Khodja Akhmet for Chingis, he had no other cause for complaint against Russia nor any harmful intention.

As for the office of khan which had been proposed to the son in Khiva, Nepluev had sought by all possible means to persuade

[206 cont.]
×648 him in the name of the Empress (1) to make Abulkhair refuse it,

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 21, 1745.

but the latter would not have paid any attention to his advice if other circumstances had not prevented him from acceding to the wishes of the Khivans. Nurali received a letter from the son of the Shah of Persia inviting him to come to him. This prince considered the khanate of Khiva his property, being the conqueror. Nurali was on the point of departing for Khiva when his wife, whom he had left in that city, sent word that the Persians were only inviting him there in order to put him to death (2). This news kept

2. Continuation of the history of Orenburg by Rychkov, events of 1745.

him back with his father.

[643] Meanwhile the leaders of the Middle Horde, who had had no relation with Russia for nearly two years, approached the Russian border and renewed their assurances of devotion to the Empress. Abul Mahmet left Turkestan to join his horde and sent a messenger to St. Petersburg to volunteer his services; later he renewed his oath of loyalty. Sultan Barak did likewise. He also sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

[648] The Kazaks were not yet at peace when disturbances took place in the Volga Kalmuk horde. The rumor spread that a large section wished to leave Russia, on the invitation of Galdan Tsyren, to join their compatriots, the Dzungars. This rumor, which was confirmed in fact 26 years later, was false at this time, but it disturbed the government, especially when the news had been received from the Ural that a large number of Kalmuks had crossed over from the Russian bank to the Kazak side, and [207] when reports from Siberia stated that the Dzungarian
[726 727] armies had reached the Irtysh /River/ in some places. Subsequent events showed that the passage of the Kalmuks across the Ural

[207 cont.]

x648 River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they
[726 took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army
727] returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders
[57] who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians.
[72] The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

[724] The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected
[727] attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

[208 cont.]
100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

[209 cont.]

×[43] Blinded by his resentment, Abulkhair considered this punish-
[262] ment as a new offense against him. He sought every means to harm Russia, and requested the protection of Persia.

[594] His son Khodja Akhmet had been transferred from Petersburg to Kazan, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of a Tatar and asked for her hand in marriage. Abuljhair's impertinences had been so frequent and so serious, that one cannot admire enough the patience with which the court at St. Petersburg put up with it. In order to give this khan one more proof of its indulgence, both toward him and toward his people, Tevkelev, who, as we have said, professed the same religion as the Kazaks, was sent to Orenburg in 1747. Furthermore he had spent more than a year among them and had acquired general respect, and he knew their customs and habits and had always been a friend of Abulkhair's. He was charged with placating Abulkhair through his advice, of reconciling him with Governor Nepluev, and of returning his son Khodja Akhmet to him, but in exchange for another son born of a khaness.

Abulkhair's death, which took place soon after, prevents us from [210] saying what the consequences of his dealings with Tevkelev would have been. But at the opening of these conferences, Abulkhair showed himself disposed to reconciliation. During the summer of 1748, he arrived at the fortress of Orsk (1)

1. This was the name given to the old Orenburg, after the new one was founded on the site which it now occupies.

for an interview with his old friend, and he not only gave as hostage another legitimate son named Aichuvak, who later became a khan, in place of Khodja Akhmet, but he also added the children of some of his elders. Furthermore he promised to
[728] deliver immediately all the Russian prisoners taken by his subjects,
and promised in writing that the Little Horde would never attack
[662] the borders. When he arrived at the horde, however, he secretly

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[579 the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of
643] Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[211 cont.]

This act against a people considered subject to Russia and the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders, and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea. Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons, he was poisoned (2).

2. In the papers preserved in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg it can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little Horde who came to the Russian border then affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

[212 cont.]

x 648 This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed
[643] khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle
[661] Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Al-
[668] most all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it
[643] was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she liked the Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this
[562]

1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

Y 648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X 648
[664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[214 cont.]

x648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak [664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed x643 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had 662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan, [439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

x648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of [765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114] 1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

x648 [214 cont.]
[214]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

x648
765 result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

[152 Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian
661] military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

x648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

x648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584 583] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662 584] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[216 cont.]
643 recognizing the suzerainty of Russia, but it was even more diffi-
584 cult to refuse a liaison by marriage with a sovereign who was so
662 dreaded by Nurali's enemies, and especially to miss the chance of taking possession of Turkestan without bloodshed, for [217] his ancestors had reigned there and were buried there, and Abulkhair himself had lived there until he was driven out by the Dzungars.

Balanced between fear and hope, Nurali did not know what to decide. The sultans and elders advised him to send his sister to the kungtaidji without delay and then, relying on his help, to go to take revenge on Barak and his subjects for his father's death. This advice accorded perfectly with his wishes, but he did not see that they were contrary to the interests of Russia, which could punish him for his disloyalty.

Besides this, at that time there was a Russian officer with him who had accompanied him from Orenburg. In the presence of such a witness, he could not act except in secret, and for this reason he dismissed the Dzungarian ambassadors without the girl, but he promised to send her soon. When Nepluev asked the reason for this embassy, Nurali claimed it had come from Galdan Tsyren's son with proposals of peace and friendship. He also pretended that the Dzungars had proposed to him the exchange of the Kazak prisoners they had in their power for Volga Kalmuks, a large number of whom were slaves of the Little Horde. His knavery was of no avail for the Russian officer (1) who was then with the

1. See Captain Iakovlev's journal and reports in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

horde reported matters as they really were to the border authorities, and these reported them to the higher authorities, who found that an alliance by marriage between the Dzungarian and Kazak sovereigns could bring great harm to Russia. There had even been an example of this already, when Aiuka, khan of the Volga Kalmuk horde, had married Darma Bala, kinswoman of

[217 cont.]

x648 the Dzungarian kungtaidji. She had incited his son Sanzhip to
584 depart for Dzungaria with 15,000 tents in 1701. If the
662 Dzungars, who had already subjugated the Great Horde long since and had hostages from all the sultans of the Middle Horde, also were united with the Little Horde through the alliance of their sovereigns, then the entire population of the lands [218] beginning from the western territories of China of that time until the northern part of the Caspian Sea could be put in movement at the first signal of one single chief, and the entire length of the Russian border, from the upper Irtysh all the way to the mouth of the Ural River, could be exposed to attack on the same day.

In order to avert this danger, it was indispensable for the Russian government to forbid Nurali to become the brother-in-law of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, and it was ordered that all proper measures be taken to prevent this alliance. It was regarded as most efficacious to use the counsels of a man respected by the Khan and known to all the Little Horde, namely Tevkelev. To this end he was sent to Orenburg expressly to have a conference with Nurali. In order to support the advice, favors, and promises with which Tevkelev was to load the Khan, Nepluev was commanded to begin the funeral monument for Abulkhair immediately and to add residences for the khans in order to please Nurali and his brothers. It was likewise decided to accept the illegitimate Chingis as hostage in place of the khan's legitimate brother (1), a thing which had often been refused to Abulkhair.

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 2, 1749 and August 13, 1750.

During the interval, Nurali was dismayed by the rumor which
[152] was spread that if the Dzungarian kungtaidji had a son by his sister, he would exterminate all the Kazak chiefs and their descendants in order to give that son the position of sole khan of all the Kazaks.

x648 The death of Abulkhair's daughter destined for the chief of the Dzungars, which took place in 1750, reassured Russia.

[218 cont.]
The news of her death arrived in Orenburg before Tevkelev had been able to have a conference with Nurali (2), and prevented

[1-39]

2. While waiting for Tevkelev, Nepleuv had delegated an officer interpreter to Nurali and his mother to advise them and to acquire information about the Dzungarian ambassadors. This interpreter was ordered to present to the Khan, as a rare thing, 10 chetverts of flour and as much [219] groats. The principal aim of this gift was to induce the Kazaks to take wheat from the Russians in exchange for their merchandise.

the latter from being told of the orders given to begin [219] his father's tomb immediately and the intention to receive Chingis as hostage. These measures had become unnecessary in a time of calm.

[1-61] Being in ignorance of the indulgent disposition of the government and in order to conform to previous demands, Nurali in 1749 presented his legitimate brother Adil as hostage to replace Sultan Aichuvak, and in 1750 he exchanged this brother for his own son Pirali, who was only five years old.

[1-62] At this time Sultan Batyr, the father of Kaip, then khan of Khiva, and the son of the Kaip who had been the sultan of the Kazaks, opened relations with the authorities in Orenburg. As was already said above, his father Kaip had written in 1718 to Peter the Great. Batyr had inherited his father's hatred for Abulkhair and had never recognized his authority, and for this reason had had no relations with Russia for a long time. But when a part of the Little Horde proclaimed him khan, the equal of Nurali, and when his son had become the sovereign of Khiva, he had still less respect for Abulkhair's son and hoped that Russia would have the same consideration for him as for his rival.

However, at the beginning of his relations with Orenburg, he had not decided to request that he be recognized as khan. In

[219 cont.] In
[649] 1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his
[439] envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these
[721] sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her
[567] native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power,
[662] expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[220 cont.]
x648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[221 cont.]
x648 ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[143] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[72] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[72] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[144] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[72] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[16] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[143] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[222 cont.]
x648 acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[43] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai
[62] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu
[166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[224 cont.]

×643 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
[661] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[361] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had
578 been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
[643 that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's
661] influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all
651] the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

[225 cont.]

×648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

[226 cont.]
he did not release it until nearly a year had passed. When this caravan returned to Orenburg in 1754, an envoy of Kaip himself accompanied it as well as a Russian officer who had been in Khiva. The latter declared that he had met Sultan Erali on his way and that this prince had begged him to report to Nepluev that he and his brothers were ready to attack Khiva to avenge the insults of Sultan Batyr and his son, and that he planned to join the discontented subjects of Kaip, to put him to death, to seize his place, and to release the Russian prisoners who were then in Khiva. He asked only that in case he were unsuccessful Russia would promise to ransom him if he himself were taken.

To everyone's great astonishment the envoy from Khiva, instead of carrying out his master's orders, complained to the Russian government of the avidity and injustices of the Khan. He described the evils he made the people suffer, and in the name of all the Uzbeks, the people [race] to whom he belonged, he demanded help in order to dethrone the Khan.

Although this demand provided Russia with an opportunity to punish the Khivans for their perfidy and their prince for his insolence the year before in detaining a caravan from Orenburg, nevertheless the government then thought the conquest of Khiva more difficult than it was useful. Moreover Erali's pledge provided hope for acquiring some influence over this land without bloodshed. Consequently the government refused to acquiesce to the proposal of the Khivan envoy, who [227] had solicited help in overthrowing Kaip, but did not forbid him to ask help from the Kazak princes (1). Khan Nurali and Sultan Erali were

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 2, 1755.

permitted to march against Khiva and to seize it if luck was on their side. Also it was decided to grant Erali his ransom if he happened to be captured on this expedition.

Russia would certainly have gained an enormous advantage commercially if Abulkhair's sons had carried out their plan and

[227 cont.]
x648 had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did
[721 not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali.
439] The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

[721] Prince Maksiutov, the captain sent at that time from Orenburg to the Little Horde, wrote in his reports that Nurali Khan and his brothers were preparing to march against Khiva and con-
[792 voked an assembly of the people who approved of the plan. But
783] when a khoja, who as a kind of saint had been asked for a blessing for the success of the expedition, forbade them to make war against the Khivans, they obeyed him. The Middle Horde then
[722] suffered from the last exertions of the Dzungars. In 1754 they found themselves so harassed by the latter that a large number of Kazaks of this horde asked the government to allow them to pass their women and children over the Russian lines if they could not be allowed this permission themselves. Some of them went so far as to ask that they be granted lands on the border, where they promised to engage in agriculture and to build villages.

Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 317, 1755.

after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they
[661] were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

[228 cont.]
×648 became unnecessary (2) because by then the Dzungars, the most

2. Ukase of the Senate of October 24, 1756.

terrible enemies of the Kazaks, had been almost destroyed. These were those same Dzungars who, under the reign of their kungtaidjis, Batur and Galdan Tsyren, had not only been seen to spread terror through the weak principalities of Central Asia, but also to arouse justifiable alarm in the emperors of Russia and China.

With an astonishing speed this people passed from the zenith of its power to absolute ruin. In 1745 under the commands of Galdan Tsyren it was still able to cause an important revolution in all of Central Asia. Under Galdan's sons, whose genius did not approach that of their father, this people imperceptibly lost all its energy, but its neighbors continued to fear it. In 1756 it had already been vanquished and dispersed, and so many had been
×648 annihilated that its lands became almost completely deserted.
578 The principal causes of the fall of the Dzungarian empire
669 were, as is known, the discord which took place among its last chiefs and the civil wars provoked by Amursan's ambition, which caused the ruin of the entire nation. Having quarreled with Davatsi, who disputed his authority, in 1754 he acknowledged himself a subject of China and begged this empire for auxiliary troops against Davatsi. Emperor Ch'ien Lung received him most graciously and [229] gave him a large army, which was given secret orders to accompany him not to assure him supreme power but to overthrow the Dzungars, who had so often disquieted the Chinese government. The intentions of the Emperor were realized, and in 1756 the ravaged lands of Dzungaria were annexed to China (1).

1. See the extracts from the Chinese work entitled Hsi Yu Wen Chien Lu, in /E.F./ Timkovskii's Journey to China [Puteshestvie v Kitai chrez Mongoliiu v 1820 i 21 gg. (Journey to China through Mongolia in 1820 and 1821)], Vol. I, p. 155.

[229 cont.]

x248 Sultan Ablai, who was as wise as he was enterprising, did
[662 not fail to profit from the quarrels of the Dzungarian princes,
724] and he worked to prolong them, realizing the usefulness, both for his own security and that of the Kazaks on the outside, of weakening and parceling out their old enemies. To this end, he not only gave asylum to Amursan (2) and Lobacha (another

2. Amursan had broken away from China and wandered among the Kazak hordes. Later he sought refuge in Russia, where he died.

Dzungarian prince) in his village but went out to fight for them (3)

3. See the reports of Captain Iakovlev, who was then with the Middle Horde and who accompanied Ablai for some time as he followed Amursan and Lobacha in order to fight the Dzungars.

and helped them to destroy their own compatriots. When matters took a new turn, and the Chinese army won decisive victories over the Dzungars, Ablai joined the conquerors. But this change of allies did not cause him to change his goal, and he continued to exterminate his hateful neighbors as an ally of the Chinese, just as he had killed them when he was allied to the partisans of Amursan. But when Dzungaria had been completely vanquished, and the Chinese army, in order to complete its occupation, began to approach the Kazak steppes, Ablai came to meet them and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor.

From this time on (1756) the vanity of the Chinese led them to include Ablai's pasture lands among their states, and he was immediately sent by Ch'ien Lung (4) a [230] letter patent

4. This is recorded by the Chinese who wrote the book Hsi Yu Wen Chien Lu, and we find an extract of it in Timkovskii, op. cit., I, p. 253.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars [726] and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 722] presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 662] river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes. Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[232 cont.]

x648 circumstances, and Nepluev, who had finally received the orders
662 he had requested for the execution of his plan, at once informed
661 the Khan, the Kazak sultans, and the most distinguished elders that as a reward for their faithfulness and devotion to Russia, the Empress was presenting them, as a gift, all the wives and daughters of the Bashkirs who were among them, on condition that the men be surrendered on the line, or at least driven out of the Kazak hordes. In addition, other rewards were promised for the extradition of the deserters.

[721 The voluptuous Kazaks hastened to seize the women who were
722] being abandoned to them. The Bashkirs wished to defend their families, but their number was toosmall and they could not resist. Some of them perished on the spot, others were surrendered to the Russians, and still others returned by themselves to their homes, waiting impatiently for the time to carry out their firm resolve to avenge this offense perpetrated by the Kazaks.

Rage and jealousy immediately aroused bands of avengers among the Bashkirs, who requested permission from the government to cross the Ural. Nepluev replied that the Empress did not grant permission to cross the border, but in secret he gave orders to the commanders of the forts and military posts to pay no attention to the people who crossed without permission into the steppes beyond the [233] Ural. Taking advantage of the pretended negligence of the guards, whole bands of Bashkirs crossed the Ural, fell upon the hordes, and began to pillage and massacre and to take away women and children.

Khan Nurali complained; he received the reply from Orenburg that the Kazaks had brought all these misfortunes upon their own heads by receiving the faithless deserters in their villages, and that all the Bashkirs were going to hasten to make similar exploits. Then Nurali's subjects took arms and began to repulse the attacks of their enemies, which the latter repeated constantly. The two people continued to destroy each other in this manner until Nepluev decided that it was fitting to call a halt to these disturbances. It was then strictly forbidden to the Bashkirs to cross the Ural, and it was suggested to the Kazaks that they retreat to

[233 cont.]

[648 the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the
[663 same time the border commanders were directed not to permit
661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727 The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two
728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead
[771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[234 cont.]
x648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years.
[431 These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to
661] the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.
[721 The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and
726] the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
y648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

X 648 [235 cont.]
[578]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

[646] Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the [728] demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

X 648 662 721 At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

[236 cont.]
×648 that its probability be considered and also the basis for it. From
662 information received about the Little Horde from an officer (1)
721

1. See Prince Urakov's reports of 1757 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

who was sent there for the purpose, it was found out that the Kazaks had had no thought of the Kuban, but that Dunduk Dashi and two other Kalmuk princes had themselves sent confidential agents to Khan Nurali to warn him that the Crimean Tatars intended to attack Russia and to invite him to give them help, as the Kalmuks had themselves decided to do. Nurali had not rejected this proposal, but he had asked that he be warned of the moment when the Tatars would carry out their plan.

×648 This duplicity on the part of Dunduk Dashi and his Kalmuk
661 subjects' eternal hatred of the Kazaks caused the presumption
662 that his real aim was to decide Nurali to march against the Russians and to profit by the absence of a large part of the Little Horde to attack its defenseless auls.

However this is only a presumption, and events did not prove that it was true. For neither the Crimean Tatars nor the Kazaks attacked Russia in 1757, and consequently the Volga Kalmuks had no occasion to help the first nor to destroy the second.

×648 [237] The behavior of the Middle Horde in 1758 disturbed the Russian government more than the rumors of Nurali's alliance with the Crimean khan. Part of this horde had invaded the
[727] borders and taken the liberty of carrying off 220 Tatars of the Kuznetsk district as prisoners, people known by the name of Dvoedantsy (this name means "those who pay double tribute, or two tributes"). The Russians and the Dzungars levied tribute on these people at the same time. Another part of the Middle Horde, and this was the largest part, having seized the lands of the Dzungars who had been driven from their country, were coming closer to China and seemed too devoted to that empire.

[237 cont.]

x648 Their chief, Sultan Ablai, had sworn an oath of fealty to Russia, but later he had been under the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Galdan Tsyren, and finally, as we said, he received a patent as a Chinese prince from the Chinese emperor. Thus the assurances of submission which he repeated to the Russian government from time to time were meaningless, and it would have been even more unwise to rely on them since his relations with China were quite frequent.

In 1756 he received a Chinese ambassador for the first time. In 1757 another officer of the Emperor came to seek to convince the entire Middle Horde to solemnly acknowledge itself as subject to China.

[661 662] Ablai refused to carry out this request, not out of respect for the oath he had sworn to Russia but because he found this double position highly advantageous. First of all, it assured him greater independence and consideration from the two empires, and secondly, he was afraid to renounce his obedience to Russia completely because a large number of his subjects were nomadizing near the Russian borders in very favorable regions.

Russia, however, could not be satisfied with this apparent submission. In addition to the Kazak raids, she was then afraid of attacks from a much more [238] powerful enemy. For the Chinese army, which had ravaged Dzungaria had crossed the Siberian border and was threatening to enter the interior of the empire.

This fear was soon dispelled because the Chinese promptly retired into their own country, but the re-establishment of peace could not seem secure between the two empires as long as the differences remained unsettled concerning the surrender of the Dzungarian prince, Amursan, who had first acknowledged himself a vassal of China and later had sought asylum in Russia. His death ended the disagreement, but before it occurred and quiet was restored, the Orenburg authorities had opened relations with the Kazak princes of the Middle and the Little Hordes, by order of the government, [on the subject of] giving aid to Russian troops against China and of attacking the western territories of that state.

[238 cont.]

*648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [663] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as [131] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

x648 [239 cont.]
[661] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[343] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[577] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[240 cont.]

×648 not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very [439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[642 643] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. [727] Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

X 648 [241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their
[728] demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires,
[662] sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

[726 721] The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This
[574] irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

[242 cont.]

x 648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

x 648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[243 cont.]

x 648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x 648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[244 cont.]
x648 this distinction and paid no more attention to Russian complaints.
[721] His subjects again began their raids against the Volga Kalmuks and later insisted that they be allowed to spend the winter on the right bank of the Ural River. They had been refused this request several times, but the new refusal enraged them so that they wished to pass the border by force to spend the winter in Russia with their herds and studs. This insolence led the Empress Catherine to give
[681] Ubashi, a deputy of the Kalmuk khanate, a letter patent (2) on

2. This letter remained in Orenburg, where it is still preserved.

May 18, 1763 to punish the Kazaks of the Little Horde by force of arms as soon as he received word from the government of Orenburg that part of them had crossed the border. Orders were also given to authorize the Bashkirs and Yaik Cossacks to do the same. But no one gained from this, because the Kazaks remained in their steppes.

The wily Sultan Ablai, who for several years had succeeded in pleasing two powers with opposing interests, was called at this time to the aid of a third, which was less [245] necessary than the first two to his security in the horde but to whose fate he was
x648 linked by both the laws of the Koran and his amour-propre.
721 The Chinese conquered what is called Little Bukhara almost at the same time as Dzungaria and wished to extend their conquests still further over other small Moslem states of Central Asia. The expectation of this invasion and the impossibility of repulsing it forced the khans of Tashkent and Kokand and their neighbors, who were as weak as they, to beg help against the Chinese first of all from Akhmet, sovereign of the Afghans, for with this title and as a Moslem, he should protect his coreligionists. The inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkend and other cities already conquered by the Chinese likewise asked him to deliver them from the rule of the infidels. Aroused by so many demands, Akhmet sent a strong army against the Chinese, which halted between Tashkent and Kokand to enter into discussions with the Chinese.

[245 cont.]

×648 During the correspondence and the sending of couriers, the
721 zealous Moslems joined their defenders from all sides, and by letters and sermons they incited everyone to come to their aid. Abul Mahmet, who was regarded as the khan of the Middle Horde, also received a letter of invitation, but since he had ceased to rule the Kazaks long before, he transmitted the invitation to
[662] Ablai (1). The latter would no doubt have entered the general

1. The Bashkir, Tergulov, who was sent to the Middle Horde, brought a copy of this letter to Orenburg in the same year of 1763.

league of the Moslems if he had been a little less closely linked to the Chinese. But the court of Peking, in order to forestall his inclinations to help his coreligionists, had sent to Ablai shortly before the arrival of Abul Mahmet's letter a letter patent (2)

2. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev.

which permitted him to occupy the environs of the Ili River and assured him constant protection. But at the same time [246] the
[661] court of Peking took as hostage his father-in-law, Sultan Sultanamet, several elders and their children.

[662] It was also proposed to Nurali that he join the Afghans, and he did not categorically refuse. But the position of his horde and the circumstances did not permit him to march with an army toward the Chinese borders. The Kalmuks on one side and the Bashkirs on the other would not have failed to profit by the absence of the Kazaks and would not only have pillaged all their riches but also have carried off their wives and children into slavery. Nurali had reason to fear this, for the Bashkirs retained a vivid memory of the injuries they had suffered in 1755 from the Little Horde, many of which had not yet been avenged. And in 1762 the Kalmuks had suffered another blow from the Kazaks, who had reached the Volga by crossing the Caspian Sea over the ice.

[246 cont.]

[648 721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still
[439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and
579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and
[316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible.
[712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China.
[439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture.
[661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[248 cont.]
x 648 secure hostages from Ablai to guarantee the freedom of the
[661] Russians sent to him.

x 648 Khan Nurali, who was proud of his relations with the army
662 of the Afghans and with China, wrote directly to the Empress in 1764, both to inform her of the invitation sent him by all the Moslems of Central Asia to take part in the war against China and also to acquaint her with the distinguished reception his embassy had had in Peking. These two circumstances inflated his vanity, and in his dreams of [249] his importance, he thought he could exact several concessions which he had already been refused. However, these repeated demands had no more success than they had had the first time. He was sent thanks from Russia for the news he had provided about the Afghans, and several gifts were added with a reply which was as polite as it was lacking in satisfaction. His horde did not remain calm, however, but con-
[721] tinued its raids against the Volga Kalmuks as much as against the Russian settlements on the border, nor did they renounce their usual dissensions, which are not worth a detailed description. Thus passed the years 1765 and 1766. In 1767 Russian troops punished them in a clear manner, by pursuing the brigands to the very middle of the horde.

x 648 There is no doubt that this chastisement made Nurali
662 violently angry. Since he needed Catherine's good graces, how-
643 ever, he hid his resentment for a long time. He was afraid that after his death the position of khan might pass to another family, and asked that a successor or deputy be designated while he still lived and that the Russian government ceremonially elevate his eldest son, Ishim, to this new post. This was a new desire, but it was not in opposition to Russian views. It was true that Russia could designate one of Nurali's brothers as khan of the Little Horde if she chose. But since there was no reason then for preferring them above other sultans and since the Empress Anna, when she promised Abulkhair to preserve the post of khan for posterity, did not fix any rule for the choice of his successors, Nurali's wish could be fulfilled. Also the particular qualities of Sultan Ishim were no obstacle to the accomplishment of his

[249 cont.]
x648 father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation
662 of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented
663 and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

x648 While studies were being made on this subject and the
[167] correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

[152] He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the
[152 578] authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by the marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by using them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

K [250 cont.]
x 648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578] act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[661] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.
K The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the
[721] Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

x K
648
167 upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate
EK enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks,
KO which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destina-
648 tion to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks
167 and now became their allies. We will now give the history of

x K 648 [167] EK KO 648 [167]

[251 cont.]

that event (3). The land of the Kalmuks, or, more precisely,

KO EK [114]

3. We regard it our duty to inform our readers that the description of the flight of the Torguts and the battle they fought with the Kazaks is drawn from two good sources: the first from the journal of Captain Rychkov, who was sent with the Russian troops in pursuit of the fugitives, under the command of [252] General Traubenberg; the second, the description of that flight by the Chinese prince Tsichi [Ch'i Shih?], a work whose translation we owe to Mr. Lipovtsov (see the Siberian News /Sibirskii Vestnik?/ of 1820).

of the Torguts, [252] whose bands are nomadizing today on the right bank of the Volga, in the Astrakhan government, were located in the present territories of China in the west. They left them because of the constant attacks of their neighbors, the Dzungars, whose power had not ceased to grow from the beginning of the 17th century and who threatened to subjugate them entirely. The lack of forces with which to avenge themselves upon their enemies and the fear of one day becoming their slaves led the Torguts to leave their old territories and to withdraw to the west.

In 1636 they came into Russia, and Tsar Michael Fedorovich accepted them among his subjects, giving them the vast lands on the two shores of the Volga as pasture land.

After the conquest of Dzungaria by the Chinese in 1756 and the destruction of most of its inhabitants, the weak survivors, numbering 10,000 tents, all composed of the Derbet, Khoit, and Khoshut descent lines, remembered their compatriots on the Volga, and forgetting their old emnity, they joined them, under the command of Sheren, one of the most zealous companions-at-arms of the Dzungarian prince, Amursan, whose acquaintance we have already seen.

KO [252 cont.]
EK we have already made.
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K.
x 648 Sheren and his Kalmuk subjects of the three descent lines
KO we have mentioned brought from Dzungaria interests and desires
EK which were completely different from those which the Torguts
[181] had after living 120 years in Russia. The former were accustomed
EK to civil wars and fighting, and the latter to peace, sometimes
KO troubled by the pillaging of the Kazaks.
[662] The former secretly aspired to avenge themselves upon the Chinese, who had driven them from a homeland which they hoped to reconquer by force of arms. The latter lived on the land where they were born and where they enjoyed peace. In the order [253] of things, it seemed that these new Russian subjects, weary of the misfortunes of a long war, who had come to join a much larger number of old inhabitants along the Volga, would joyfully consent to live forever in a place of security. The enormous space which divided the Volga from Dzungaria, the annexation of the latter country to China, and the barbarity with which it had been ravaged by the troops of the Chinese emperor served to strengthen
KO the opinion that it was impossible for the Kalmuks who had come
EK to Russia ever to return to their homeland. But experience proved
[68 662] the opposite. Sheren and his companions, the Derbets, Khoits, and Khoshuts, not only failed to give up the desire to go back and nomadize on their old lands, but even caused it to be born in the hearts of their compatriots who had been born in Russia.

After spreading various rumors about the so-called bad intentions and even barbarous plans of the Russian government against the Kalmuks, Sheren and his restless accomplices succeeded in becoming the masters of the weak and credible mind of Ubashi, chief of the Kalmuks. He profited by the differences existing between him and the nearest Russian authorities; he flattered Ubashi with the hope of changing his title as subject to that of independent sovereign, and he finally succeeded in inducing him
KO to withdraw to the old Dzungaria, across the Kazak steppes.
EK
[793] The ordinary people, who were frightened by the rumors and
KO listened with blind superstition to the exhortations of their clergy,
EK could not offer any resistance. Ubashi made up his mind, and
[167 663]

EK KO 648 K x648 EK KO [667 668]

[253 cont.]
after having taken counsel with the princes and the lamas (priests), he fixed the time of departure for the time when the Volga should be covered with ice. This arrangement was necessary because, although Ubashi himself was on the left bank of the river, a large part of the Torguts were on the right bank and could not join him with what they possessed except by crossing the ice.

This is why a [254] large part of the inhabitants of Astrakhan are still composed of Kalmuks today. For the winter of 1770 was warm and the rivers of southern Russia did not freeze, and Ubashi, after waiting in vain until the month of January for the Kalmuks from the right bank to join him, was obliged to abandon them and to leave with only those who were on the left bank.

They departed on the fifth of January, numbering 30,000 tents (1).

1. This is what Rychkov's journal says, but the Geographical Dictionary of the Russian Empire puts it at only 28,162.

K EK KO [662]

As they approached the Yaik /Ural River/, the governor of Orenburg warned Khan Nurali that they were going to attack the Kazaks. Consequently, in the name of the supreme government, he granted Nurali the right to fight against them and to take as much booty from them as he could, on condition that they then be made to return to their former places of abode within our borders. The government of the borders of Siberia transmitted the same advice to the Middle Horde through Sultan Ablai and other chiefs. In order to confirm these declarations, on January 27, 1771 an imperial letter patent was presented in the name of Nurali and all the Kazak people to seize the Torguts.

EK KO K [721 186]

Every kind of instigation or advice was quite superfluous for the accomplishment of such designs. Every Kazak considered the chance to contribute to their execution a special bit of good fortune. Stirred with a violent hatred for all the Kalmuk descent groups, a heritage from their fathers and their most distant

European KalmyK RF4
KalmyKs (oirat) AH5

K 648 [721 186] EK KO 648 [721 186]

[254 cont.]

ancestors, they hastened out to fight against them and despoil them. In less than a month the Kazak hordes were under arms, and the entire length of the country, from the shores of the Yaik to the borders of China, was covered with bands of warriors waiting impatiently for the appearance of a people whom the Kazaks burned to immolate for injuries suffered and for the hatred they aroused simply by their name and their origin. Nurali replied to the letter patent that he was not only ready to comply [255] with the wishes of the Russian government but that he was already on the march with his subjects against the fugitives. At the same time news was received that Ablai and his horde were ready for combat. Aichuvak and other sultans wrote in the same vein, and Kaip, who had been khan of Khiva and who lived within the Little Horde after his expulsion by his subjects, promised to join the Russian troops. East of the Kazak steppes, the Kalmuks were awaited by the Sultans Abulfenz, son of Abulkhair Khan, and Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, and finally by the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, who surpassed all the neighboring peoples in daring and ferociousness.

EK KO K [721 167]

What a terrible series of battles the Torguts had to endure! What a succession of attacks, murders, and robberies occurred on their route all the way to their destination on the banks of the Ili, traveling not with an army always ready to fight, but taking along with them their wives, children, herds, and all their possessions!

Several detachments of Russian troops were immediately detailed to restrain the Kazaks, but various circumstances prevented them from acting in a manner which corresponded to the hope of the government. From then on all hope was lost of seizing the Kalmuks, and the arming of all the Kazak hordes served only to exterminate a large part of the Torguts, without contributing in any way to their return to Russia.

The first barrier which should have been opposed to them was the army of the Ural (Yaik) Cossacks, whose lands they crossed. After the Kalmuks had passed, the Cossacks were firmly ordered to pursue them, but they rebelled and openly refused to leave their homes.

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[255 cont.]

A second detachment was composed of Orenburg Cossacks. They entered the Kazak steppe and joined Khan Nurali in the first half of February. But their horses were so exhausted by the lack of fodder that this [256] detachment remained in the rear and was finally forced to pass into Russia.

Regular troops were detailed to replace them. But the same lack of forage in the steppes beyond the Ural River during the winter and the loss of precious time in correspondence and preparations prevented this corps under the command of Major General Traubenberg from leaving the fortress of Orsk until April 12. He was directed to join Khan Nurali and to await the Kalmuks on the Irtysh, but he did not reach this river until they were already on the Turgai. Having thus lost the opportunity of action in any other way than against the rear of the fugitives, the Russians who had joined the troops of Nurali (1) and Kaip (2) marched swiftly

1. On this occasion Nurali paraded his devotion to Russia in the presence of the commander of the Russian troops and complained of the fact that they had not asked his help in the Prussian War or the one against Turkey.

2. Nurali effected his meeting with the Russian troops near the Aksakal Barbi lakes, and Kaip did so on the Karaganly-Turgai, 754 versts /805 km./ from the fort of Orsk.

in pursuit of the Torguts. Near the Ulu-Tau Mountains famine and bad water caused swelling ailments to spread among the soldiers, and the horses tired and began to die in large numbers. Meanwhile the fugitives were moving farther and farther away, and the impossibility of reaching them became more evident every day. Finally, General Traubenberg was obliged to turn from the east to the north and to return into Russia by the fort of Uisk, which was the nearest point on the border.

European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (first) AH5
Cossacks RD2

XK 648 [721 167] EK MO 648 [721 167] [256 cont.]

The Kazaks alone could not seize the Kalmuks, and they did not need to. The aim of their cooperation was better accomplished by their endless and repeated attacks, their pillaging and the capture of a large number of prisoners. Sultan Aichuvak routed one section on the Sagiz. Nurali delivered a violent blow to another section toward the east, and he also carried off several victories over them near the Mugodzhar Hills and on the Ishim River. Ablai [257] fought them with constant success. In some regions he acted in accord with Sultan Abulfenz, and their united forces caused immense losses to the Kalmuks, especially through the number of prisoners they took.

Erali, sultan of the Great Horde and at the same time paladin of the court of Peking, invited Ablai to join him against the Kalmuks several times. The latter refused to aid him, but this did not stop him from carrying out the plan he had devised. Erali found other allies and caused the fugitives to undergo enormous losses in men, animals, and personal belongings. We saw the details of this event in the historical account of the Great Horde.

When they were finally free of the Kazaks, the Kalmuks fell into the hands of the Buruts, and the misfortunes which the latter inflicted upon them were much worse than those they had suffered previously, particularly with regard to losses in prisoners. The Buruts, who were as greedy as they were ferocious, pursued them all the way to the Chinese border, to the new line established on the lands of the Dzungars. Ubashi crossed this line, not as he had imagined when he left the Volga as an independent sovereign, but as a humble subject who wished to save his life. He brought to China less than half of the Kalmuks who left Russia with him, the rest having perished en route.

K X648 669 662 C 648 669 662 In 1773 and 1774 Pugachev's revolt caused violent agitation in the provinces in the southeast of Russia. The lands washed by the Ural River, almost from its source to its mouth, were most exposed to this, because the Yaik Cossacks were the first accomplices of the false Peter, and the Bashkirs were his first allies. The troops forming the border guard assembled in the principal forts to defend them against the rebels, and the borders remained

K [257 cont.]
x648 undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside
C enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an
648 enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why
K there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join
C the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the
[669 662] border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K At this same time an event took place in the interior of
[643 the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen
651] tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through the high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

K In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little
[727] Horde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

[259 cont.]
×648 of the punishment inflicted upon it by the Russian troops the year
[227] before. The Middle Horde had been causing suspicion for some time because the rumor had spread that Ablai, profiting from the recent troubles of the Bashkirs, had sent several messengers to them to induce them to move under his domination. But investigations proved that these rumors were false.

During the months of June and October of this same year, several elders and sultans who were independent of Ablai sent deputies to the commander of the Siberian line to propose that
[661] they be recognized as Russian subjects. Among these was the son of Khan Abul Mahmet, Abulfeis, who had asked that he be assigned an annual stipend. Ablai's son and nephew asked for the same thing.

Empress Catherine received the report and replied in a rescript of May 25, 1776 in the name of the governor of Orenburg, as the principal administrator of Kazak matters, that the individual proposals made by the Kazaks of the Middle Horde to be received as subjects were founded on nothing more than the desire to obtain gifts. It was added that they were completely useless, for the entire horde had been recognized as subjects of the empire since the reign of Empress Anna, and that if such demands were satisfied this would only produce new demands. Furtheremore it was said that the fixing of annual stipends would become an obligation for the government and would accustom the Kazaks to regard as a duty that which was only the effect of the government's indulgence, and consequently it would be much better to conciliate them with gifts which were not fixed. These concepts showed a profound knowledge of the character of the Kazaks; they were the fruit of 46 years experience, from 1730 to 1776.

×648 Irnazar Maksiutov, the Bukharan ambassador, who came to
439 [260] Russia in 1775, revived the idea of building a Russian city in the Kazak steppe at the mouth of the Emba in the conferences he had on the means of removing the trade of caravans between Russia and Bukhara from all danger. The Russian government showed itself ready to carry out the plan (1), but it remained without

1. As a result of the ukase given on this

x648 [260 cont.]
[439]

subject on December 17, 1775, the geodetic specialist Vasiliev drew a map of the environs of the Emba and the rivers which flowed into it.

execution, as had all the others which had been made previously.
[721] It can be seen in the reports from the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorf, to the Empress in the months of March and April, 1776 that the Little Horde had once more begun acts of hostility against Russia, and although after the Russian troops entered the steppes in 1774, the border authorities had been forbidden to send troops beyond the Ural, yet Khan Nurali himself had asked for armed assistance to bring his restless subjects to their senses.
[662] Sultan Ablai, on the contrary, was then becoming more powerful, older, and wilier from day to day. Having had more experience than any of the contemporary Kazak princes and being known for his intelligence, dreaded by his subjects, and distinguished for his ties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of China (2) /sic/,

2. The best known among them was Sultan Dair, son of Barak, who complained to the governor of Orenburg that Ablai had unjustly usurped the title of khan.

he had every possible right to the post of ~~chief of the~~ Middle Horde. Sure of his ability, he knew how to attract followers by his importance and his prudent behavior. He threatened his enemies with his power and acknowledged himself now a subject of Russia and now that of China (3), depending on the occasion,

3. Some Kazaks who came within our borders stated that Ablai spoke Chinese.

being in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can notice this especially after the year 1771, when he made less
[643] effort to conserve appearances of an external submission to Russia, and having become less hypocritical, he openly took the title of khan.

[261]

×648 643 The Russian government asked him by what right he had taken this title, and he boldly replied that he had acquired it by his victories over the Torguts and, after the death of Abul Mahmet, not only by the choice of the Kazak hordes but also by that of the residents of Turkestan and Tashkent. He added that following the example of his independent ancestors and the khans who were his predecessors, he wished to live in Turkestan near the tomb of Khodja Akhmet (1). It was then too late to remind

1. The Kazaks regard Khodja Akhmet, who is buried in /the town of/ Turkestan, as the greatest saint after Mohammed.

Ablai of the obligations of a faithful subject. But it was necessary at least to sustain the idea in the hordes that no one could become khan in one of them without the consent of Russia. The Empress ordered that an officer be sent to Ablai to induce him especially to request the confirmation of his new position from the Russian government.

[661] He consented to this proposal and promised to send his son, Sultan Tugum, to St. Petersburg.

On November 25, 1777, it was officially announced to him that the Empress had agreed to his request, if he would transmit it in writing rather than orally. It was ordered to return his son from the border to the horde in the opposite case.

Ablai made not the slightest opposition to sending a written request. Consequently, Sultan Tugum, who conveyed it to St. Petersburg, was received most graciously, and his father was confirmed as khan by a certificate on October 22, 1778.

This certificate was sent to Orenburg, accompanied by a robe of honor, a saber, and a hat, and Ablai was invited to present himself to receive them and to swear the oath in Orenburg, Troitsk, or on the Siberian line. But when he refused to come, the Russian government consented to his taking the oath in the horde in the presence of a Russian officer, who would then

[261 cont.]
×649 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[262 cont.]
x648 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
[764] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
x648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
643 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobs in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[264 cont.]

648 643 The election of Vali by Ablai's Kazak subjects and his confirmation by Russia did not prevent another khan from appearing in the same horde. He was chosen by the Naiman descent line and confirmed by the emperor of China. The descendants of the ancient Naimans, who had blended into the mass of the Kazak people of the time, obeyed, at the time of Ablai, Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet and brother of Pulat, the khan of Turkestan. And although he had had some relations with the Orenburg authorities and had even requested a stipend, he was nevertheless a subject of China. He died in 1783, leaving a son named Bupu and a son-in-law, Khan Khodja, son of Barak, whose acquaintance we have already made. One of these princes was to inherit Abulfenz's authority, but each had his partisans, who could not come to an agreement on the choice and who set the entire Naiman descent group in commotion with their quarrels. The majority of the votes were in favor of Khan Khodja, however, so that this prince became the sovereign of the former subjects of Abulfenz, and the troubles were ended. When the emperor of China learned this, he sent him a certificate as khan by one of his high officials. The ministry in Peking considered this a necessary measure because it regarded the entire Middle Horde as subjects of China and because it had named Ablai a Chinese prince. When it was seen that Ablai's son Vali was submitting [662] himself to Russia, he was speedily replaced, for the dignity of the empire, by another Kazak prince who was submissive.

648 With the exception of Vali, the other sons and close kinsmen of Ablai had few relations with Russia. Some of them proudly acknowledged themselves to be subjects of China.

This was the behavior adopted by Sultan Chingis, who [265] marched in 1784 with an army raised in the steppes to put down a revolt which had broken out in Tashkent. Another brother of [186] Khan Vali, Sultan Tyz, who was also devoted to China, is known to us only for his hatred of the Buruts.

Tyz was not the only one to attack his bloodthirsty neighbors. [721] Several sections or branches of the Kazaks who lived near the Chinese borders continued to maintain the war against the Buruts

[265 cont.]

x 648 begun by Ablai. But the Buruts, who were accustomed to con-
[721] stant fighting, were not easy to defeat. The Chinese also experienced the effects of their valor several times and sometimes were vanquished by them. Thus it is not surprising that Sultan Tyz, who rashly attacked them with a handful of men, was
[727 728] defeated and taken prisoner, and he emerged from prison only under humiliating conditions and after giving them the slaves which belonged to him.

[721] The elder Berdy Khoja suffered still more from the Buruts (1). He ruled the part of the Middle Horde which

1. This same Berdy Khoja came to the fort of Semipalatinsk in the month of July, 1785 and imparted the information to the Russians which we have given here about Ablai's son and on the Buruts. This was published for the first time in Sibirskii Vestnik, Bk. III, 1820, and we have taken it from this source.

nomadized near the Chinese borders, and often fought against the savage Kirgiz, winning battles against them frequently. In 1785 he won quite an important victory over them, but it was his last. Acting as an auxiliary of the Chinese army, which was marching against them from the shores of the Ili, he advanced swiftly from the shores of the Ayaguz and gave them a terrible rebuff. Encouraged by his success he set out again with a small number of his men and halted on his arrival at the Jidisse /Djidis?/ to await reinforcements. The Buruts took advantage of his
[727] weakness and attacked him during the first night, defeating him and taking him prisoner. The unfortunate elder, in despair, knowing the customs of his enemies, could no longer hope for good luck in the future, and resolving to hasten his death, he killed one of the Buruts who was [266] leading him to the chief of the tribe. The others could not endure the idea of letting this act pass unpunished for an instant. They stopped on the way

[266 cont.]

×648 and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They
[727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use
[233 66] every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent intentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[266 cont.]
×648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[316] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to ×648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and [illegible] who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[267 cont.]
x648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

x648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have beem safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

x648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the govenent with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[269 cont.]
X648 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784
692 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks. Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

X648 At the same time as this establishment, from which great
[346] advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-
[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from
721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against it and laid waste their enemies.

X648 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance.
721 But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

[270 cont.]
X 648 721 had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken. For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line, [724] and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent against them.

X 649 668 In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the [721 provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding 727] about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The detachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more daring.

X 648 721 662 His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order [271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643] a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[272 cont.]

×648 No one stopped to reflect on the possibility or impossibility of carrying out this measure, because the Orenburg administration had proposed it itself and must have the means of accomplishing it.

[177] Having received the approbation of the court, Baron Igelstrom at once began to introduce the new order of things.

His first step produced results which were in perfect harmony
×648 with the end to which he aspired.

646 Without the intermediary of the Khan, he sent solemn procla-
728 mations throughout the entire horde, in which, without speaking
668 of the Khan nor of the sultans, he invited the elders and the peo-
177 ple to form an assembly in order to come to an agreement on the means of maintaining order in the horde and living in obedience to the Russian government. He advised them to renounce brigandage and raids and to expect the pardon they deserved for their repentance or severe punishments for the crimes which had been disturbing public order. These proclamations almost completely destroyed the last vestiges of the weak power of the Khan. Many Kazaks who were followers of the Khan abandoned him and joined his enemies, and all together they formed a national assembly which did not contain one sultan, and where Batyr Syrym, of whom we have spoken, twice presided as chief.

×648 The confidence shown by the people in Syrym in this instance
646 is very common, and is in perfect harmony with the Kazak notions
728 of the greatness of spirit. But who would fail to be surprised at the consideration given in Orenburg to this [273] man who the year before had been the leader of a band of brigands, at whose head he had attacked Russian troops and forts?

All Syrym's actions showed that he was a man of vast intelligence but one unsatisfied, restless, and vindictive, and moreover, of an enterprising character rarely found among a half-savage people. After having distinguished himself among the bandits, he soon came to eminence in the council which had assembled to re-establish the general peace, as he believed that new and brilliant advantages lay in this for him. As he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Khan, not so much because of specific disputes with Nurali as of the longing he felt for the heriditary

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exc[illegible] by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[274 cont.]

course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote 152] that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [728] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[276 cont.]

he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

×648 [277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to
668 this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to
643 recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

×648 The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head,
177 and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge
643 themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

×648 Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas.

[579] First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva,
[177 643] [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[278 cont.]

*643 promise given to Abulkhair by Empress Anna to choose khans
177 only from among his successors. Third, Nurali had on his side
643 not only his kinsmen but also the most powerful princes of the Middle Horde, the most important of whom was Sultan Khudai Mendi, a man as distinguished for his intelligence as for the large number of his followers and the authority he had acquired over them.

*648 Vali Khan took a great interest in Nurali's fate and argued
664 vigorously with the Russian government (2) on his behalf, and he

2. See Baron Igelstrom's report of December 18, 1786.

also wrote the same thing and warmly defended the descendants of Abulkhair, whom he called the father of all the Kazak khans subject to Russia and the first creator of the submission of the Little Horde (3). Finally, in 1787 a large part of the national

3. See another of Baron Igelstrom's reports, that of September 29, 1787.

assembly expressed the desire to see Nurali returned to the horde, out of respect for Abulkhair, who was considered a saint by many Kazaks. All these circumstances spoke in Nurali's favor, but they did not promise peace among the Kazaks in the future. Therefore, the execution of the latest intentions of the Russian government, to introduce in the Little Horde an organization conforming to that of the interior guberniyas continued unabated.

*648 Meanwhile Batyr Syrym regained his freedom and once again
662 began to influence the people in accord with the plans of the
177 Orenburg authorities, which he seconded as long as [illegible] were not contrary to his own views. Under the guise of [illegible] to Russia and gratitude to the local authority which had chosen him as its instrument, Syrym helped Baron Igelstrom greatly in the reforms which he made in the Little Horde in 1787, which we are about to describe.

[279]

648 The most important was the establishment of tribunals,
692 which were called rasprava. Two of these were opened in the
177 Alimul and Baiulin descent lines, because of their large numbers.
693 The Semirod line only had one. Each rasprava was composed of a president and two members, who were required to meet every day and to examine, with all three present, the petitions addressed to them and to give their decisions, to give satisfaction to the injured and the oppressed, and to give the dissatisfied the right to appeal to the border tribunal sitting in Orenburg. But since the members of these tribunals did not know how to read, all the writing was confided to a mullah, or secretary, who was assigned to each tribunal with an aide. His duty was to stamp the papers which were entered, copy them in a notebook, make the notes and protocols, make the examinations, keep the registers, establish and inscribe the hours of hearings, and write the reports, communications, and orders. All this was to be done according to the forms given by the government of Orenburg.

In addition a principal elder was chosen in each of the three descent lines of the Little Horde and several secondary elders to supervise the conduct of the people.

Batyr Syrym, who belonged to the Baiulin descent line, was chosen as one of the three principal elders.

All those who were elected to fill the positions we have named for the first three years were called upon to swear an oath to serve faithfully. Later they were confirmed (1) by the

1. The preliminary decision of the Empress to open the tribunals was presented to Baron Igelstrom by a rescript of June 3, 1786, and the confirmation of the elders nominated for the places on December 7, 1787.

Empress, and they were given large stipends, partly in wheat and partly in money.

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 771 186 662 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[281 cont.]

648 721 771 186 662

to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

[282 cont.]

"In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg government. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

[283 cont.]

×648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[642] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

×648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

[284 cont.]

X648 successful, because the sultans, and especially the descendants of
646 Abulkhair, were trying to please the Russian government, having
721 been informed of the Empress' intentions to re-establish the post of khan among them. As for individual raids, Syrym's followers continued them almost without interruption for seven or eight years.

X648 The main raids took place after the election of Sultan Erali
[726] to the position of khan, which was in 1791 by order of the Empress. When she learned of Nurali's death, she commanded on January 29 that Erali be named his successor and that he be sent the patent of
[643] khan of the Little Horde without waiting for any representations. In carrying out the will of his sovereign, the commander of the province of Orenburg at once informed Abulkhair's son of the honor which was being given him and invited him to appear at the border at the end of summer to receive the ceremonial investiture. Erali arrived at the Ural at the designated time with his followers and on September 4 was proclaimed khan, 15 versts from the fortress of Orsk.

This is how his election took place. On the day at the hour designated, Lieutenant General Peutling, supreme commander of [285] the border region of Orenburg, escorted by a body of troops appeared before the assembled Kazaks and commanded first of all that the imperial document be read to them, in which it was said that Erali had been designated khan, both because of his personal merit and because he was the eldest in Abulkhair's family. Then he invited the people to proceed to the election according to its old customs.

At this same moment there appeared the deputies of Batyr Syrym, those of Sultan Abulgazy Kaip, and those of several elders, who announced that they did not consent to the election of Erali. They received the reply that he had been designated by the wish of the Empress. The next day, after the proclamation of the Khan, that is, September 5, six deputies were chosen who were sent to St. Petersburg to ask that he be confirmed.

On September 6 a letter was received from the khan of Turkestan, Pirali, son of Nurali, in which this prince, who had

[285 cont.]

×648 pleaded since 1784 to be admitted under the suzerainty of Russia, once more repeated his request. His letter was sent to St. Petersburg, and on October 31 of the same year an ukase was given to receive him as a vassal of the empire.

×648 668 662 Meanwhile Syrym was manifesting more and more his desire to avenge the destruction of his power and the loss of the influence he had wielded in the horde during the time when the position of khan was considered unnecessary. At this time he had not completely lost the regard of his compatriots, which he owed to his earlier importance and his personal bravery. He still had enough means of doing harm to Russia and to the sultans who were devoted to Russia, above all when he had united what was left of his group with the subjects of Kaip, who had died shortly before and who had bequeathed to his children all the hatred of the descendants of Abulkhair which he had inherited from his father and his grandfather. After Kaip's death, the Kazaks who had recognized his authority passed under that of his sons, Sultans Abulgazy and Burkan (1). Syrym allied himself [286] with them

1. Their third brother, Shirgazy, was then in the service of Russia. He lived [286] in Petersburg for a long time, became accustomed to the glitter of Catherine's court, and seemed to have become European. But when he returned to the horde at the beginning of this [19th] century, he showed himself to be the worthy descendant of his bloodthirsty ancestors. Nothing of remark is known about his other brothers.

and knew how, with the superiority of his intelligence, to make them the instruments of his plans.

Being unable to do without their help, Syrym ceased to inspire the people with contempt for the position of khan in general, as he had done before. But he proclaimed everywhere

[286 cont.]
that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

[287 cont.]

*648 This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali.

[554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [644 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[288 cont.]

X648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace with each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X648 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the
681 power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

X648 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the
685 khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[167] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [647] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [646] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

[290 cont.]
X648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a
council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.
X648 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim.
Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali,
but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of
Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council,
inspired much more confidence in the government and had much
more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled
near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year
Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little
Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little
Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by
Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.
X648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643 often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554] but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled
by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to
promise various advantages. However, what followed did not
justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not
[579 act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
[578 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
721] raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde.
The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples,
which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to
dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish
the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy
which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks in-
creased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread
everywhere.
[669 These circumstances produced very important consequences.
166] Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River
withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the
descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[291 cont.]
x 648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166] Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[292 cont.]
[48] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[511] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[727] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[727] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[643] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[294 cont.]

very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

[295 cont.]

x648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 721] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[296 cont.]

[646] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his [578] death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[297 cont.]

x648 After his death the Little Horde was without a khan for more
[643] than two years. In 1812 his brother Shirgazy, who is still alive
[1832], was elevated to that position, but he no longer rules the
horde, because it too has been divided by the government into
[631] three districts, whose chiefs are independent of the khan.

[643] At the same time as the elevation of Shirgazy, that is, in
1812, Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, was appointed the khan of the
Kazaks who had come with him from the left bank of the Ural
into the government of Astrakhan and had since then been given
the name of the Bukei Horde.

Bukei died in 1815, leaving several sons, of whom the
eldest, Dhangir, was appointed khan in 1824. He is still governing
the Kazaks who live in the government of Astrakhan.

This is the end of the list of the Kazak khans who have been
recognized and confirmed by the Russian government. We do not
include among them Barak, or Batyr, or Kaip, or his son
Abulgazy, for, as we have said previously, they were not elected
except by a small number of their partisans. The last, in spite
of his title, was according to eyewitnesses (1), almost reduced

1. See the memoirs of Dr. Bolshoi, who
was taken prisoner by the Kazaks in 1803.

[298] to a state of mendicancy. His power and influence over the
people was so weak after Batyr Syrym, that we would not even have
mentioned him if he himself, his brothers and his children, among
whom Sultan Arungazi must be particularly distinguished, did not
continue to stand out for their hereditary hatred of Abulkhair's descent
578 line. We have followed the constant progress of this mutual hatred
between the two families for a whole century. Our readers know
that it already existed between Abulkhair and Kaip at the beginning
of the last century.

It passed from them to their children, and to their grand-
children, and great-grandchildren, among whom it still continues
today and who will carefully transmit it to their descendants,
perhaps for another century or even more.

[298 cont.]

578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

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Part III. Statistical Information on the Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who [578] governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

[166] A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most favorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed the Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them that it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in fixed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast expanse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

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2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the
619 powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which,
611 during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).
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2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

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The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
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2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes
361 of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over
221 in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under
619 the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called
[166 Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.
-101]

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature: the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle. Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and carefree shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance and which they follow from place to place with their movable
342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part, which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent. These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way, are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67 meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222 Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the
231] Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
35] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

1. We will note in passing that superstition
[784] prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
[579]
628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712
346

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[361]
103
651
311

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636 1. The Russian government has built houses
342] for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re- [166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

5: Levchine--181 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

173
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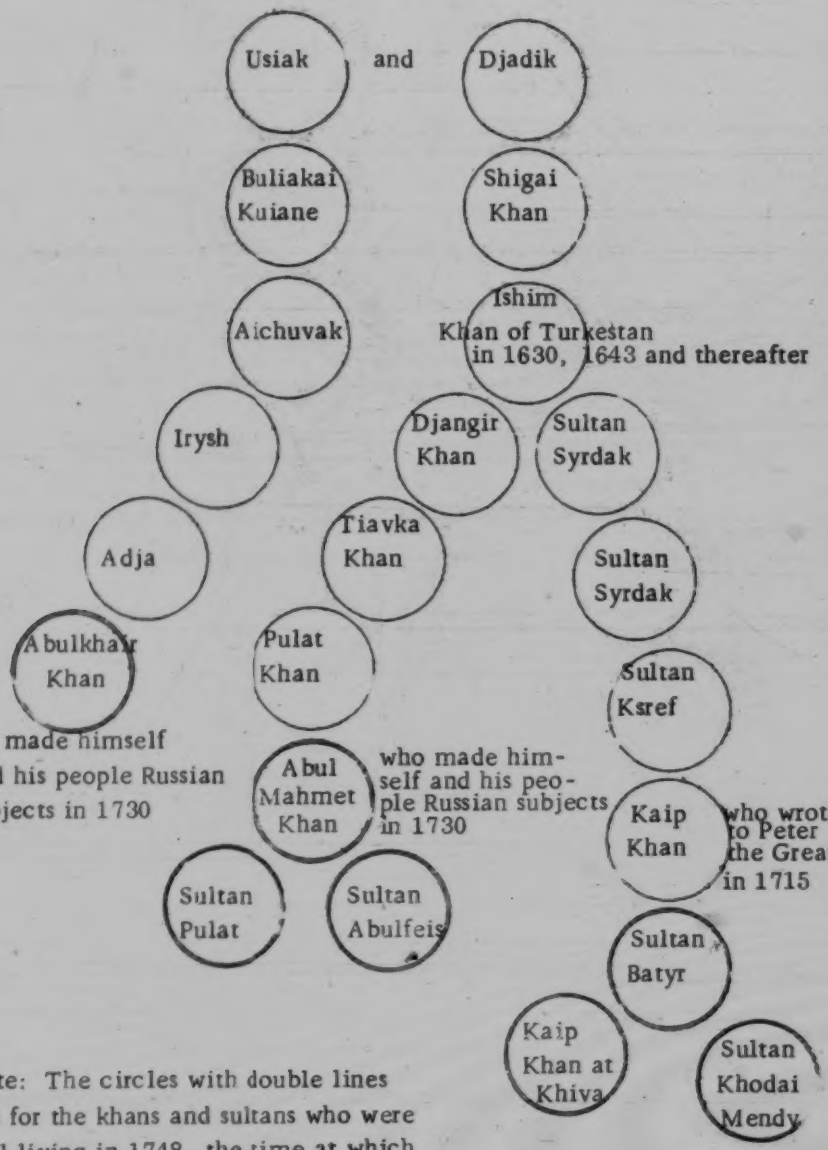
Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

5: Levchine--183 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 3

Chart II

173
643
613

Genealogy of the Second Branch of Khans

Bukei Khan
Kuchak
Khodai Mendy
Tursunl Khan

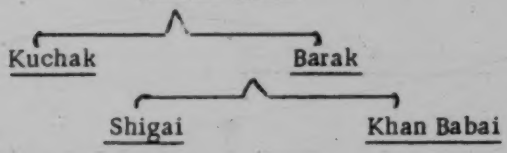


Chart III

Genealogy of the Third Branch of Khans

Vali
Ablai
Vali
Ablai Khan

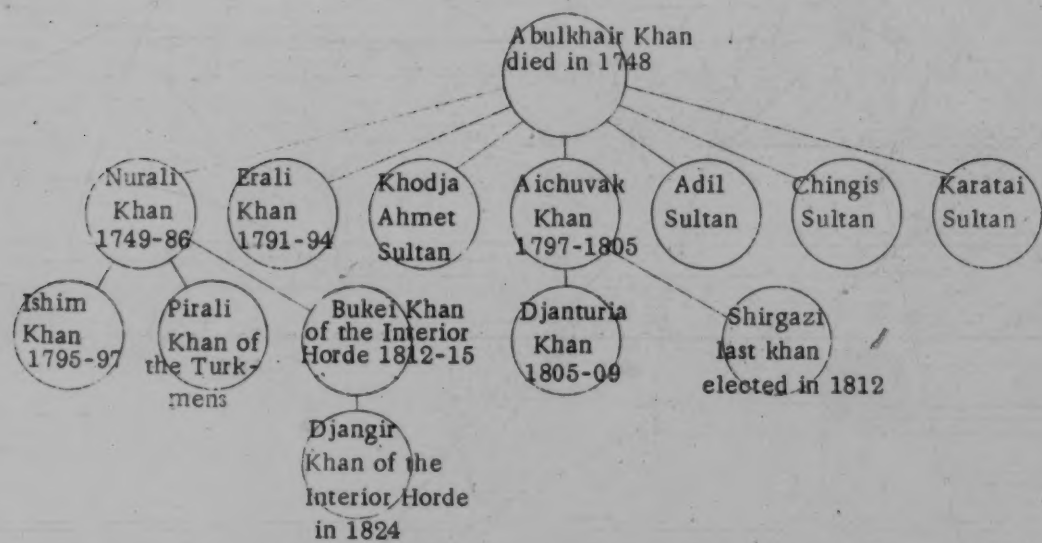
The last was still khan in 1748

Note: Those whose names are underlined were still living in 1748.

173
643
175
213

Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

231
142
291
293
411
302

Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

231
142
291
301

Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

5: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

231
142
291
301

Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas — Plate 8

or

212
613
619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

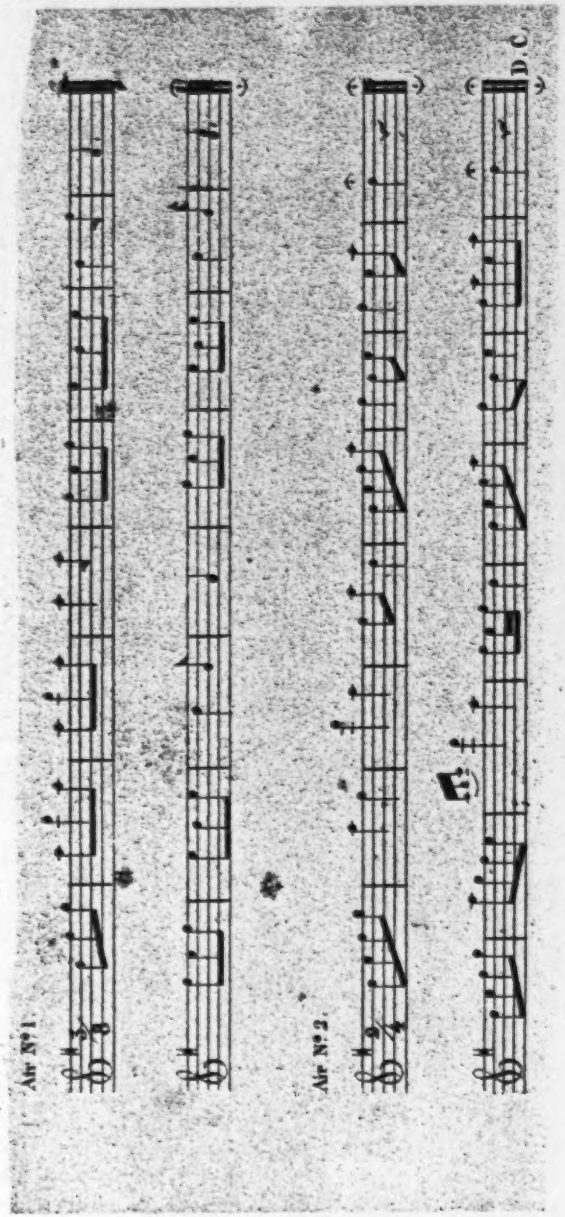
[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

5-Levchine--189 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 9

533

Two Kirghiz-Kazak Melodies

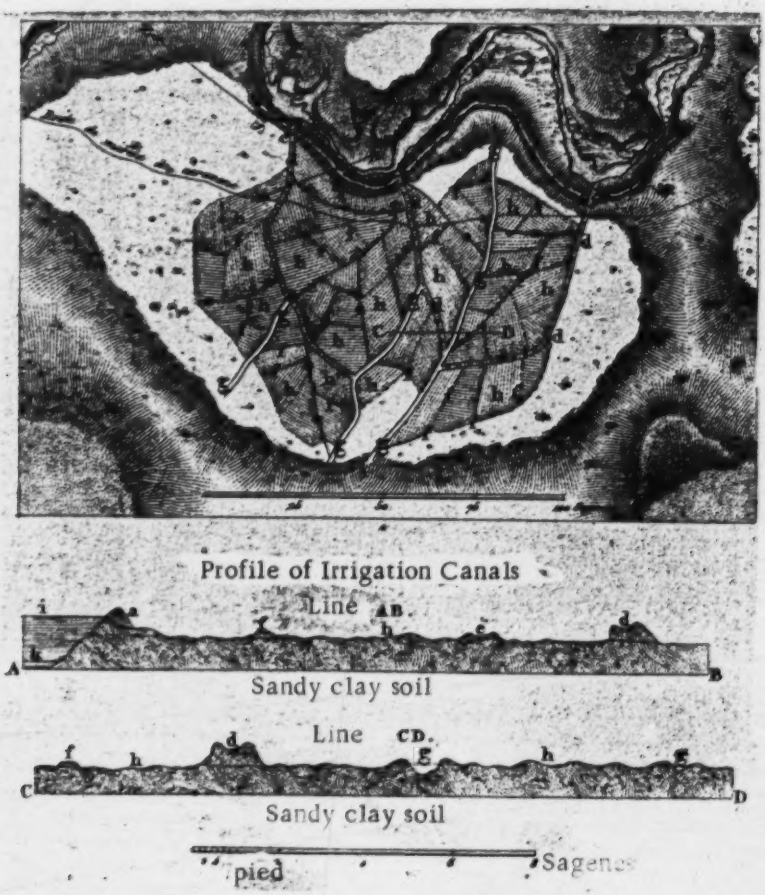


5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

241
311
312
134
102



5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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133
101

5: Levchine--192 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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487
133
101

5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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467
133
101

5: Levchine--194 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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133
101

5: Levchine--195 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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101

5: Levchine--196 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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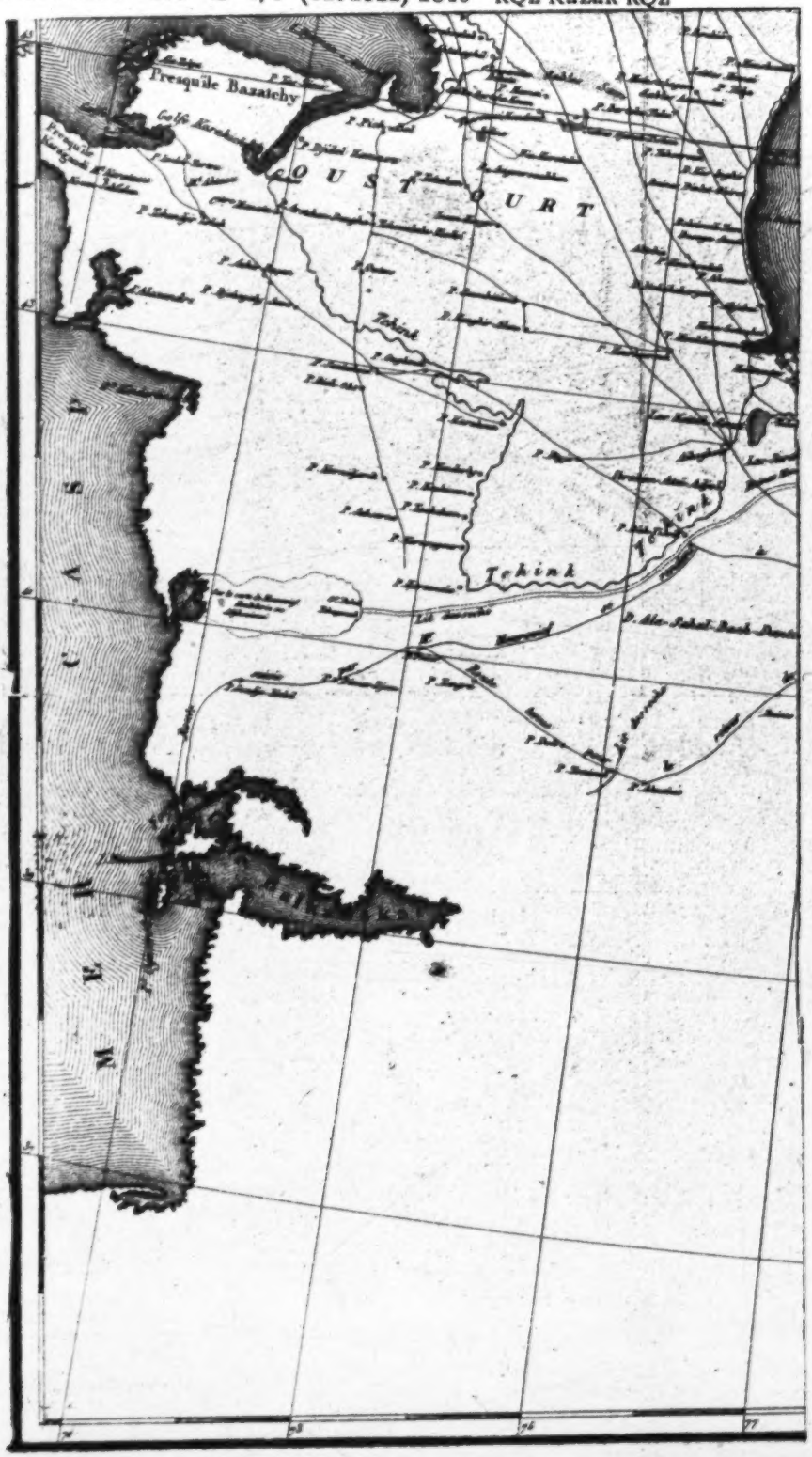
133
101


Presquile Bazatchy
Gulf Kirchinsk
COUSTOURT
Tchink
Tchink
Tchink

5: Levchine--197 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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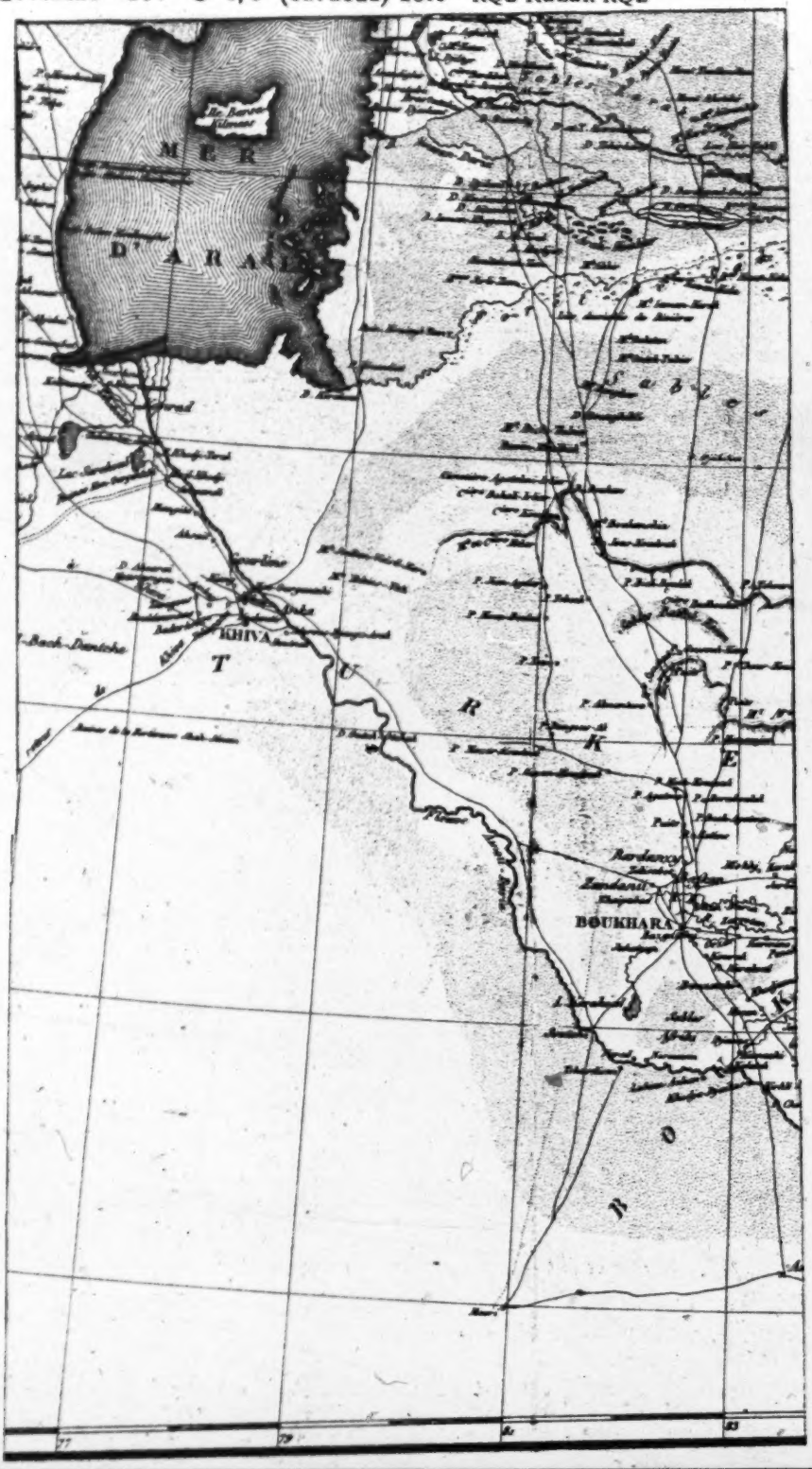
101



5: Levchine--198 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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101

5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

102
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5: Levchine--200 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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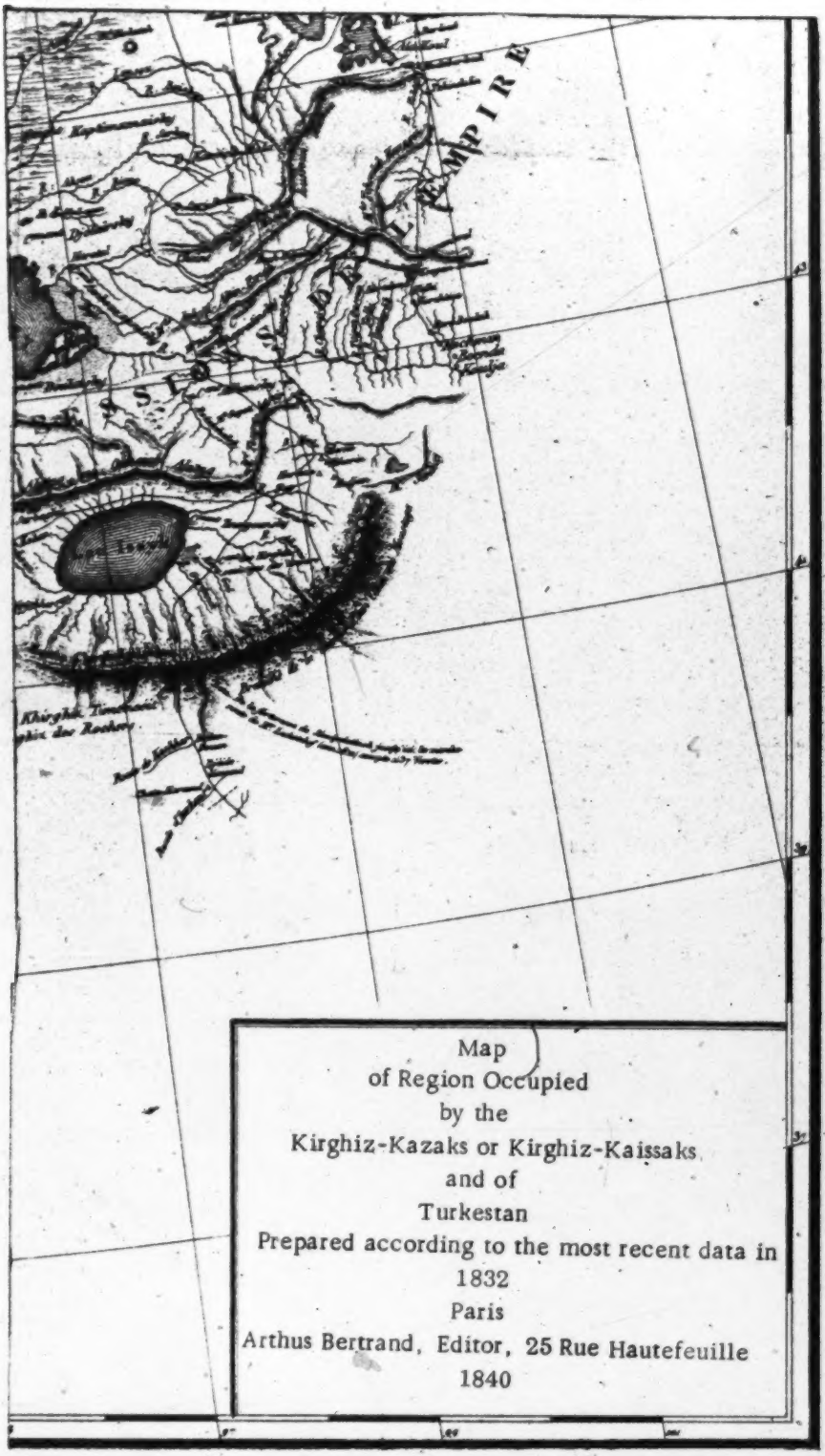
487
133
101



Map
of Region Occupied
by the
Kirghiz-Kazaks or Kirghiz-Kaissaks
and of
Turkestan
Prepared according to the most recent data in
1832
Paris
Arthus Bertrand, Editor, 25 Rue Hautefeuille
1840

5: Levchine G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

p. 191	p. 192	p. 193	p. 194	p. 195
p. 196	p. 197	p. 198	p. 199	p. 200

Chart showing the position of the pages of the sections of the "Map of Regions Occupied by the Kirghiz-Kazak or Kirghiz-Kaissaks and of Turkestan." (Translated text pp. 191-200)

5: Levchine
636

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

[For the role of the Kazak as dependents of the Russians, see category 116, pp. 23-163.]

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak RQ2
648

[For information on international relations, see category 116, pp. 23-163.]

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

DESCRIPTION

DES HORDES ET DES STEPPES

DES

KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS

OU KIRGHIZ-KAÏSSAKS

PAR ALEXIS DE LEVCHINE

CONSEILLER D'ÉTAT, MEMBRE DE PLUSIEURS SOCIÉTÉS SAVANTES

TRADUITE DU RUSSE

PAR FERRY DE PIGNY

TRADUCTEUR DE LA DESCRIPTION DE PÉKIN ET DE PLUSIEURS AUTRES OUVRAGES RUSSES

REVUE ET PUBLIÉE

PAR E. CHARRIÈRE

PARIS

IMPRIMÉ PAR AUTORISATION DU ROI

A L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE

M DCCC XL

[Title page of Foreign Text]

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

CHAPITRE III.

DE L'ORIGINE DES KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS, ET DE LEUR ÉTAT JUSQU'À LEUR SOUMISSION À LA RUSSIE, EN 1730.

L'absence de documents authentiques pour écrire l'histoire des Kirghiz-Kazaks, l'impossibilité de tirer parti de leurs traditions et l'intention où nous sommes de ne pas former de suppositions purement conjecturales, ne nous laisseraient rien de certain à dire à nos lecteurs sur l'origine de ce peuple, si notre respectable orientaliste M. Sénkofsky ne nous avait donné d'obligeants secours. Ayant profité de ses travaux et de ses connaissances dans l'histoire de l'Orient, nous complétons ici les notions que nous possédons sur les Kirghiz-Kazaks, en jetant un coup d'œil sur leur histoire, depuis leur origine jusqu'au moment où ils ont commencé à paraître dans les chroniques russes, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la moitié du XVIe siècle.

La plupart des Russes pensent et écrivent depuis cent ans que les premiers Kazaks viennent des Tatares, ou se sont formés chez eux; que le nom de Kazak a pris naissance parmi eux, et de là s'est étendu à tous les Kazaks qui ont

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

existé autrefois ou qui existent aujourd'hui; cependant les historiens orientaux réfutent avec force cette opinion à laquelle on est si accoutumé en Russie, et qui a donné lieu à tant de débats parmi les savants de ce pays. Ils assurent que les Kazaks formaient une nation compacte et indépendante dans les siècles les plus reculés de notre ère; et même quelques-uns font remonter leur existence à des temps bien antérieurs à Jésus-Christ. Il est certain que Firdevsi ou Ferdussi, qui vivait en 1020, c'est-à-dire deux siècles avant que les Mongols parussent à l'occident, parle, dans l'histoire de Rourtam, du peuple kazak et des khans kazaks. Son ouvrage et les plus anciennes chroniques persannes dans lesquelles il a puisé nous font connaître que les anciens Kazaks, comme ceux d'aujourd'hui, ont rendu leur nom célèbre par des pillages et des incursions; que leur arme principale était la lance, et que, par cette raison, on commença à donner en Asie le nom de Kazak à toute bande de cavaliers armés de lances, et exerçant le métier des véritables Kazaks, c'est-à-dire s'occupant de brigandage et d'incursions sur les terres voisines. Ainsi les Tatares-Kazaks, regardés par les Russes comme les premiers Kazaks, ne sont que des imitateurs, et leur nom n'est pas tatare; mais il a été emprunté à un autre peuple. Si cette notion est fondée et irréfutable, elle anéantit toutes les explications et les interprétations qu'on a faites du mot de Kazak.

Les significations qu'on lui a données par la suite ne reposent que sur la conformité de la manière de vivre et de s'armer de certains peuples avec les Kazaks véritables et primitifs; mais leur nom lui-même, en qualité de nom propre, ne se prête à aucune traduction, ni à aucun débat étymologique. Ainsi ceux qui ont fait venir ce mot de *koziavka;* de *koza*, chèvre ou peau de chèvre [1]; de *Kyptchak* [2], d'une langue

[1] Ouvrage manuscrit sur les Kazaks. Il en est fait mention dans l'Histoire de Russie, tome V.

[2] *Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi*, 12e partie, chapitre V.

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

de terre sur le Dnièpre, en russe *Kossa*[1]; de Kazak, général slave[2]; de *Khozare*[3]; etc, ont pris des peines inutiles.

Après avoir parlé en passant du genre de vie des anciens Kazaks pour montrer les points de ressemblance qu'ils ont avec ceux d'aujourd'hui, revenons à ce que les écrivains orientaux nous apprennent sur leur compte.

Ce peuple est connu en Asie depuis fort longtemps, et formant une des branches de la race si nombreuse des Turcs, il ne le cède en ancienneté ni aux Naïmanes, ni aux Kirghiz, ni à aucun des peuples asiatiques de la même race. Après être tombé sous la domination de Tchinghis-khan, il passa à la mort de ce conquérant en apanage à son fils Djoutchi, et, quoiqu'il appartînt à la horde d'Or, il conserva ses propres khans; c'est pourquoi il resta quelquefois sous l'obéissance de ses principaux chefs, et quelquefois se réunit tantôt à la horde de Tchagataï, tantôt à celle d'Almalyk, ou à celle de Tachkend, que l'on nomma par la suite Mogoul-Oulouss.

Après l'affaiblissement des puissants états de Djoutchi et de Tchagataï, des dissensions intestines eurent lieu dans beaucoup de races qui avaient appartenu aux fils et aux descendants de Tchinghis-khan, et surtout chez les nomades. Les Ouzbeks, qui s'étaient emparés du Maveranneher et de la Kharesmie, devinrent les plus puissants. Mais tous les peuples que troublaient l'anarchie ne tombèrent pas sous leur domination. Quelques-uns se réunirent aux Tatares de Crimée, d'autres aux Mogouls-Oulouss, d'autres aux vrais Tatares, c'est-à-dire ceux de Kazan; d'autres enfin à la horde des Kazaks. Tout ceci eut lieu après la ruine de la horde d'Or. Lorsque par la suite les Ouzbeks se divisèrent, beaucoup de leurs branches se fondirent avec la horde des Kazaks. De cette manière deux états puissants se formèrent au commencement

[1] Scherer, *Annales de la petite Russie*; et Gartknokh, *Histoire de la république de Pologne*.

[2] Sinopsis.

[3] Sestrenzcevitch, *Histoire de la Tauride*.

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du XVIe siècle dans les steppes de Kiptchak et de Tchété. Le premier de ces états, Mogoul-Oulouss, avait pour chef le khan Dadame, et le second, qui obéissait à Arslane, khan des Kazaks, était si puissant qu'il pouvait mettre sur pied jusqu'à quatre cent mille hommes de troupes. C'est ce qu'on trouve écrit par le sultan Baber, fondateur du célèbre empire du Grand-Mogol dans les Indes. Il donna une de ses nièces en mariage à Arslane-khan, et fut le témoin oculaire de sa puissance.

A cette époque, plusieurs branches ou tribus de beaucoup de peuples connus dans l'histoire de l'Orient, et qui s'étaient détachées de la horde d'Or, furent réunies de gré ou de force aux Kazaks. Ce fut à cette époque que se confondirent avec les Kazaks, les Kiptchaks, les Naïmanes, les Konrades, les Djalaïrs, les Kankly, dont les races, les tribus et les sections les plus puissantes des hordes kazakes ont conservé les noms.

Quelques peuples, tels que les Dourmanes, les Karlikis, etc., après s'être réunis aux Kazaks, s'en séparèrent de nouveau pour se réunir aux Ouzbeks. Mais d'un autre côté les Kazaks furent renforcés par diverses races turques, qui se réunirent à eux à l'époque de la prise de Tachkent par Chabakht-khan, et après la ruine entière d'Oulouss-Mogoul vaincu par le khan Abdallah.

Nous devrions parler ici des descendants d'Arslane-khan, et de la destinée des peuples kazaks qui se trouvaient sous leur domination; des révolutions successives auxquelles ils ont été exposés, et du prompt renversement de la puissance qu'ils avaient acquise sous Arslane. Au lieu de cela, nous nous bornerons à dire que les Kirghiz-Kazaks mènent une vie nomade; qu'ils n'ont ni chroniques, ni aucun autre monument historique de cette nature, et que, par conséquent, il est impossible d'écrire sur eux une histoire complète et suivie.

Au reste, après Arslane-khan, ce peuple ne nous est pas demeuré entièrement inconnu. Après avoir perdu le fil des événements décrits par les historiens orientaux, nous commençons à retrouver les Kazaks, ou comme on les nomme aujour-

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d'hui les Kirghiz-Kazaks, dans les ouvrages des voyageurs européens et dans les chroniques russes; indépendamment des témoignages qu'elles nous fournissent, nous avons pour nous éclairer les archives qui conservent des preuves irrécusables des relations particulières de la Russie avec différents peuples de l'Asie.

Herberstein est le premier des écrivains européens[1] qui parle de la horde des Kazaks. Ayant été deux fois ambassadeur de l'empereur des Romains auprès du tsar Ivan Vassilièvitch, et ayant receuilli beaucoup de notions géographiques, tant sur la Russie que sur les contrées voisines, il a écrit dans les mémoires ce qui suit[2] : *Ad Orientem* (depuis les terres du royaume de Kazad) *autem æstivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent.* Il répète[3] à peu près la même chose dans un autre endroit. Jenkinson, qui fut à Boukhara dans les années 1558 et 1559, dit que le souverain de Tachkent était alors en guerre avec les Kazaks, peuple cruel et nombreux, qui n'avait pas de villes, et professait le mahométisme[4]. C'est sans doute sur cette remarque que les terres des Kirghiz-Kazaks étaient déjà connues sur nos cartes en Europe sous le nom de terres des Tatars-Kazaks[5]. Les Russes, à cause de leurs fréquentes relations avec les Nogaïs, les ont connus au moins un siècle auparavant. Nous en trouvons les preuves d'abord dans les notions d'Herberstein sur les Kirghiz-Kazaks, que nous avons citées plus haut, et qu'il a recueillies à Moscou dans le commencement du XVIe siècle; en second lieu les actes des relations avec les No-

[1] Herberstein arriva à Moscou pour la première fois en 1517; la seconde en 1526. Voyez l'Histoire de l'empire de Russie, tome VII, remarques 165 et suiv.

[2] Voyez *Rerum Moscovitiarum Commentarii*, page 91, édition de 1571, imprimée à Bâle.

[3] *Ibidem.*

[4] Voyez le Recueil de voyages au Nord, tome IV.

[5] Vitsen, dans son *Noord and Oost Tartary*, a placé une carte sous le titre de *Asia ex magna orbis terræ descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G. M. junioris; edita anno* M. D. LXXXVII. Dans cette carte, il écrit, au sud du fleuve Margus, vers la mer Caspienne : *Kazaki Tartari.*

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gaïs que l'on conserve à Moscou dans les archives du collége des affaires étrangères. Nous voyons dans ces dernières, sous l'année 1534, qu'un envoyé du tzar Ivane Groznoï (le Terrible), nommé Danila Goubine, alors chez les Nogaïs, rapporte ce qui suit : « Et les Kazaks, sire, sont dit-on, très-forts; et l'on dit, sire, qu'ils ont fait la guerre à Techkène (Tachkent); et les fils du roi de Techkène, dit-on, se sont battus avec eux deux fois, et les Kazaks les ont battus. » De même Sémene Maltsof, envoyé par le tzar Ivane Groznoï en 1569 chez les Nogaïs, qui habitaient entre le Volga et le Iaïk, parle de l'attaque que firent sur leurs oulouss « les hordes kazakes du tsar Aknazar, du tsarevitch Chigaï et du tsarevitch Tchelime [1]. » Ces renseignement, que nous plaçons ici seulement à cause de leur ancienneté, ne nous apprennent rien que le nom des Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Mais quatre ans après, Ivane résolut d'entrer avec eux en relation politique, déterminé sans doute par la demande des Strogonofs, qui avaient établi avec la horde des Kazaks des liaisons de commerce. Cette circonstance engagea le tzar à les protéger et à les étendre en envoyant de sa part un député au chef de la horde. La mission fut confiée au tretiak Tchebokof [1]; mais il fut fait prisonnier aux environs de la Kama, en 1573, par le célèbre Mamet-Koul, neveu de Koutchoume, khan de Sibérie, avant d'arriver à sa destination. Ce premier essai pour entamer des relations avec les Kirghiz-Kazaks ayant été infructueux, Ivane remit à une époque plus favorable une seconde tentative. Cependant, le 30 mai 1774, il donna aux Strogonofs une lettre-patente, par laquelle il leur permettait de commercer sans payer de droit avec les Kirghiz-Kazaks [3].

La conquête de la Sibérie qui eut lieu peu après rapprocha ce peuple des Russes.

[1] Voyez l'Histoire de l'empire de Russie, tome IX, remarque 245.
[2] *Histoire de l'empire de Russie*, tome IX, page 378.
[3] Voyez Miller, *Histoire de Sibérie*, page 87, et l'Histoire de Russie, tome IX, page 661.

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Koutchoume, dernier khan de Sibérie, était lui-même Kirghiz-Kazaks; s'étant rendu maître d'Isker par la force des armes et par la mise à mort des princes Edigher et Bekboulate qui y régnaient [1], il était indispensable qu'il eût près de lui une armée composée de ses anciens compatriotes. Ainsi il n'est pas douteux que Iermak et les compagnons de ses exploits n'aient combattu contre les Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kazaks actuels.

Mourtaza, père de Koutchoume, était vraisemblablement un souverain assez puissant; car, non-seulement il donna à son fils une année pour la conquête du pays, mais il lui envoya encore des mollahs pour répandre en Sibérie la religion mahométane [2].

Après Iermak, Koutchoume fut, comme on le sait, chassé d'Isker par Seïdak, qui tomba ensuite entre les mains des Russes. On fit prisonnier avec lui Ouraz-Mehmet, tzarevitch ou sultan des Kazaks, et neveu de Tevkel qui se disait khan des Kazaks et Kalmaks [3].

Cet évènement donna au tzar Fédor non-seulement la faculté de renouveler les projets de son père sur les Kirghiz-Kazaks, mais encore le droit de se dire leur souverain.

Tevkel, désirant délivrer son neveu, envoya en 1594 un ambassadeur à Moscou avec une lettre au tzar, par laquelle il le priait de le recevoir avec toute sa horde au rang de ses sujets, et de lui envoyer Ouraz-Mehmet [4].

Connaissant les mœurs et les usages des Kirghiz-Kazaks, on peut être certain que cette proposition n'était qu'une pro-

[1] Voyez les Chroniques de Sibérie; l'Histoire de Sibérie de Fischer, introduction, § 84; l'Histoire de l'empire de Russie, tome IX, page 644.

[2] Voyez l'Histoire de Sibérie de Miller, et l'introduction de l'Histoire de Sibérie de Fischer, art. 86 et 87.

[3] C'est ce que dit l'Histoire de Russie, tome X, page 98. Au reste, la réunion de ces deux titres nous paraît très-extraordinaire.

[4] Voyez, dans les archives du collége des affaires étrangères à Moscou, les affaires kirghiz en 1794 et 1795; et le renvoi à ces archives de l'Histoire de Russie, tome X, remarque 332.

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messe insignifiante pour délivrer Ouraz-Mehmet, et que Tevkel n'avait aucune intention de la tenir, soit qu'on lui rendît son neveu, soit qu'on le gardât. C'est ce qu'il prouva lorsque le tzar lui répondit par une lettre, en 1795, qu'il le recevait avec toute la horde au rang de ses sujets, et qu'il lui enverrait des armes à feu; mais qu'il exigeait, pour preuve de son obéissance, qu'il forçât à la paix le khan des Boukhares et réduisît Koutchoume à l'obéissance, promettant de rendre la liberté à Ouraz-Mehmet [1], lorsque Tevkel aurait donné en ôtage à sa place un de ses fils, le tzarevitch ou sultan Hussein [2].

Cette lettre fut portée par l'ambassadeur de Tevkel, qu'accompagna Véliamine-Stépanof, interprète pour la langue tatare.

On ignore quelle espèce de nouvelle Stépanof put apporter au tzar à son retour de la horde; on sait seulement que son voyage ne procura à la Russie aucun avantage politique, et que ni Tevkel, ni ses successeurs, ne furent sujets de la Russie jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle, qu'ils ne la servirent pas et ne lui donnèrent aucune espèce de secours; ils attaquèrent au contraire ses nouvelles colonies en Sibérie.

On doit croire cependant que les habitants des frontières des nouvelles possessions russes avaient, ainsi que nos marchands, à cette époque, de fréquentes relations avec eux, et qu'ils acquirent des connaissances certaines sur leur pays. Car dans le livre du *Grand tracé* (Bolchomou-Tchertejou) qui, d'après les preuves fondées de M. Karamzine, doit avoir été écrit sous le règne du tzar Fedor-Ivanovitch [3], on parle avec beaucoup de détails de plusieurs habitations qui existaient sur les terres de la horde des Kazaks.

[1] Godounof nomma par la suite ce prince tzar de Kasimof. *Histoire de Russie*, tome IX, page 22.

[2] Voyez, pour cette lettre, son envoi conservé aux archives des affaires étrangères.

[3] *Histoire de l'empire de Russie*, tome X, page 259.

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Comme ce livre est rare, nous ne croyons pas hors de propos d'en transcrire ce qui regarde les steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks.

« Et de la mer de Khvalymsk (Caspienne) jusqu'à la mer Bleue (d'Aral), vers l'orient d'été, il y a deux cent cinquante verstes.

« Et par la mer Bleue, jusqu'à l'embouchure du Syr, deux cent quatre-vingts verstes; et en travers, par la mer Bleue, soixante verstes; et dans la mer Bleue, l'eau est salée. De la mer Bleue est sorti le fleuve Arzass, qui s'écoule dans la mer de Khvalymsk.

« Et dans le fleuve Arzass tombait, à l'orient, le fleuve Amou-Daria; le fleuve Amou-Daria a trois cents verstes de cours; et l'Arzass a mille soixante verstes de cours; et à trois cents verstes de la mer Bleue est le mont Ourouk [1]. L'Ourouk a quatre-vingt-dix verstes de longueur; de cette montagne sortent trois rivières, la rivière Vor (Or), coule dans le fleuve Jaïk, au nord (à la nuit); la rivière Irghiz coule dans le lac Akbachly [2], à l'orient; la rivière Ghem (Emba) coule au midi vers la mer de Khvalymsk, et tombe dans un lac avant d'arriver à la mer.

« Et de l'Irghiz à la mer Bleue, à deux cent quatre-vingts verstes, sont les sables de Barsouk-Koum; à travers ces sables il y a vingt-cinq verstes, et les sables de Kara-Koum, à deux cents verstes de la mer.

« Les sables de Kara-Koum ont deux cent cinquante verstes de long, et de large cent trente verstes; et ces trois sables touchent au rivage de la mer Bleue.

« Dans la mer Bleue, à l'orient, tombe le Syr; et dans le Syr tombe le Kenderlik. Et le fleuve Kenderlik coule du mont Ouloutaou par deux lits.

« Et depuis la montagne, le Kenderlik a trois cent trente

[1] Ourouk ou Airouk, ou Airourouk, est une branche de la crête des Mougodjar.

[2] Aujourd'hui Aksakal-Barbi.

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verstes de cours[1]; et une autre rivière, Kenderlyk, sortant de la même montagne, tombe dans le Sarsou.

« Et le Sarsou tombe dans un lac avant d'arriver au Syr, à cent cinquante verstes de l'embouchure du Kenderlyk, et à soixante-dix verstes du mont Karatchat (Kara Tag), et le long du Karatchat, deux cent cinquante verstes, et cette montagne est à quatre-vingts verstes du Syr.

« Et à cent cinquante verstes de l'embouchure du Kenderlik, sur la rive gauche du Syr, est la ville de Sounak (Saganak), vis-à-vis le mont Karatchat, et entre le lac Akbachly et le fleuve Saouk et le lac Ankoul (Akkoul); et sur les deux rives du Zelenchik et de la rivière Kenderlik et du Sarsou, et les sables de Kara-Koum dans ces endroits, sur six cents verstes, tous les pâturages de la horde des Kazaks. »

On voit par cette description, qu'à cette époque les Kirghiz n'occupaient que le milieu de leurs terres actuelles. Leur partie orientale appartenait aux Zungars et à d'autres races mongoles; le nord appartenait à diverses branches de Tatares sibériens; à l'occident habitaient les Nogaïs, et plus haut les Bachkirs[2]. Ensuite les Kalmouks, connus maintenant sous le nom de Kalmouks du Volga, occupèrent la place des Nogaïs.

D'abord les Kirghiz-Kazaks s'avancèrent vers le nord; Fischer, dans son Histoire de Sibérie[3], dit qu'après avoir terminé en 1594 la ville de Tary, on y ajouta le canton de Kourdak, où on jeta les fondements d'un ostrog pour arrêter les incursions des Kalmouks et des Kirghiz-Kazaks. Ainsi ces derniers n'étaient déjà plus loin des frontières russes.

Ils ne s'étendirent à l'orient qu'après l'extermination des

[1] Nous avons parlé de cette rivière à la description géographique.

[2] Il est dit dans ce même livre du *Grand tracé*, page 229 : « Depuis le haut du Bouzoulouk, sur les plaines et jusqu'à la mer Bleue, sont les pâturages des grands Nogais. » On conserve à Moscou, dans les archives des affaires étrangères, n° 10, une lettre de Ioussouf, prince des Nogaïs, au tzar Ivane Grosnoï, écrite à la fin du XVIe siècle. Ioussouf y dit clairement : « Et je voulais faire la guerre à la horde kazak, et aujourd'hui je nomadise sur le fleuve Jelek (Ilek), au delà du Jaïk. »

[3] Traduction russe, page 180.

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peuples Zungars par les Chinois; c'est-à-dire vers la moitié du dernier siècle.

Ils s'étendirent à l'occident au commencement du XVIIIe siècle; mais à la fin du XVIIe et même dans les premières années du XVIIIe, les Bachkirs erraient en nomades entre les parties élevées de l'Oural et de l'Emba, tandis que les Kalmouks étaient établis entre leurs embouchures [1]. Au sud, les Kirghiz ne se contentèrent pas de faire des incursions sur les frontières des peuples voisins. Selon nos chroniques, ils étaient déjà maîtres de Turkestan au commencement du XVIIe siècle, et cette ville servait constamment d'habitation à leurs khans. On ne sait en quelle année eut lieu cette conquête, ni qui fut le chef de l'expédition. Nous n'avons pu de même découvrir où habitait le khan Mourtaza, père de Koutchoume, ni si ses descendants ont longtemps régné sur les Kirghiz. Nous n'avons pas eu plus de succès dans nos recherches sur le khan Ak-Nazar qui, en 1569, attaqua les oulouss des Nogaïs, lorsque Semène-Maltsof, envoyé du tzar Ivane Grozneï, s'y trouvait [2]. Cependant nous avons recueilli quelques preuves certaines qu'Ichime, khan des Kirghiz-Kazaks, possédait Turkestan vers 1630.

Aboulghazi-Baïadour est le premier qui en parle; il en est question pour la deuxième fois dans les Annales de Sibérie; nous avons encore trouvé d'autres renseignements sur lui dans les archives de la commission des frontières à Orenbourg, dans les affaires de 1748.

Aboulghazi-Baïadour fait connaître les Kirghiz-Kazaks et le khan Ichime, aux environs de l'année 1630 [3], parce qu'à cette époque, forcé par son frère Isfandiar, khan d'Ourghendji, de fuir de sa patrie, il se retira à Turkestan, où le khan Ichime le

[1] Kirilof, premier fondateur de la ligne d'Orenbourg et auteur du rapprochement des Russes et des Kirghiz, écrit dans un de ses projets, en 1734 : « Dorji-Nazarof, khan des Kalmouks nomades aux environs de l'Emba et du Jaïk. » Voyez dans les archives des départements d'Asie, année 1734, les projets de Kirilof.

[2] Voyez plus haut, page 140.

[3] *Histoire généalogique des Tatars*, IIe partie, chapitre XI.

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reçut et le garda trois mois. Ensuite il le conduisit à Tachkent et le mit sous la protection de Toursoune, khan de ce pays. Deux ans après ces deux princes se brouillèrent. Ichime, ayant tué Toursoune, s'empara de Tachkent, et Aboulghazi se retira en Boukharie.

Ichime-khan est connu dans les chroniques sibériennes par ses mésintelligences et ses guerres, et surtout par les guerres de son fils Djanghir ou Ianghir avec le khontaïdzi des Zungars, Batour ou Bagatyr[1]. Fischer dit que Bagatyr entra en guerre avec Ichime en 1635, et que Djanghir, qui commandait alors l'armée kirghiz-kazake, fut fait prisonnier. Ayant par hasard recouvré sa liberté, il voulut se venger des Zungars, et les tourmenta continuellement par ses incursions. Afin de réduire à la paix pour longtemps, ou, s'il était possible, d'exterminer entièrement de si dangereux voisins, Bagatyr rassembla cinquante mille hommes de troupes, tant des siennes que de celles de ses alliés.

Il soumit facilement, à la tête de ces forces, deux races de Kirghiz-Kazaks formant en tout dix mille individus. Il aurait ensuite détruit tout ce que Djanghir aurait pu lui opposer, si ce sultan kirghiz, habile dans la guerre comme on peut le voir, n'eût employé les mesures les plus salutaires pour sa défense. Il n'avait que six cents hommes armés; n'osant avec cette poignée d'hommes attaquer l'ennemi à force ouverte, il plaça une moitié de son monde dans une gorge entre deux montagnes; il la fit entourer d'un fossé profond et d'un retranchement élevé, et il s'embusqua lui-même derrière la montagne avec l'autre moitié. Les Zungars, arrivés près du retranchement, l'attaquèrent; et pendant qu'ils perdaient beaucoup de monde dans ce combat, que le peu d'étendue du terrain leur rendait défavorable, Djanghir fondit sur eux par derrière. Cette attaque inopinée, l'audace des guerriers qu'on avait choisis à cet effet, l'excellence des fusils dont ils étaient tous

[1] *Histoire de Sibérie*, livre IV div. 3, § 13.

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armés, causèrent une forte perte à Bagatyr. Dans ce moment Alantouch, prince tatar, arriva au secours des Kirghiz, à la tête de vingt mille hommes de troupes fraîches, pour achever la ruine de Bagatyr. Les Zungars furent contraints de se retirer et de borner leur vengeance à emmener les prisonniers qu'ils avaient faits dans le combat. Les Kazaks continuèrent à les tourmenter par de fréquentes incursions, non-seulement sous Bagatyr, mais encore sous ses successeurs.

Nous avons trouvé la troisième notice sur Ichime dans les papiers de Tevkèlef, ci-devant interprète du collége des affaires étrangères, et ensuite général-major; il passa deux ans dans les hordes kirghizes, par ordre de l'impératrice Anne, et les amena à se soumettre à la Russie; ensuite, comme nous le verrons plus bas, il fit long temps partie de la commission d'Orenbourg; il eut, d'après des ordres du gouvernement, des relations continuelles avec les khans et les sultans kirghiz; il connaissait leur langue à fond, et tenait un journal des conférences de vive voix qu'il avait avec eux. Il dit, dans un de ces journaux, écrit en 1748, qu'Aboulkhaïr, khan de la Petite-Horde, Aboul-Mahmet, khan de la Moyenne, et les sultans les plus distingués, lui avaient communiqué leur généalogie.

Nous placerons à la fin de cet ouvrage les trois tables que nous avons composées.

La première nous fait voir que Djadek, un des deux chefs de race, fut père de Chigaï-khan, qui eut pour fils Ichime, le même qui, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, était khan du Turkestan à l'époque où il fit la guerre au khontaïdzi des Zungars, et chez lequel Aboulghazi-Baïadour alla chercher un asile.

Il est facile de prouver que cet Ichime n'est pas quelque autre khan kirghiz inconnu; car Aboul-Mahmet, qui communiqua cette généalogie à Tevkèlef[1], et qui se disait arrière-

[1] Aboul-Mahmet écrivit la même chose, sur son origine, au prince Ourousof, le 19 juillet 1740. Voyez les archives de la commission des frontières d'Orenbourg. Avec deux notices aussi certaines, nous pouvons affirmer à nos lecteurs

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petit-fils d'Ichime, naquit à la fin du XVIIe siècle, comme on le voit d'après beaucoup d'écrits et d'autres papiers de ce temps. Si, en partant de ce prince, nous remontons à son père, à son aïeul, et ainsi de suite, nous trouverons qu'Ichime, dans sa jeunesse, et Djanghir dans l'âge mûr, étaient contemporains du khontaïdzi Bagatyr. Nous pouvons joindre une seconde preuve à cette première : c'est que dans notre table, ainsi que dans l'histoire, nous voyons le fils d'Ichime sous le nom de Djanghir.

Nous trouvons de cette manière que Djadek, père de Chigaï et grand-père d'Ichime, vivait avec son frère Oussiak, vers la moitié du XVIe siècle, c'est-à-dire en même temps que le khan de Sibérie Koutchoume et son père Mourtaza ; mais nous ignorons s'ils étaient parents et s'ils sortaient de la même branche.

Nos connaissances ne vont pas au delà de Djadek et d'Oussiak. Tevkèlef ne put, au milieu du siècle dernier, savoir le nom de leur père, à cause du temps éloigné où il avait vécu ; par conséquent, c'est encore moins possible aujourd'hui.

Les questions que nous avons faites à ce sujet aux Kirghiz-Kazaks, dans les années 1820, 1821 et 1822, nous ont seulement appris que leurs khans et leurs sultans se regardent comme descendants de Tchinghis-khan. La plupart des princes de la haute Asie s'attribuent cet honneur, et rarement sans fondement ; il est possible que beaucoup de chefs kirghiz y aient droit, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres Tchinghissides, qui n'ont reçu de leur terrible et puissant aïeul d'autre héritage que son nom.

Aboulghazi-Baïadour prouve que Koutchoume, khan de Sibérie, descendait de Cheïbani, petit-fils de Tchinghis ; mais Koutchoume, comme on sait, était un sultan kirghiz ; il n'est donc pas étonnant que d'autres khans et sultans kirghiz descendent aussi de Cheïbani. Si, en nous réglant par

que c'est à tort que, dans le Nouvelliste Sibérien de 1820, page 114 de l'article des Kirghiz-Kazaks, on nomme Aboul-Mahmet fils de Koutchioub.

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cette première table manuscrite, nous descendons d'Ichime et de Djanghir, dont l'existence nous est connue, à des temps plus rapprochés de nous, nous verrons qu'après Djanghir vient son fils, le khan Tiavka.

Au nom de ce prince, le cœur de tout Kirghiz, capable de s'élever par l'intelligence au-dessus de ses turbulents compatriotes, se remplit de reconnaissance et de vénération. C'est le Lycurgue et le Dracon des hordes des Kazaks. Il fit renaître la paix parmi eux après des dissensions sanglantes; il arrêta l'effusion du sang, que faisaient couler depuis plusieurs années les querelles de quelques tribus entre elles; il contraignit tout le monde par sa sagesse et son équité à lui obéir; il réunit entre elles les tribus faibles pour résister aux puissantes, et força celles-ci à la tranquillité; il leur donna à toutes des lois d'après lesquelles il les jugeait, et dont la mémoire se conserve encore chez les Kirghiz les plus sages; mais qui, par malheur, ne sont pas exécutées[1].

Malgré tous ses services et son influence sur les hordes, Tiavka ne jouissait pas, à ce qu'on dit, d'un pouvoir étendu sur son peuple, et employait moins la force que sa prudence, son expérience, ses liaisons et son habileté. Commandant à tous les Kirghiz-Kazaks, il vécut comme son père et son aïeul à Turkestan. Pour gouverner et surveiller chaque horde en particulier, il avait choisi trois chefs qu'il tenait sous sa dépendance; savoir: dans la Grande-Horde, Tioul; dans la Moyenne, Kazbek; et dans la Petite, Aïtiak.

Nous parlons ici de la division du peuple kazak en trois hordes, sans avoir dit à quelle époque et comment elle eut lieu. Malheureusement cet événement est un secret pour nous. Nous n'avons aucun moyen de rien déterminer à cet égard. Nous n'en savons que ce que nous apprend une tradition populaire, qui dit qu'un khan puissant des Kirghiz partagea tout son peuple entre ses trois fils; que la part de l'aîné se

[1] Voyez, à la description statistique, l'article sur la forme du gouvernement.

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nomma *la Grande-Horde;* celle du second, *la Moyenne;* et celle du cadet, *la Petite*[1].

Nous n'avons pu recueillir aucun renseignement sur Poulate, fils du khan Tiavka, et père d'Abul-Mahmet, que nous trouvons dans la table.

Les traditions disent seulement que la tranquillité rétablie par Tiavka ne dura pas longtemps parmi les Kirghiz. Les dissensions et les troubles recommencèrent, et les peuples voisins ne tardèrent pas à en profiter. Ils furent attaqués à l'occident par les Kalmouks du Volga, au nord par les Bachkirs et les Cosaques de Sibérie. Mais les plus terribles de tous étaient les Zungars à l'orient; ils avaient alors pour chef le puissant khontaïdzi Galdane Tsyrène, qui non-seulement fit trembler tous les peuples nomades, mais répandit encore la terreur en Russie et à la Chine. Dans cette situation malheureuse, les Kirghiz ne pouvaient attendre de secours que de la puissance de Pierre le Grand, dont le vaste génie, occupé de la gloire et du bonheur de son peuple, veillait sur la frontière d'Asie pendant qu'il avait en Europe les affaires les plus importantes.

Le prince Gagarine était alors gouverneur de Sibérie. Le tsar lui ordonna non-seulement d'entrer en relation avec les Kirghiz, mais encore de leur donner, si cela était possible, du secours contre Galdane Tsyrène, pour arrêter un peu l'accroissement continuel de la puissance du chef des Zungars. Gagarine exécuta les ordres du tsar en 1717 et les khans des Kirghiz, Tiavka, Kaïp et Aboulkhaïr[2] répondirent par la pro-

[1] Les Kirghiz traduisent le mot horde par *iouz*, qui veut dire *cent* ou *centurie;* c'est pourquoi ils disent : *oulou-iouz*, ou *la grande centurie; ourta-iouz*, ou *la moyenne centurie*. Au reste, le mot *iouz* a encore d'autres significations en turc.

[2] Nous avons puisé ces renseignements dans les ouvrages et traductions de l'année 1760, janvier. Voyez l'article du *sabre d'or*. Ce khan Tiavka dont il est question doit être le célèbre législateur des Kirghiz dont nous avons parlé; mais à cette époque il était déjà très-vieux. Sa faiblesse, et la perte de son pouvoir qui s'ensuivit, furent sans doute cause que l'on fit khans pendant sa vie Aboulkhaïr et Kaïp dont nous voyons ici les noms pour la première fois (année 1717).

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messe d'obéir en tout à la Russie. Cependant ces relations n'eurent aucune suite, parce que le prince Gagarine fut rappelé à Moscou peu après, et Tiavka, le plus ancien et le plus prudent des khans, mourut. Ses compagnons ne surent pas profiter de cette heureuse circonstance. Au lieu de se réunir pour demander à la Russie sa protection contre les Zungars, ils commencèrent à se quereller entre eux, et sans penser en aucune façon au salut général, ils continuèrent leur métier accoutumé, c'est-à-dire qu'ils pillèrent tous leurs voisins; et la Russie, qui leur avait offert secours et protection, ne fut pas la dernière à en souffrir. Non contents de leurs fréquentes incursions sur les frontières de la Sibérie, ils pénétrèrent en cette même année 1717 jusqu'à Novochechminsk (gouvernement de Kazan), prirent cette ville, la ruinèrent, et quoi qu'on les en eût chassés avec une grande perte, ils emmenèrent un grand nombre de prisonniers. Cette dernière incursion fut faite par les sujets du khan Aboulkhaïr[1]; et Kaïp, craignant qu'elle ne lui fût attribuée et qu'on ne le punît quoique innocent pour le crime de son rival, envoya en 1718 à Pierre Ier une lettre par laquelle il lui proposait une paix perpétuelle et son alliance[2].

Cependant cette lettre n'arrêta point la juste vengeance des habitants des frontières, irrités des continuelles incursions des Kirghiz-Kazaks. Les Kalmouks du Volga, les Bachkirs, les Cosaques de Sibérie, recommencèrent leurs attaques avec plus de force que jamais. Galdane Tsyrène ne put voir de sang froid la ruine des anciens ennemis de son peuple ni laisser sans vengeance les agressions et les injures que ses ancêtres avaient eues à endurer pendant plus de cent ans. Après leur avoir porté plusieurs coups terribles, il leur

[1] Voyez l'Histoire d'Orenbourg de Rytchkof, et les rapports au sénat du gouverneur Neplouief. Rytchkof ne dit pas qui commandait les Kirghiz dans cette incursion; mais Neplouief dit que c'était le khan Aboulkhaïr, qui, par la suite, devint sujet de l'empire.

[2] Cette lettre, ainsi que la réponse qu'y fit le gouverneur de Kazan, se conserve encore aujourd'hui dans les archives du collége des affaires étrangères.

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enleva en 1723 la capitale de leurs khans, Turkestan [1], outre Tachkent et Saïram, et enfin il soumit complétement à sa puissance quelques branches de la Grande et de la Moyenne-Horde.

Un sort semblable attendait tous les autres Kirghiz-Kaïssaks; resserrés et poursuivis de trois côtés, ils auraient pu être entièrement exterminés, s'ils ne se fussent retirés au sud. Les restes de la Grande-Horde et une petite partie de la Moyenne se replièrent vers Khodjante; la plus grande partie de la Moyenne à Samarkande; et la petite à Khiva et en Boukharie [2]. Ces migrations entraînaient à leur suite une ruine et une destruction infaillibles. Les troupeaux et les haras diminuaient de jour en jour. Le malheur et la pauvreté attaquèrent tout le monde; les uns mouraient de faim, les autres abandonnaient leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Enfin les fuyards s'arrêtèrent, mais dans des lieux stériles et qui n'offraient aucune ressource à un peuple nomade. Il était impossible aux Kirghiz de supporter longtemps une situation si malheureuse. De deux fléaux qui les menaçaient, il valait mieux choisir celui qui promettait quelques avantages, sinon pour le présent, au moins pour l'avenir. Le désespoir les poussait à se rendre maîtres de leurs anciennes habitations, dont ils ne pouvaient se passer. Le danger éteignit le feu des dissensions, que remplaça l'accord des pensées et des efforts de tous, dirigés vers un même but. Il fut décidé dans une assemblée générale du peuple de se porter en avant, d'attaquer les ennemis communs, et de les chasser des terres des Kirghiz-Kazaks. Cette entreprise fut aussitôt consacrée par un serment mutuel de rester fidèles l'un à l'autre. Le khan Aboulkhaïr fut choisi pour

[1] Neplouief et Rytchkof, dans leurs rapports écrits d'Orenbourg au collége des affaires étrangères, disent souvent qu'Aboulkhaïr habita Turkestan jusqu'en 1723, époque où il en fut chassé par les Zungars.

[2] C'est ce que dit à Tevkélef le célèbre ancien de la Moyenne-Horde, Boukenbaï, lorsqu'ils se virent à Orsk en 1748, et il ajouta: « Nous fuyions alors devant les Kalmouks, les Kosaques de Sibérie et du Jaïk, et les Bachkirs, comme les lièvres devant les chiens lévriers. »

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chef de la nation, et le sacrifice que l'on fit d'un cheval blanc [1], selon l'usage de ce peuple, fut regardé comme le gage de la tranquillité future.

Après ces dispositions, les Kirghiz s'avancèrent, attaquèrent les Zungars, gagnèrent sur eux quelques batailles, et reprirent leurs anciennes terres. Mais s'attendant à de nouvelles attaques de Galdane Tsyrène, ils trouvèrent plus à propos de s'éloigner de ce dangereux voisin, et ils se retirèrent les uns au nord, les autres à l'occident; la Grande-Horde resta seule auprès des Zungars, qui la soumirent presque en entier, comme nous le verrons bientôt. La Petite-Horde, arrivée jusqu'à l'Emba, qui faisait auparavant la frontière, ne s'y arrêta pas; elle passa sur la rive droite de cette rivière, attaqua les Kalmouks du Volga, et s'étant emparée d'une grande quantité de leurs pâturages, elle passa jusqu'à l'Oural. La Horde-Moyenne s'avança au nord, jusqu'à l'Ori et l'Ouï, et chassa beaucoup de Bachkirs des environs de ces rivières. Quoique ces derniers, de même que les Kalmouks du Volga, ne pussent se comparer pour la puissance aux Zungars, cependant les terres que leur enlevèrent les Kirghiz leur appartenaient, et par conséquent ils ne voulurent pas laisser en paix le peuple qui les avoit prises. Des vengeances et des incursions continuelles se préparaient pour l'avenir, et commencèrent dès ce moment. Les Kozaks de l'Oural, nouveaux voisins des Kirghiz, leur en promettaient autant; il fallait chercher un défenseur contre tant d'ennemis; il fallait demander le secours de la Russie. Cette pensée était peut-être souvent venue à l'esprit des sultans et des anciens les plus sages; mais il était difficile non-seulement de la mettre à exécution, mais encore de la proposer au peuple. Quoique nous trouvions dans les archives du collége des affaires étrangères le détail des articles qui furent proposés, en 1726, de vive voix par Kaïbakar, député des Kirghiz, qui

[1] Voyez, à la description statistique, l'article des *usages*, où l'on donne à ce sujet plus de détails.

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était venu demander la protection de la Russie pour la Petite-Horde, au nom des anciens Sougour, Iedikbaï, Khadjibaï, Tiak-Koulybaï, et d'autres, cependant cette relation n'eut aucune conséquence décisive. A en juger d'après les noms des anciens qui envoyèrent Kaïbakar, il faut penser qu'ils furent trop peu puissants et trop peu marquants pour entraîner le peuple avec eux; et leur ambassade resta sans succès. On ne sait quelle raison les avait portés tout à coup à cette démarche, mais on peut certifier que la plupart des Kirghiz en furent mécontents. Préférant leur liberté sauvage à toute espèce d'ordre et à la dépendance des lois, ils n'avaient pas non plus oublié que les principes de leur religion leur ordonnaient de considérer les Russes comme des infidèles.

Ces deux obstacles semblaient rendre impossible la réunion libre des hordes kirghiz à un empire chrétien. Mais des circonstances malheureuses, des dissensions interminables, l'effusion du sang, et l'esprit rusé du khan Aboulkhaïr changèrent les dispositions du peuple, au point qu'après une faible résistance il se décida à exécuter, pour les vues particulières d'un seul homme, une mesure à laquelle n'avait pu le porter l'amour du bien public. Je parle ici de la soumission volontaire des Kirghiz à l'impératrice Anne, événement qui eut lieu en 1730, comme nous le verrons plus bas.

Avant d'en venir à la description d'une révolution aussi importante, nous devons dire cependant qu'elle forme la ligne de démarcation qui partage l'histoire des Kirghiz en deux parties.

La réunion à la Russie de la Moyenne et de la Petite-Horde les a rapprochées de nous; mais elle ne nous a pas donné les moyens de suivre la marche progressive des événements qui ont eu lieu dans la Grande-Horde, restée indépendante; c'est pourquoi nos connaissances historiques sur sa situation dans le XVIIIe siècle sont beaucoup plus imparfaites que celles que nous possédons sur les Kirghiz, sujets de la Russie. Cette circonstance nous oblige à diviser en deux par

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ties la période qui s'est écoulée depuis 1730 jusqu'à nos jours. Nous plaçerons dans la première un coup d'œil sur l'histoire de la Grande-Horde, la seconde sera consacrée au récit des événements qui ont eu lieu dans la Moyenne et la Petite-Horde.

CHAPITRE IV.

COUP D'ŒIL SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA GRANDE HORDE DEPUIS 1730 JUSQU'À NOS JOURS.

Après avoir dit que la Grande-Horde kazake n'a point participé à la soumission volontaire des deux autres à la Russie, il nous reste à éclaircir d'abord une circonstance que l'on pourrait nous imputer comme une contradiction.

Nous voyons dans les archives ainsi que dans l'histoire d'Orenbourg par Rytchkof que le sultan Erali, qui se rendit à Pétersbourg pour y faire en personne les soumissions de son père Aboulkhaïr à l'impératrice Anne, arriva dans cette ville, accompagné « des députés de la Grande-Horde, qui venaient y donner les mêmes assurances de soumission, et que cette horde reçut, le 10 juillet 1734, comme les deux autres, une patente sur son admission au nombre des sujets russes. »

S'il n'y avait dans ce fait rien d'inventé, il suffirait sans doute à lui seul pour réfuter ce que nous avançons; mais un examen approfondi des événements de cette époque nous démontre le contraire.

Les Kirghiz-Kazaks Aralbaï et Arasgheldy-Batyr, qui accompagnèrent à Pétersbourg le sultan Erali, étaient effectivement de la Grande Horde ; mais ils n'étaient ni ses députés ni ses représentants, mais seulement des partisans ou gens à la solde du khan Aboulkhaïr, qui, en s'attribuant sur la Grande-Horde un

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pouvoir qu'il n'avait pas, voulait se donner de l'importance aux yeux de la cour de Russie, et acquérir de cette manière de l'influence sur toute la nation des Kazaks.

La lettre patente de l'impératrice Anne, du 10 juillet 1734, est une preuve du mensonge d'Aboulkhaïr. D'abord cette lettre est donnée au nom de quelques beys et anciens, et non pas au nom de Joulbars, qui, comme nous le voyons, d'après plusieurs actes et d'après l'Histoire d'Orenbourg de Rytchkof, commandait alors à toute la Grande-Horde. De plus il est dit dans la lettre patente : « Notre sujet Aboulkhaïr-khan nous a rapporté en fidèle sujet qu'il vous a déjà reçus au rang de nos sujets, et qu'à cet effet il a envoyé à notre cour vos députés Aralbaï et Arasgheldy-Batyr. » Ces paroles sont fondées sur les écrits d'Aboulkhaïr et sur les déclarations faites de vive voix par son fils; mais ils n'avançaient l'un et l'autre que des faussetés. D'un côté, il est reconnu que Aboulkhaïr, habitant à une grande distance de la Grande-Horde, n'a jamais eu sur elle aucune influence; d'un autre côté, nous voyons que cette horde n'a jamais prêté serment de fidélité à la Russie, et n'a pas été comptée au rang de ses sujets; en troisième lieu, nous devons remarquer que le chef de l'expédition d'Orenbourg, Kirilof, ayant reçu cette patente au moment de son départ de Pétersbourg, ne l'a même pas envoyée à sa destination. Il est probable qu'il jugea cette démarche inconvenante lorsqu'arrivé sur la frontière il pût apprécier la vérité des circonstances mentionnées dans cet acte.

La seconde proposition d'admettre au nombre des sujets russes les Kazaks de la Grande-Horde est beaucoup plus vraisemblable que la première, quoique tout aussi peu sincère. Elle fut faite cette fois en 1738, non plus par un chef prétendu de la Grande-Horde, mais par Joulbars, chef véritable et légitime de cette horde. Ayant appris la fondation d'une ville russe à l'embouchure de l'Ori, et l'ouverture du commerce avec les Kirghiz-Kazaks de la Moyenne et de la Petite-Horde, il envoya demander les mêmes avantages; et, pour mieux at-

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teindre son but, il proposa de rendre sujets russes non-seulement son peuple, mais encore les nations voisines, *si on voulait protéger et faciliter leur commerce à Orenbourg*. Les conditions proposées par Joulbars font voir qu'il songeait moins à se soumettre qu'à profiter des avantages des relations commerciales. L'expérience justifia cette présomption. Joulbars ne prêta pas serment de fidélité, et ne vint même jamais sur les frontières. La patente qu'on avait préparée à Pétersbourg, le 17 juillet 1739, en conséquence de ses promesses, se trouve encore aujourd'hui aux archives de la commission des frontières d'Orenbourg.

Par la suite le gouvernement russe reçut encore plusieurs propositions relatives à la soumission de la Grande-Horde; mais elles étaient faites par des sultans ou chefs de tribus particuliers dont l'autorité ne s'étendait pas sur toute la horde, et qui recherchaient plus les présents que font les souverains russes à leurs nouveaux sujets que la protection de l'empire.

Au reste, si la Grande-Horde se fût décidée à se soumettre avec la petite en 1730, ou avec son khan Joulbars en 1738, elle aurait trouvé de grands obstacles à l'accomplissement de ses désirs. Le voisinage des Zungars et son éloignemeet des frontières russes l'eussent arrêtée. Galdane Tsyrène ou Tchèrène, khontaïdzi des Zungars, n'aurait jamais permis aux Kirghiz ses voisins une pareille démarche; nourrissant contre eux un haine héréditaire, il ne laissait échapper aucune occasion de les opprimer ou de venger les injures de ses pères. La réunion de la Moyenne et de la Petite-Horde à la Russie le porta à réduire la grande à une situation qui ne pouvait plus lui permettre de suivre l'exemple des autres : il l'attaqua, la battit, et la soumit.

Cependant cette conquête, comme toutes les victoires remportées sur les peuples nomades, ne put être solide. Quoique, selon les employés russes qui étaient alors[1] dans les steppes

[1] Voyez le Journal du lieutenant Gladychef, conservé à Orenbourg, à la commission des frontières.

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des Kirghiz-Kazaks, les nouveaux sujets de Galdane lui eussent donné par tête une peau de korsak, comme marque de leur soumission, cependant le malheur ne put détruire chez eux ni l'amour ni l'habitude de la liberté.

Ayant reconnu qu'il leur était impossible de conserver leurs anciennes habitations sur le lac Balkach, ils se retirèrent sur les rivières de Tsouïa et de Sara-Sou; ayant ensuite réuni leurs forces, ils attaquèrent Tachkent et Turkestan, les ruinèrent ainsi que beaucoup d'autres villes et villages appartenant à ces deux états, et ils acquirent tant de pouvoir sur les habitants de Tachkent, qu'ils les obligèrent de choisir leurs khans dans la horde.

Choubaï, Arslanof et Mansour, habitants de la ci-devant province de Viatka, venus en 1742 de Tachkent à Orenbourg [1], racontèrent que le khan que nous avons nommé ci-dessus régna à Tachkent jusqu'en 1739; qu'un puissant ancien kirghiz, nommé Tioul-Biû, partageait son autorité, et que chaque année ils prélevaient un tribut sur la ville. Ensuite Joulbars fut tué; mais Tioul-Biû continua encore quelque temps à régner après lui et à lever des tributs. Un certain Koussiak-Bek, sujet tributaire et peut-être lieutenant de Galdane Tsyrène, mit fin à son pouvoir.

Il commandait à Tachkent pendant que Choubaï et Mansour s'y trouvaient : mais c'était le souverain des Zungars qui recevait le tribut qu'il tirait du peuple. Sous Koussiak-Bek les Kirghiz, selon nos voyageurs, n'avaient plus aucune influence sur Tachkent; mais il avaient tellement resserré les environs de cette ville, qu'elle se trouvait comme dans un état de siége permanent. Ils avaient établi des cultures sous ses murs, s'étaient emparés des forêts voisines, et, au moindre mécontentement, ils s'emparaient des habitants de la ville et des marchands qui venaient commercer avec eux.

Turkestan fut aussi pendant quelque temps dans une posi-

[1] Voyez, aux archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg, les affaires de 1742.

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tion semblable, quoique les Kirghiz n'empêchassent pas les Zungars d'y aller commercer. Quant aux petites villes qui sont entre Tachkent et Turkestan, les Kirghiz, qui les avaient soumises à cette époque, les ont gardées presque jusqu'au commencement du siècle actuel.

Nous devons cependant remarquer avec étonnement que, malgré ces conquêtes et ces hostilités d'un peuple soumis à Galdane Tsyrène, la Grande-Horde n'osa jamais aller attaquer les Zungars, ni même se dire indépendante d'eux.

Quelques années après, savoir en 1749, Tioul-Biü chassé de Tachkent par Kousiak-Bek; ennuyé de sa nullité, et voulant s'élever par la protection de la Russie, envoya des députés à Orenbourg, pour proposer de se rendre sujet russe [1]. Sa faiblesse était sans doute connue du gouvernement russe: aussi sa proposition n'eut-elle aucune suite.

La terreur qu'inspiraient les Zungars aux Kirghiz, et l'apparente soumission de ceux-ci durèrent jusqu'à ce que des dissensions intestines eurent commencé à affaiblir les Zungars, et que ces dissensions eurent enfin amené, comme l'on sait, l'entière dispersion de ce peuple. A peine la mésintelligence eut-elle commencé à se faire remarquer, que les Kazaks y prirent la part la plus active. Ayant offert un asile à tous les princes et zaïssangs zungars exilés, ils se réunirent à eux pour venger leurs injures. Ils attaquaient leurs ennemis, et, sous prétexte de secourir les malheureux, ils ne laissaient passer aucune occasion d'affaiblir, par leurs incursions, leurs anciens ennemis. Enfin lorsque les Chinois voulurent se mêler des dissensions des Zungars, et que le succès de leurs armes eut réduit les successeurs de Galdane Tsyrène à un état complet de faiblesse, alors les Kirghiz-Kazaks de la Grande-Horde prirent le parti d'Amoursane [2], et formèrent une portion de l'armée qui combattit les envahis-

[1] Tevkelef fait mention de cet événement dans un de ses Journaux.

[2] Ce prince est le dernier souverain des Zungars. Il fut d'abord sujet de la Chine, puis son ennemi, et mourut en Russie.

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seurs jusqu'en 1756, époque où l'empire des Zungars, si puissant dix ans auparavant, tomba sous les coups des Chinois. Le peuple qui composait cet empire fut exterminé ou dispersé, et les terres qu'il occupait sont restées désertes.

Cet événement procura aux Kirghiz-Kazaks deux grands avantages; il les délivra d'ennemis aussi dangereux qu'inquiets et il leur donna le moyen d'étendre leurs pâturages sur des lieux excellents.

Le Bogdo-khan de la Chine, loin de s'opposer à ce qu'ils occupassent les steppes ravagées de la Zungarie, cherchait au contraire à les y attirer; et pour arrêter les incursions, il établit entre eux et ses anciennes possessions une ligne fortifiée qui se nomme encore aujourd'hui *Nouvelle Ligne*.

De cette manière, la Grande-Horde kazake, qui s'était longtemps trouvée resserrée, s'étendit de tous côtés pour tirer parti des meilleurs pâturages. La portion de cette horde qui se rapprocha le plus des frontières de la Chine, et qui se mêla avec quelques restes des Zungars, ayant été plusieurs fois punie par les armes pour ses brigandages accoutumés, se soumit à la Chine, et elle fait partie jusqu'aujourd'hui des sujets de cet empire. Le reste, qui vit en nomade un peu plus à l'occident, a conservé son indépendance.

Quelques fractions de ces deux parties habitent dans le voisinage des Bouroutes, et ayant souvent à les combattre, ils sont devenus plus guerriers et plus dangereux que tous les autres Kirghiz-Kazaks. Nous ne pouvons énumérer ici leurs combats continuels avec leurs voisins; mais nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de faire mention de la violente attaque qu'ils firent en 1771 contre les Kalmouks-Torgouts, qui fuyaient de Russie sous le commandement du célèbre Oubachi.

Celui qui se distingua le plus dans cette circonstance fut Érali, sultan de la Grande-Horde, connu à la Chine par sa valeur, et qui reçut du Bogdo-khan, le titre de *chevalier* ou *paladin de la cour* [1]. Ayant appris l'approche des

[1] C'est de l'ouvrage chinois du prince Tsichi que nous avons tiré ces renseig-

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Torgouts de ses possessions, et les malheurs qu'ils avaient eus à supporter dans la Moyenne-Horde, il se disposa sur-le-champ à les combattre de nouveau et avec la dernière rigueur. Il fit inviter le sultan Ablaï à les attaquer par derrière; il ordonna aux plus faibles de ses alliés de les assaillir en flanc, et lui-même marcha à la rencontre de l'ennemi à la tête de l'élite de ses troupes; il prit la précaution d'envoyer sa famille, ainsi que les femmes, les enfants et les vieillards, et ses effets les plus précieux dans des lieux à l'abri du danger. Ces premières dispositions étaient fort bien conçues, mais elles n'eurent pas tout le succès qu'on en attendait, parce qu'Ablaï refusa de prendre part à leur exécution. Erali[1] resta seul, et comme il était beaucoup plus faible que les Torgouts, il ne put les attaquer à force ouverte. Mais sa présence d'esprit et ses ruses de guerre lui tinrent lieu du secours qui lui manquait. Il laissa entrevoir l'intention d'arrêter les fuyards et de ne pas les laisser passer outre.

Oubachi et ses sujets, qui avaient déjà souffert tant de malheurs pendant leur voyage, furent frappés de terreur par ce mouvement hostile des Kirghiz, et au lieu de renverser sur-le-champ leur ennemi, ils s'arrêtèrent devant lui, commencèrent à tenir conseil et à réfléchir, et passèrent dix-huit jours dans une inaction complète. Erali sut profiter de leur indécision. Pendant que les Kalmouks s'occupaient de conseils inutiles, il rassembla de tous côtés autour de lui des auxiliaires et des alliés pour se fortifier; et tantôt il leur représentait le tort que leur ferait le voisinage des Kalmouks, ou bien il les éblouissait par l'espoir du riche butin qui serait la récompense de leur victoire sur un peuple qui changeait de pays avec toutes ses richesses et un grand nombre de femmes.

gnements sur les exploits de ce sultan. Cet ouvrage, qui traite de la fuite des Torgouts, a été traduit en russe par M. Lipoftsof.

[1] Le prince Tsichi nomme ce sultan *Erelinasali*. Ce nom n'est pas kirghiz, et c'est sans doute par erreur qu'on l'a composé de deux noms, ou il a été estropié par les Chinois.

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Oubachi, qui voyait continuellement croître les forces de ses ennemis, perdit entièrement courage, et au lieu de combattre, il aima mieux demander humblement la permission de passer outre vers la rivière d'Ili. Erali feignit d'y consentir, mais avec l'intention de porter le coup le plus terrible au prince fugitif, après l'avoir en quelque sorte endormi. Ce fut ce qui arriva; à peine les Kalmouks s'étaient-ils éloignés des Kirghiz-Kazaks, et avaient-ils disposé leur camp pour passer la nuit, qu'Erali avec ses alliés les attaqua brusquement, extermina des bandes entières qui se reposaient sans précaution, et fit un immense butin en prisonniers, en objets divers et en bétail. La troisième portion de la Grande-Horde, qui, du temps de Galdane Tsyrène, campait aux environs de Tachkent, ne changea pas d'habitation après l'anéantissement des Zungars, mais elle commença à s'établir à poste fixe dans les lieux qu'elle occupait, et persécuta avec plus de force les villes et les bourgs voisins. Tachkent fut la ville qui souffrit le plus. Les incursions, les pillages des caravanes et la privation presque entière des terres labourables furent la cause de la ruine complète de ses habitants. N'étant pas sujets des Kirghiz-Kazaks, ils dépendaient d'eux pour tout, et ils étaient obligés de leur acheter à haut prix tous les besoins de la vie et du commerce.

En 1760 un grand nombre des Karakalpaks se réunirent à cette partie de la Grande-Horde; ces Karakalpaks habitaient à l'embouchure du Syr, mais resserrés par la Petite-Horde, surtout sous le khan Nourali, ils se retirèrent plus à l'orient. On ne sait pourquoi les Kirghiz-Kazaks, qui étaient si puissants, ne se sont pas entièrement emparés de Tachkent, et ne s'y sont pas établis; mais il est certain que cette ville a eu à souffrir de leurs agressions jusqu'à nos jours. Les khans de ce pays, faibles et peu entreprenants, cherchèrent à détourner les incursions plutôt par des caresses, des présents et des concessions, que par la résistance et des mesures vigoureuses: les Kirghiz sont accoutumés à considérer l'indulgence comme

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un signe de faiblesse, et par conséquent cette manière d'agir, loin de les désarmer, les porte à de nouvelles violences.

Tachkent éprouvait, par expérience, cette vérité depuis plusieurs siècles lorsque Iounous-Khodja devint souverain de cette ville. Il vit bientôt que la conduite de ses prédécesseurs avec les Kazaks avait produit les malheurs publics, et que, tant que ce peuple n'aurait pas été mis à la raison par la force des armes, il ne cesserait de tourmenter ses sujets. Il agit d'après cette nouvelle politique, et rassembla une armée avec laquelle en 1798[1] il attaqua la Grande-Horde. La fortune le seconda, et il remporta de grands avantages sur les oppresseurs dans les premiers combats. Encouragé par ces heureux commencements, il continua de les poursuivre et ajouta à la force des armes des supplices que peut seule concevoir l'imagination d'un asiatique exaspéré. Il faisait couper la tête aux prisonniers, et formait de ces têtes des pyramides à la vue de l'armée ennemie. Ces affreux spectacles jettèrent une terreur inexprimable dans l'âme des Kirghiz. Dépourvus de véritable valeur, habitués à ne combattre que pour le pillage, ils ne pouvaient prendre la résolution unanime de mourir pour venger le sang de leurs frères; ils redoutaient l'esclavage, et cette crainte les força de se soumettre à Iounous-Khodja.

Après avoir éprouvé de cette manière l'avantage de la sévérité et de la résolution, ce prince enleva aux Kirghiz tous les bourgs qui se trouvaient en leur pouvoir, et exigea non-seulement une soumission entière pour l'avenir, mais des dédommagements selon l'usage asiatique, pour les pillages et les assassinats exercés contre les habitants de Tachkent. Enfin il leur prescrivit des règlements pour leurs affaires litigieuses, et les taxa à un tribut d'un mouton sur cent. En un mot, il les réduisit complétement à l'état de sujets, et par la suite il en fit entrer dans ses armées, à l'instar des siens.

Nous répétons cependant qu'il ne soumit pas toute la

[1] Voyez le Journal manuscrit de M. Pospélof, qui se trouvait à Tachkent en 1800.

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Grande-Horde; car beaucoup même des Kirghiz ses voisins échappèrent à sa puissance. Quelques milliers de tentes se retirèrent sur l'Irtych, et s'y réunirent à la Moyenne-Horde; quelques autres gagnèrent avec leurs troupeaux les monts Ak-Taou, d'autres enfin divers autres lieux.

Les Kirghiz-Kazaks, devenus sujets de Iounous-khan, restèrent sous la domination de Tachkent, tant que cette ville avec la contrée qui lui appartenait, y compris Turkestan, ne tomba pas sous une domination étrangère. Ils devinrent en 1814 propriété du khan de Kokane, et les Kirghiz-Kazaks se virent aussi obligés de se soumettre à ce nouveau maître. Dans cette circonstance même quelques-uns d'entre eux prouvèrent combien il est difficile de retenir en place un peuple nomade contre sa volonté. Les branches qui se trouvaient aux environs de la ville de Tchimkète abandonnèrent leurs terres labourables et même leurs jardins, et se retirèrent vers la frontière de la Chine[1].

Il résulte de tout ce que nous avons dit plus haut, que la Grande-Horde ne forme rien d'entier : une partie obéit à la Chine, une seconde au khan de Kokane, et une troisième est regardée comme indépendante. Quelques milliers de kibitkis (charriots) de cette dernière, qui campaient sur l'emplacement de Semrek (les sept rivières) ainsi qu'aux environs des rivières de Kouk-Sou et de Karatale, et à peu de distance des frontières de la Chine, se sont reconnues vassales de la Russie en 1819, sous le commandement de Siouk, fils du khan Ablaï.

En outre quelques Kazaks de la Grande-Horde ont tout à fait quitté leurs steppes pour venir s'établir à poste fixe dans l'intérieur des frontières russes. Ce fut de cette manière que le sultan Tchourighei fut reçu avec quatre mille tentes kirghizes tant de la Grande que de la Moyenne-Horde. Il reçut, par un oukaze de l'impératrice Catherine II, du 28 février 1789, une concession de terres près du fort d'Oust-Kamennogorsk.

[1] Voyez les Mémoires de F. Nazarof, envoyé à Kokane en 1813 et 1814, page 34.

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De même, en 1793, Tougoume, sultan de la Grande-Horde, sollicita de devenir à jamais sujet immédiat avec cent tentes de ses sujets, qui ont effectivement passé dans l'intérieur de la frontière de Sibérie.

CHAPITRE V.

RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES SUR LA MOYENNE ET LA PETITE-HORDE DES KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS, DEPUIS 1730 JUSQU'À NOS JOURS (1832).

Les événements qui ont eu lieu dans la Moyenne et la Petite-Horde, depuis leur réunion à la Russie, sont tellement liés entre eux, qu'il est impossible de les séparer; c'est pourquoi nous réunirons dans un même tableau la notice historique que nous voulons donner à nos lecteurs sur ces deux hordes, depuis l'année 1730 jusqu'à nos jours.

Nous avons dit, à la fin du chapitre III, que les Kirghiz, qui avaient refusé obéissance à la Russie à l'époque où l'intérêt général leur faisait une loi de se soumettre à l'empire, devinrent ensuite sujets de l'impératrice Anne pour les avantages personnels d'un seul individu.

Cet individu est le khan Aboulkhaïr, dont nous avons déjà parlé. Chef d'une grande partie de la Petite-Horde, et sa puissance s'étendant sur quelques tribus de la Moyenne, il songea au bien-être de son peuple; mais il songea encore plus aux moyens de consolider sa puissance et de s'élever au-dessus de ses rivaux et de ses ennemis, surtout au-dessus du khan Kaïp, auquel obéissait aussi une portion de la Petite-Horde.

La situation des Kirghiz-Kazaks en 1730 favorisait l'ambition d'Aboulkhaïr.

Ses sujets, épuisés par des pertes fréquentes d'hommes et de richesses, resserrés de tous côtés par leurs voisins qui leur faisaient la guerre, et s'attendant à chaque instant à de nou-

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veaux malheurs, étaient prêts alors à tous les sacrifices. Ayant su profiter de la disposition des esprits, le khan leur déclara définitivement qu'il n'y avait d'autre voie de salut qu'une soumission volontaire à la Russie.

Cette proposition fut d'abord rejetée; mais Aboulkhaïr sut sans doute représenter avec une sollicitude si paternelle et avec tant de constance les malheurs qui menaçaient les Kirghiz privés de l'appui de la Russie; il les dépeignit avec tant de force, et ses arguments furent si convaincants, que l'on ne put y résister. Après avoir comparé les avantages éloignés qu'ils pouvaient tirer de leur liberté avec le besoin pressant d'un prompt secours, et peut-être fermement résolus de revenir à leur indépendance à la première occasion, les adhérents d'Aboulkhaïr se décidèrent à se soumettre à l'impératrice Anne. Le nombre de ceux qui prirent part à cette résolution ne fut pas grand[1]; mais le khan ne pouvait perdre le temps à l'augmenter, en négligeant de profiter des premiers effets de ses représentations, et il choisit aussitôt parmi ceux sur lesquels il devait le plus compter quelques députés qu'il envoya sous l'escorte d'Aldara, chef de Bachkirs, à Boutourline, voëvode d'Oufa, avec une proposition écrite de reconnaître l'obéissance à la Russie. Ces députés arrivèrent, au mois de juillet 1730, à Oufa, d'où Boutourline les envoya à Pétersbourg.

Aboulkhaïr expliquait dans sa lettre les raisons qui le portaient à se soumettre; il y parlait des malheurs, des infortunes que les Kirghiz avaient eus à supporter de la part des Zungars; il y rappelait les attaques des Kalmouks du Volga, des Bachkirs et des Cosaques du Jaïk; il promettait de s'entretenir à ses propres frais, faisait espérer à la Russie de l'aider à soumettre ses ennemis, et en attendant, il demandait des troupes

[1] Tevkélef, à son retour de chez les Kirghiz-Kazaks (il en sera question plus bas), dit très-clairement, dans sa représentation à l'impératrice, qu'Aboulkhaïr se soumit à la Russie sans le consentement du peuple, à l'exception d'un petit nombre de ses affidés.

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pour l'aider à soumettre les Khiviens, les Karakalpaks, les Araliens, et enfin il se reconnaissait à jamais lui et sa horde sujets de l'empire.

Cet événement inattendu, dont les causes n'étaient pas encore connues, causa à Pétersbourg la joie la plus vive. Il était d'autant plus glorieux pour l'empire, que, sans aucune effusion de sang, il lui ajoutait quelques centaines de milliers de sujets. Il promettait repos et sûreté aux provinces du sud-est, qui avaient pendant si longtemps souffert des ravages des Kirghiz-Kaïssaks. Enfin il faisait augurer au gouvernement les espérances politiques les plus brillantes. On espérait que ces hordes qui se soumettaient volontairement, s'emploieraient volontiers à affaiblir les Zungars, dont le souverain Galdane Tsyrène, qui avait inspiré des craintes à Pierre le Grand lui-même, vivait encore.

On espérait aussi faire servir les Kirghiz à mettre à la raison les ennemis que la Russie renfermait dans son sein; tels que les Bachkirs, dont les fréquentes révoltes alarmaient le gouvernement. On ne pouvait non plus laisser sans aucune attention la proposition d'Aboulkhaïr, de soumettre au sceptre de la Russie ses voisins les Araliens, les Karakalpaks et surtout les Khiviens, dont les mains fumaient encore du sang du prince Békovitch Tcherkaski, lâchement assassiné sous le règne de Pierre le Grand, avec tous ses compagnons d'infortune. Après avoir puni ce peuple perfide, la Russie pouvait fonder sur des bases solides un commerce avantageux avec l'Asie centrale, et même (comme on l'espérait généralement) avec l'Inde.

Le vaste génie de Pierre le Grand avait déjà embrassé la plus grande partie de ces vues; mais il n'eut ni le temps ni des moyens suffisants pour l'accomplissement de ses projets. Il les eût trouvés, si la mort ne l'eût frappé au moment où, venant de terminer la guerre de Suède, il commençait à fixer son attention sur la frontière d'Asie [1].

[1] Rytchkof, dans son Histoire d'Orenbourg, chapitre 1er, dit : « C'est pourquoi

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Six années ne s'étaient pas encore écoulées depuis sa mort, que les Kirghiz-Kazaks témoignèrent le désir de se soumettre à la Russie. Ceux qui l'avaient aidé dans l'administration de l'empire vivaient encore; ils se rappelaient ses projets. Aussi les envoyés d'Aboulkhaïr arrivèrent à Pétersbourg dans un moment très-favorable. La cour, charmée de voir sur les bords de la Neva ces mêmes hommes contre lesquels elle avait envoyé pour les soumettre des troupes sur l'Oural et l'Irtych, était prête à satisfaire tous leurs désirs.

Les envoyés d'Aboulkhaïr, comblés de grâces, de faveurs et de présents, retournèrent vers leur maître avec une lettre de l'impératrice, par laquelle elle recevait sa soumission, et lui promettait l'assistance et la protection qu'il demandait. Pour s'assurer de la vérité de tout ce qu'ils avaient avancé, et pour amener les nouveaux sujets à prêter serment, on envoya avec eux Mourza Tevkélef, interprète au collége des affaires étrangères, dont nous avons déjà parlé et dont il sera encore souvent question dans la suite de cet ouvrage. On les fit aussi accompagner par quelques gentilshommes d'Oufa, quelques Bachkirs fidèles et des Cosaques russes; et deux officiers géodésistes furent chargés de lever la carte des pays occupés par les Kirghiz.

8. M. (Pierre Ier), ce qui est, je le pense, connu de plusieurs personnages très-distingués, a réfléchi plusieurs fois aux moyens de se mettre en sûreté contre les attaques de ces peuples inconstants (les Kirghiz-Kazaks). » Plus loin encore : « Ainsi, après avoir victorieusement terminé la guerre de Suède, il chercha les moyens de mettre en sûreté contre les Kirghiz les lieux mêmes où, avec l'aide de Dieu, on élève aujourd'hui la ligne d'Orenbourg, et par là de s'ouvrir un chemin jusque dans l'Asie méridionale, et de ranger à jamais à son devoir la capricieuse nation des Bachkirs; et quoique sa majesté reçût avec bonté quelques représentations relativement à cette entreprise, aussi grande que nécessaire, et surtout de la part du prince Alexis Mikhaïlovitch Tcherkaski, alors gouverneur de la Sibérie, et qui fut depuis grand chancelier, la mort, qui surprit subitement sa majesté, ne lui permit pas de mettre ces projets à exécution. » Rytchkof a écrit son Histoire d'Orenbourg sous le règne de l'impératrice Anne (elle fut imprimée en 1759), à une époque où les événements du règne de Pierre le Grand étaient encore présents à la mémoire de tout le monde; il n'aurait donc pu prêter à ce souverain des projets de son invention : le mensonge eût été à l'instant découvert par des témoins oculaires.

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L'arrivée de Tevkélef à la horde fit découvrir toutes les menées ambitieuses d'Aboulkhaïr. Les officiers chargés de recevoir le serment des nouveaux sujets, non-seulement ne furent pas reçus conformément à leur rang, mais, à peine arrivés, coururent risque de la vie. Les Kirghis, irrités à la seule pensée de perdre leur sauvage indépendance, se soulevèrent spontanément en voyant des Russes parmi eux, et voulurent sacrifier à l'instant Tevkélef à leur colère. Le khan le sauva, mais ne put apaiser le soulèvement. Les plus audacieux de ses sujets l'attaquèrent lui-même et lui demandèrent de quel droit il entrait en relation, sans le consentement du peuple, avec des puissances étrangères, et promettait obéissance pour lui ainsi que pour les hordes. On devait naturellement s'attendre à une aussi violente opposition en apprenant qu'Aboulkhaïr n'avait arraché qu'avec peine le consentement d'un petit nombre de Kirghiz pour l'envoi de ses députés en Russie. Cette ruse hardie aurait même pu lui coûter la vie, et, s'il ne tomba pas alors sous les coups de ses compatriotes irrités, il dut son salut plutôt au hasard qu'à sa puissance; car nous verrons tout à l'heure combien celle-ci était bornée.

Tevkélef lui-même, à la vie duquel les Kirghiz attentèrent plusieurs fois, dut moins son salut à la protection du khan qu'à la religion mahométane qu'il professait et surtout à son éloquence, au moyen de laquelle il désarma plusieurs fois ceux qui venaient lui arracher la vie. L'histoire de ces événements se conserve dans les archives.

Rytchkof, en les rapportant dans l'Histoire d'Orenbourg, dit que la force et l'entraînement des discours de Tevkélef le firent regarder par les Kirghiz comme un homme extraordinaire, et nous ajouterons qu'il dut en partie ses succès à Batyr Taïmas, ancien des Bachkirs, qui se trouvait alors avec lui, et qui s'était fait connaître dans les hordes kirghizes par ses exploits et sa valeur.

Les soins et les peines de Tevkélef ne furent pas inutiles; quelque forte que fût la résistance du peuple auquel il avait

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affaire, trop d'efforts le fatiguèrent à la fin, et l'adresse l'emporta sur la force.

Ennuyés de la présence des Russes, et craignant leur influence, les Kirghiz résolurent fermement de se débarrasser de ces hôtes désagréables; c'est pourquoi ils déclarèrent à Tevkélef qu'ils allaient convoquer une assemblée générale de la nation, où l'on déciderait définitivement si l'on prêterait ou si l'on refuserait le serment de fidélité à la Russie, et que lui-même devait se trouver à l'assemblée sans être accompagné de qui que ce fût. Il était à peu près évident qu'on voulait l'assassiner; cependant Tevkélef ne se refusa pas à cette invitation, et sut même la faire tourner à son avantage.

Il connaissait l'avidité des Kirghiz, et il était dirigé par le khan et ses partisans; il eut soin de s'assurer par des présents de quelques-uns des principaux et des plus dangereux de ses ennemis, et il parut ensuite à l'assemblée. Enhardi par l'espoir d'avoir des défenseurs, et se voyant placé dans une circonstance où il devait périr ou s'illustrer, il montra toute la fermeté, toute l'éloquence et toute la présence d'esprit dont il avait donné tant de preuves aux Kirghiz, et qui lui avaient valu la plus grande considération de la part des mahométans. Boukenbaï, ancien des Kirghiz, aussi illustre que respecté dans la Moyenne et la Petite-Horde, s'annonça le premier comme son protecteur. Tevkélef, réuni à cet ancien et au khan Aboulkhaïr, qui présidait en personne cette assemblée, parlèrent avec tant de force et d'autorité en faveur de la Russie, que le parti opposé au khan fut entraîné par les arguments de ses partisans. Le résultat fut que tous les assistants, à commencer par Aboulkhaïr et Chémiaka, khan de la Moyenne-Horde, prêtèrent serment de fidélité à la Russie. Tout ceci eut lieu en 1732. Eloigné des frontières, Tevkélef n'avait pas encore eu le temps d'informer le gouvernement du succès de sa mission, que de violentes agitations eurent lieu dans la Moyenne-Horde.

Le khan et les chefs de tribus envièrent d'abord la puis

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sance qu'allait acquérir Aboulkhaïr, par sa liaison avec la cour de Pétersbourg, et même ils le craignaient; mais le bas peuple, n'ayant pas dans son sein autant de partisans de la Russie que dans la Petite-Horde, ne voulut pas renoncer à son indépendance. Il ne voyait dans cette sujétion que l'esclavage et l'oppression, non le calme et le repos qui devaient en être le fruit; et il s'opposa avec force à ceux des Kirghiz qui étaient partisans de la Russie.

Non contents de cette opposition, ils attaquèrent les Bachkirs qui vivaient en Russie, mais ils furent vigoureusement repoussés. Peu de temps après ils formèrent une seconde attaque contre les habitations des Bachkirs, et le khan Chémiaka, qui avait juré fidélité à la Russie, ne se refusa pas à conduire cette expédition; cependant cette seconde tentative fut pour eux aussi malheureuse que la première.

Ces agitations fomentées par les représentations des amis de la liberté agirent sur ceux-mêmes des Kirghiz qui avaient juré fidélité. Ils retombèrent dans leurs incertitudes, commencèrent à désavouer leur serment, et la position de Tevkélef devint de nouveau des plus critiques. Il commença alors à songer aux moyens de revenir en Russie, mais on ne voulait pas le laisser partir. Se pliant aux circonstances et heureux d'échapper à la mort, il dut se contenter de la permission qu'on lui donna de renvoyer sa suite en Russie, avec les rapports sur la situation des affaires dont on lui avait confié la direction. Quant à lui, il resta à la horde sous la protection d'Aboulkhaïr.

Il semblait de cette manière que Tevkélef fût abandonné en sacrifice aux Kirghiz-Kazaks à demi-sauvages; le danger qui le menaçait parut même devenir plus imminent lorsqu'il fut obligé de suivre Aboulkhaïr, qui alla camper à l'embouchure du Syr; mais ce voyage fut au contraire la source des succès qu'espérait le gouvernement russe et que cherchait à obtenir son représentant auprès des hordes.

Le passage d'Aboulkhaïr sur le Syr éloigna ses sujets de

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ceux qui tenaient pour l'indépendance et de ses ennemis personnels, et il les rapprocha de la paisible nation des Karakalpaks, opprimés dès longtemps de tous côtés. Aussitôt qu'ils connurent la puissance de la Russie, ils recherchèrent sa protection par le moyen de Tevkélef, se reconnurent sujets de l'empire, et prêtèrent serment de fidélité sur-le-champ. Aboulkhaïr fut celui qui prit le plus de part à cet événement, par deux raisons : d'abord pour donner plus d'éclat à sa puissance et à ses services aux yeux de la Russie, ensuite dans le but de se servir de cet exemple pour agir fortement sur l'esprit des Kirghiz, et les disposer plus facilement à une soumission semblable; en effet, ses sujets devinrent après cela beaucoup plus tranquilles, et se décidèrent enfin à se reconnaître sujets de l'impératrice Anne. Ne trouvant plus de contradicteurs, le khan et Tevkélef reprirent la route des frontières de Russie, le second, pour retourner à Pétersbourg y porter l'heureuse nouvelle des succès qu'avait eus sa commission, et Aboulkhaïr dans l'intention d'envoyer son fils à la cour pour présenter en personne à l'impératrice Anne ses soumissions et celles de la nation, et pour exposer en même temps différents projets dont il sera question par la suite.

S'étant rapproché, au mois de décembre 1732, des frontières russes, Aboulkhaïr envoya à Pétersbourg, avec Tevkélef, une ambassade composée : 1° de son fils Erali, sultan, qui par la suite parvint à la dignité de khan; 2° de sultan Niaze, son proche parent; 3° de quelques anciens Kirghiz; 4° il y joignit par vanité Aralbaï et Arasgheldi-Batyr, anciens de la Grande-Horde, et dont nous avons parlé dans le chapitre IV; ils arrivèrent tous à Oufa avec Tevkélef, en janvier 1733. Là Tevkélef les quitta et se hâta de se rendre seul à Pétersbourg, tant pour rendre compte de ce qui lui était arrivé, que pour obtenir la permission d'amener à la cour l'ambassade kirghize. Son arrivée inattendue causa au ministère de l'impératrice Anne autant d'étonnement que

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de plaisir. On le croyait ou mort ou réduit en esclavage; et le collége des affaires étrangères avait même envoyé à Oufa de l'argent pour le racheter. Peu s'en fallut que cela ne mît fin à tous les projets politiques qu'avaient fait naître les propositions d'Aboulkhaïr. Mais tout à coup Tevkélef arriva à Pétersbourg d'un air triomphant, fit son rapport sur les succès qu'il avait obtenus, sur l'arrivée à Oufa de l'ambassade kirghize, et enfin sur le serment des Karakalpaks, qu'il avait récemment reçu.

A la même époque, Chémiaka, khan de la Moyenne-Horde, envoya à Oufa des députés pour exprimer son repentir sur les hostilités commises après la prestation du serment, et pour offrir de nouveau de se soumettre à la Russie.

Ces agréables nouvelles ranimèrent toutes les anciennes espérances; Tevkélef, après avoir été reçu à la cour avec toute la considération qu'il méritait, fut de nouveau envoyé à Oufa pour amener à Pétersbourg le sultan Erali avec toute sa suite.

Ces voyages et ces pourparlers prirent toute l'année 1733, et l'ambassade kirghize n'arriva à Pétersbourg qu'au mois de janvier 1734.

Au mois de février les sultans Erali et Niaze, les anciens qui les accompagnaient, de même que les prétendus représentants de la Grande-Horde envoyés par Aboulkhaïr, furent solennellement présentés à l'impératrice. Erali prononça à cette occasion une courte harangue dans laquelle il annonçait la soumission de son père et de toute la nation des Kirghiz-Kazaks, et priait de le recevoir sous la protection et la dépendance de la Russie.

L'impératrice écouta très-gracieusement ce discours, et ordonna de faire de riches présents à chacun des membres de l'ambassade; elle leur fit procurer, aux frais de la couronne, toutes les commodités et tous les plaisirs imaginables pendant le temps de leur séjour à Pétersbourg.

Leur retour ne put avoir lieu que quand on eut mûrement

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examiné toutes les demandes d'Aboulkhaïr, qu'on les eut fait accorder avec les intérêts de l'empire, et qu'on eut définitivement statué sur les principes qui devaient faire la base de la conduite du gouvernement russe avec les Kirghiz. La décision de toutes ces affaires demandait du temps : en attendant, pour ne pas laisser Aboulkhaïr dans l'incertitude sur le sort de son fils, et sur les propositions qu'il avait faites, on lui envoya, le 20 avril, par deux Kirghiz attachés à l'ambassade, une lettre patente dans laquelle on lui exprimait d'abord la reconnaissance qu'on lui devait pour les peines qu'il s'était données afin d'amener la Grande et la Moyenne-Horde à se rendre vassales de la Russie, et on le chargeait en même temps de les affermir dans l'obéissance[1]; 2° on lui annonçait que son fils avait été, ainsi que sa suite, très-gracieusement reçu par l'impératrice, et qu'ils retourneraient bientôt chez eux; 3° que les rapports donnés par Tevkélef, ayant fait connaître l'ambition d'Aboulkhaïr, on lui enjoignait de vivre en bonne intelligence avec les hordes et avec les Karakalpaks.

Après avoir, de cette manière, tranquillisé pour un temps Aboulkhaïr, qui se consumait dans une longue attente, on continua l'examen de ses promesses et de ses propositions, pour les faire concorder avec le bien de l'empire. Il s'obligeait verbalement et par écrit : 1° à maintenir la sûreté des frontières russes contiguës à sa horde; 2° de défendre les caravanes de marchands, et de les escorter à travers les steppes des Kirghiz; 3° de fournir, en cas de besoin, comme les Kalmouks et les Bachkirs, des troupes levées parmi ses sujets; 4° de payer en peaux de bêtes un tribut ou iassak.

Il ne put mettre à exécution aucune de ces promesses; car, comme tous les autres khans ses successeurs, il n'avait pas assez d'autorité sur ses sujets. Plusieurs expériences prouvèrent bientôt l'impossibilité où il était de remplir la première et la

[1] Nous devons faire observer ici que le sultan Erali n'avait avec lui aucun député de la Moyenne-Horde.

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seconde promesse. On n'eut pas occasion au commencement de lui rappeler la troisième, mais la suite prouva qu'elle était aussi hasardée que les autres. Le gouvernement crut devoir d'abord refuser la quatrième, et ensuite il n'en fut plus jamais question, la chose étant regardée comme impossible.

En échange de ces promesses si pompeuses, Aboulkaïr, par le moyen de son fils et de Tevkélef, demandait surtout deux choses : « de confirmer à jamais la dignité de khan dans sa famille, et de construire au confluent de l'Ori et de l'Oural une ville et un fort, qui pussent lui servir d'asile en cas de danger. »

Les demandes du khan fixèrent l'attention du gouvernement, et on chargea d'y satisfaire le conseiller d'état Kirilof, qui s'était fait distinguer par ses connaissances géographiques, qui composait des cartes, et avait recueilli sur la haute Asie des notions si détaillées qu'elles avaient excité une admiration aussi générale que méritée. En outre il avait conservé tous les mémoires de Pierre Ier relatifs à ses vues et à ses projets sur les principautés asiatiques limitrophes de la Russie. Ces circonstances le déterminèrent à rédiger et à présenter au cabinet de l'impératrice deux projets concernant les Kirghiz-Kazaks et leurs voisins, sur les moyens de les maintenir dans l'obéissance et de les gouverner; sur la nécessité de construire, à cet effet, la ville et le fort demandés par Aboulkhaïr; enfin, sur les avantages politiques et financiers que pouvait donner la possession des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks. Ses opinions étaient si bien fondées et promettaient tant d'avantages, que le ministère et l'impératrice elle-même ne purent se dispenser de les approuver.

Ayant donc pris ces opinions pour règle de conduite, on décida de confier à Kirilof lui-même l'exécution de tous les projets du gouvernement à l'égard des nouveaux sujets, et on lui remit tous les pouvoirs et les moyens nécessaires à leur succès; on envoya avec lui quelques ingénieurs pour la construction des forts, quelques géodésistes pour la lévée des cartes, et trois officiers de marine avec des constructeurs et

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des matelots, pour bâtir et conduire des vaisseaux. Il fut rejoint à Moscou par des employés aux mines, des officiers d'artillerie, un historiographe, un botaniste, un apothicaire, un peintre, un médecin, des étudiants de l'école slavéno-latine, et plusieurs autres employés de différentes classes chargés de diverses fonctions [1]. A Kazan il prit le commandement d'un régiment entier, et une artillerie suffisante. A Oufa se réunirent à lui un bataillon d'infanterie, un nombre proportionné de Cosaques et plusieurs autres détachements de troupes tant régulières qu'irrégulières. On laissa à Kirilof la libre disposition d'une partie des revenus d'Oufa pour subvenir aux frais de l'expédition. On lui donna en outre, comme aide et interprète pour ses rapports avec les Kirghis, Mourza Tevkélef, dont nous avons déjà parlé, et qu'on avait élevé au grade de colonel pour sa prudente conduite pendant son séjour dans les hordes, et pour avoir amené les sujets d'Aboulkhaïr à prêter serment.

Voici les articles les plus remarquables de l'instruction donnée à Kirilof au moment de son départ. Elle lui prescrivait :

1° De bâtir une ville et un fort à l'embouchure de l'Ori, et de chercher à y attirer des habitants;

2° D'envoyer les lettres patentes qu'il avait pour Aboulkhaïr, pour Chémiaka, khan de la Moyenne-Horde, pour les chefs de tribus de la Grande-Horde, et pour le khan des Karakalpaks;

3° D'inviter les khans et les anciens ou chefs de tribus de toutes ces hordes à venir le trouver;

4° D'exiger de la Grande et de la Moyenne-Horde la prestation du serment;

5° De renvoyer sous bonne escorte le sultan Erali à son père.

[1] A cette époque Kirilof demanda et obtint qu'il lui fût envoyé quelques jeunes officiers du corps des cadets, afin qu'ils étudiassent sous ses yeux les langues ainsi que les mœurs et les usages de l'Asie, et que, par là, ils devinssent capables d'occuper par la suite des places dans ces contrées. Cette idée, digne d'être imitée, fait le plus grand honneur à la prévoyance de Kirilof.

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6° De maintenir les Kirghiz-Kazaks dans l'obéissance par la douceur et les présents ou par la force et la terreur, selon les circonstances;

7° Dans le cas où Aboulkhaïr ou d'autres khans et des Kirghis du commun voudraient faire paître leurs troupeaux aux environs de la nouvelle ville, de leur assigner des emplacements à cet effet; et dans le cas où les khans voudraient avoir des maisons, soit comme pied-à-terre, soit pour y demeurer, d'en faire bâtir sous les murs de la ville selon leur coutume; de leur accorder de même la permission de bâtir des mosquées, mais d'y entretenir une garde pour un service d'honneur et de surveillance;

8° De désigner le fleuve Oural comme frontière, et de veiller à ce qu'aucun Kirghiz ne le passât sans permission;

9° D'établir pour les affaires litigieuses un tribunal composé d'officiers russes et de Kirghiz pris parmi les plus distingués, tels que les fils des khans et des autres sultans ou des anciens; et de faire que chacun fût jugé dans ce tribunal selon les coutumes de son pays;

10° Après la fondation de la ville, et après une conférence avec Aboulkhaïr, de profiter de la première bonne occasion d'envoyer une caravane avec des marchandises en Boukharie et plus loin, s'il était possible; de même de chercher à attirer en Russie des marchands des différentes parties de l'Asie;

11° D'envoyer avec la première caravane des géodésistes pour examiner les lieux et en lever les plans;

12° De chercher autant que possible les mines et d'examiner l'endroit où, suivant Aboulkhaïr, il y avait de l'or;

13° De chercher à établir un port sur la mer d'Aral, et d'y tenir des bâtiments armés, et à cet effet de construire au commencement quelques chaloupes sur le Jaïk (l'Oural), et, après les avoir démontées, de les tenir toujours prêtes avec tous leurs agrès; et lorsque la ville sera construite, et que les liaisons avec les Kirghiz et les Karakalpaks auront pris de la consistance, de transporter pendant l'hiver, du consentement

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d'Aboulkhaïr et des princes kirghiz, ces vaisseaux ainsi démontés sur la mer d'Aral, et là de les mettre en état et de les armer d'artillerie;

14° D'acheter dans les moments favorables des chevaux kirghiz pour la cavalerie;

15° D'agir dans la découverte, l'exploitation et la vente des métaux (l'or et l'argent exceptés) que l'on pourrait trouver dans les steppes des Kirghiz, selon les principes du commerce sans perdre de temps à l'observation des formes.

Pour faciliter à Kirilof l'exécution des ordres dont il était chargé, il fut enjoint à chacun et en tous lieux de lui donner tous les secours possibles.

On lui remit des instructions diplomatiques complémentaires dont le but était :

1° De surveiller les Bachkirs, parmi lesquels avaient eu lieu jusqu'alors des désordres fréquents;

2° De surveiller de même les Kirghiz-Kazaks;

3° Si les uns ou les autres venaient à remuer, d'employer un peuple contre l'autre pour ménager les troupes russes;

4° De chercher à se procurer promptement des notions certaines sur les peuples limitrophes;

5° D'observer surtout la conduite des Zungars, de chercher les moyens de mettre fin à leurs incursions sur les colonies de la Sibérie, et de les détourner de lever des tributs sur les peuples nommés Dvoiedantsy : si l'on remarquait quelque mouvement de leur part, d'en faire rapport sur-le-champ au collége des affaires étrangères, et d'en informer les commandants des frontières;

6° De ne donner à Aboulkhaïr, dans la guerre contre les Khiviens, d'autres secours que de la poudre et des armes, mais point de troupes auxiliaires.

Nous nous faisons un devoir de transcrire ici dans toute leur étendue les lettres patentes remises à Kirilof pour la Moyenne et la Petite-Horde. La première fut remise à Aboulkhaïr après l'arrivée de Kirilof sur les lieux; la seconde ne

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put être envoyée à cause de la mort du khan Chémiaka, à qui elle était adressée.

Les voici l'une et l'autre.

Nous, par la grâce de Dieu, Anne, impératrice et autocratrice de toutes les Russies, etc., etc.

A Aboulkhair, khan et ancien de la horde kirghiz-kazak, et à toute l'armée kirghiz-kazak, de notre majesté impériale, salut.

Nous espérons que les anciens des Kirghiz : Tatlymbet-Batyr, Baïbek-Telengoute, qui se trouvèrent ici près de ton fils Erali, et que nous t'avons renvoyés, accompagnés de trois Bachkirs, avec une gracieuse lettre patente, sont déjà arrivés près de toi. Cette lettre patente t'apprend, Aboulkhaïr-khan, notre grâce impériale envers toi, et que ton fils est gracieusement entretenu près de nous. Et aujourd'hui, nous, grande souveraine, notre majesté impériale, par une bonté particulière pour toi, Aboulkhaïr-khan, notre sujet, et pour les anciens et pour toute la nation des Kirghiz-Kazaks, avons très-gracieusement accédé à ta prière, Aboulkhaïr-khan, et avons daigné envoyer d'ici notre conseiller d'état Ivane Kirilof et notre colonel Mourza Mahmet Tevkélef, et avons ordonné de construire une ville à l'embouchure de l'Ori, et de la munir d'hommes, d'artillerie, de mortiers, de canons et d'autres munitions de guerre, pour te protéger et te défendre plus facilement et plus promptement, toi notre sujet Aboulkhaïr-khan, et les anciens et toute l'armée, ainsi que les autres khans et anciens des hordes kirghiz-kazaks et karakalpaks qui se sont soumis à nous, ainsi que toute l'armée et l'ambassade, contre vos ennemis et les nôtres; en quoi il a été donné, de la part de notre majesté impériale, tout pouvoir au conseiller d'état Kirilof et au colonel Tevkélef; et avec eux sont renvoyés vers toi ton fils Erali-sultan, ton frère Niaze-sultan, et avec eux les anciens et leur suite avec des récompenses de notre majesté impériale, données à leur départ et pour que leur voyage se fasse avec plaisir; et toi, Aboulkhaïr, khan de la horde des Kirghiz-Kazaks, ainsi que les anciens, l'armée et toute la horde kirghiz-kazake, voyant la grâce de notre majesté impériale pour toi, es tenu de nous rendre d'importants services; et comme, à la première occasion, pendant la construction de la ville ainsi que toujours, tu dois la préserver de toute attaque imprévue de la part des ennemis, et avertir à temps nos conseiller d'état Kirilof et colonel Tevkélef, et nos armées, selon les circonstances, de toute espèce d'intentions et machinations mauvaises et contraires, et confirmer là dedans nos susdits sujets les khans, les anciens et l'armée, et agir en tout selon le serment d'obéissance que toi, Aboulkhaïr-khan, et les anciens et l'armée avez prêté. Au reste, lesdits Kirilof et Tevkélef ont de nous un ou-

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kase plus étendu à te communiquer, et ils t'assureront de bouche de la faveur de notre majesté impériale; c'est pourquoi, Aboulkhair-khan, vois-les souvent, et crois ce qu'ils te diront sur les affaires qui auront lieu, et exécute en conséquence.

Donné à Saint-Pétersbourg, le 10 juin 1734.

Sur la lettre patente originale se trouvait le cachet de sa majesté impériale.

Nous, par la grâce de Dieu, Anne, impératrice et autocratrice de toutes les Russies, etc., etc.

A notre sujet Chémiaka-khan, aux anciens et à toute l'armée des Kirghiz-Kazaks de la Horde-Moyenne, de notre majesté impériale, salut.

Il est connu à nous, grande souveraine, à notre majesté impériale, comment en 1731, toi Chémiaka, ainsi que pendant le séjour à la horde des Kirghiz-Kazaks de notre envoyé Mourza Tevkélef, tu es entré sous notre obéissance et nous as juré fidélité; et ensuite, violant ce serment, les Kazaks de ta horde ont voulu attaquer nos sujets bachkirs et commettre des dégâts chez eux, et ensuite toi-même, Chémiaka, tu es venu attaquer les mêmes Bachkirs avec tes Kazaks, et comme dans la première attaque, de même, dans la seconde, vous avez été vaincus par lesdits Bachkirs, nos sujets; et, dans cette seconde attaque, n'en étant pas venu aux extrémités, mais vous étant réunis avec les Bachkirs, vous vous êtes réconciliés; et toi, Chémiaka, et les anciens et toute l'armée, avez de nouveau, comme auparavant, juré fidélité à nous, grande souveraine, à notre majesté impériale, et avez envoyé des députés exprès à Oufa, avec une très-humble prière pour vous recevoir au nombre de nos sujets; lesquels députés t'ont été renvoyés. Et puisqu'aujourd'hui, par un très-gracieux désir de notre majesté impériale, ont été envoyés notre conseiller d'état Ivane Kirilof, et le colonel Mourza Tevkélef, nommé plus haut, pour bâtir une ville à l'embouchure de la rivière d'Ori, et qu'il leur est donné tout pouvoir de déclarer au khan et aux anciens de la horde des Kirghiz-Kazaks, et à toute l'armée, notre consentement, et d'assurer de nos bonnes grâces nos fidèles sujets, et de recevoir le serment de ceux qui voudraient être dans notre dépendance. A cet effet, nous, grande souveraine, notre majesté impériale, d'après notre pouvoir d'autocratrice, et surtout d'après notre miséricorde pour le peuple kirghiz-kazak, te pardonnons très-gracieusement, khan Chémiaka, à toi, aux anciens et à toute l'armée kirghize de la Horde-Moyenne, la violation de ton premier serment, si, selon votre intention, vous désirez passer sous notre domination et y rester; et pour ce que toi, khan Chémiaka, et toute l'armée kazake de la Moyenne-

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Horde, avez à faire, et comment il convient de vous conduire, vous le saurez par notre oukase, qu'ont là-dessus à vous déclarer le conseiller d'état Ivane Kirilof et le colonel Tevkélef.

Donné à Saint-Pétersbourg, le 10 juin 1734.

L'original de cette lettre patente était également revêtu du sceau de l'impératrice.

Muni de ces lettres, accompagné du sultan Erali, de sa suite et de Tevkélef, Kirilof, après avoir présenté ses respects à l'impératrice, partit de Pétersbourg le 15 juin 1734.

L'étendue des moyens qu'on lui avait donnés, l'indulgence et la libéralité que mit le gouvernement à satisfaire à toutes ses demandes, l'autorité dont on l'avait investi, les priviléges accordés à la ville d'Orenbourg qu'on se proposait de bâtir, le zèle que l'on mit sur-le-champ à ouvrir des relations avec les nouveaux sujets, tout fait voir quelle importance mettait le cabinet de Saint-Pétersbourg à la soumission des Kirghiz, et combien d'avantages l'on en attendait. Malheureusement la plupart des projets que l'on avait formés là-dessus restèrent sans exécution, d'abord à cause de la révolte des Bachkirs, ensuite à cause de la mort prématurée de Kirilof.

La nouvelle commission dont on l'avait chargé pendant son voyage de Pétersbourg à Oufa eut le même sort. A cette époque éclatèrent des troubles parmi les Kalmouks du Volga, et il fut ordonné à Kirilof de disposer les Kirhgiz-Kazaks à les punir, s'ils ne rentraient pas bientôt dans le devoir[1].

Au lieu de s'occuper de toutes ces affaires politiques avec les Kirghiz, Kirilof, à son arrivée sur la frontière, ne put s'occuper que du soin d'apaiser la révolte des Bachkirs.

Ce peuple mit des entraves à l'exécution de tous les nouveaux projets. Depuis l'époque de sa soumission à la Russie, les limites des terres qu'il occupait n'étant pas fixées, il avait pleine liberté d'étendre de tous côtés ses campements, et l'entière facilité, non-seulement de traverser librement le Jaïk et d'atta-

[1] Voyez, au collége des affaires étrangères, l'oukase du 26 août 1734, sous le nom de Kirilof.

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quer les Kirghiz, mais encore de profiter de la première circonstance favorable pour se soulever contre la Russie elle-même.

La construction de villes sur le Jaïk et la fixation des frontières sur ce fleuve laissant les Bachkirs entourés de colonies et de troupes russes, ils sentirent leur danger. Pour empêcher l'exécution de ces mesures ils formèrent le projet de s'opposer au passage de Kirilof vers l'embouchure de l'Ori, où il avait ordre de jeter les fondements de la nouvelle ville et de la forteresse.

Cependant cette tentative fut infructueuse : quoique quelques détachements eussent souffert de leurs attaques, Kirilof lui-même atteignit son but, et le 15 août 1735 il jeta les fondements de la nouvelle ville sur l'emplacement actuel de la forteresse d'Orskaïa.

Aussitôt que les fortifications commencèrent à s'élever, et qu'on y eut introduit des troupes et de l'artillerie, on envoya à la horde le sultan Niaze, parent d'Aboulkhaïr-khan, avec quelques anciens pour annoncer au khan qu'on avait satisfait à sa demande, c'est-à-dire qu'on avait bâti Orenbourg sur l'emplacement qu'il avait choisi, et pour l'inviter à se rendre avec tous les chefs des hordes au printemps de 1736 dans la nouvelle ville pour y conférer avec Kirilof. On renvoya à la même époque dans leur patrie des marchands de Tachkent venus en Russie avec des marchandises. Pour les engager à venir commercer dans la nouvelle ville, on leur donna différents secours, on leur distribua beaucoup de présents, et on leur fit connaître les priviléges accordés à Orenbourg.

Cependant la révolte des Bachkirs, loin de s'apaiser, devenait de plus en plus violente et l'on ne cessait d'attaquer les bagages de nos armées. On désigna pour les forcer à la soumission le comte Roumiantsof, général en chef des armées, père du célèbre Zadounaïsky[1], et Kirilof, s'occupant sans cesse avec lui des affaires des Bachkirs, n'eut pas le temps d'entrer en rapport plus direct avec les Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[1] C'est à dire : *d'au delà du Danube*, surnom donné au célèbre Romantsof après sa campagne de Turquie. *Note du traducteur.*

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Ces circonstances lui firent voir qu'il était indispensable d'avoir, indépendamment de la ligne de forteresses sur le Jaïk, une autre ligne aussi fortifiée depuis ce fleuve jusqu'à la Samara, pour garantir la sûreté des relations de la Russie avec ses colonies du Jaïk. Kirilof, aussitôt qu'il en vit la possibilité, travailla à l'établissement de l'une et de l'autre. D'après ses rapports au cabinet impérial [1], on voit qu'en 1736, outre la forteresse d'Orenbourg, il avait fondé sur le Jaïk les forts de Gouberlinsk et Ozernaïa, qui existent encore aujourd'hui, et trois portes fortifiés, Sredny, Berdskoï et Krylof. Nous ne parlons pas ici des forts élevés sur la Samara et dans l'intérieur du pays des Bachkirs, parce qu'ils n'ont aucun rapport avec notre sujet.

L'arrivée des troupes russes sur l'Oural ne pouvait manquer d'influer, ne fût-ce que momentanément, sur la tranquillité des hordes kirghizes. Mais cela ne les empêcha pas de ruiner les sujets russes à l'occident.

Quoique Kirilof n'eût pas réussi à voir les princes kirghiz et par conséquent n'eût pu mettre à exécution l'ordre qu'il avait reçu de préparer leurs hordes à attaquer les Kalmouks du Volga qui se soulevaient, cependant les Kirghiz n'avaient pas besoin d'être excités à un acte où ils étaient portés naturellement.

A peine eurent-ils appris les désordres qui avaient lieu sur le Volga, qu'ils se hâtèrent d'aller piller les Kalmouks [2]. L'heureuse issue de cette expédition, l'enlèvement de beaucoup de prisonniers et de bestiaux en 1736 ne purent satisfaire l'avidité des Kirghiz. Ils réitérèrent leurs attaques en 1737, et revinrent chez eux avec un butin considérable.

On chargea Kirilof [3] de faire sentir à Aboulkhaïr combien les ravages qu'exerçaient ses sujets contre ceux de l'empire

[1] Voyez le rapport du 27 octobre 1736.

[2] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 9 février 1737, sous le nom de Kirilof, et les copies jointes à cette pièce des rapports du prince Repnine et de Béclémichef.

[3] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 8 mars 1737.

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étaient contraires aux vues du gouvernement, et de prendre des mesures pour les empêcher à l'avenir de commettre de semblables violences. Cette exhortation n'atteignit pas son but; car Kirilof, qui avait passé l'hiver de 1736 à 1737 à rédiger des projets pour régler les affaires des Kirghiz, projets qu'il était fermement résolu de mettre à exécution au printemps, mourut au mois d'avril de la même année.

Il est surtout fâcheux qu'il n'ait pas eu le temps d'exécuter deux choses : la première d'avoir une conférence avec le khan et les chefs de tribus qui, d'après son invitation, devaient arriver bientôt à Orenbourg; et en second lieu d'envoyer à Tachkent une caravane qui eût été guidée par des marchands de Tachkent venus à Kazan par Orenbourg, en 1736. Elton, capitaine de marine au service de l'Angleterre, devait accompagner cette caravane en qualité de marchand [1], pour recueillir des notions sur la principauté de Tachkent, et surtout pour reconnaître la mer d'Aral, sur laquelle, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, on se proposait d'établir une flottille. L'instruction d'Elton était déjà écrite et on la trouva dans les papiers de Kirilof après sa mort; mais elle resta sans aucun effet, ainsi que le projet de bâtir à l'embouchure du Syr, sur la mer d'Aral, une ville qu'on se proposait d'abord de peupler de criminels condamnés à l'exil [2].

L'importance des affaires confiées à Kirilof, et les suites qu'on en esperait, exigeaient qu'on choisît pour le remplacer un homme aussi habile qu'actif, et c'est ce qu'on fit. Tatistchef, connu par son Histoire de Russie, fut nommé chef de l'expédition kirghize, ou comme on disait alors de l'expédition d'Orenbourg. On fit sur-le-champ connaître cette nomination à la Moyenne et à la Petite-Horde kirghize par deux lettres patentes au nom de l'impératrice; l'une fut immédiatement remise à Aboulkhaïr; l'autre, adressée au défunt khan Chémia-

[1] Ce même Elton passa ensuite au service de shah Nadir, et fut cause d'éclaircissements diplomatiques entre les ministères russe et anglais.

[2] Un oukase fut donné à ce sujet le 11 février 1736.

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ka, ne fut point expédiée, et se trouve encore aujourd'hui dans les archives de la commission des frontières à Orenbourg[1].

La révolte des Bachkirs n'était pas encore apaisée; Aboulkhaïr craignant d'y prendre quelque part proposa de lui-même à Tatistchef ses secours pour réduire les rebelles. L'autorité supérieure, informée de cette proposition, permit de l'accepter[2] et autorisa le khan à entrer dans le pays des Bachkirs, à condition cependant qu'en agissant contre les rebelles, il laisserait en repos ceux qui étaient demeurés fidèles, et défendrait au besoin leurs personnes et leurs propriétés. Au mépris de cet ordre, Aboulkhaïr pilla pendant deux mois consécutifs le pays des Bachkirs sans distinction de rebelles ni de sujets demeurés fidèles, et la suite prouva qu'il n'avait d'autre but en proposant ses services que de se gorger de butin lui et ses Kirghiz. On assure même qu'il avait l'intention de faire son fils khan des Bachkirs, et qu'en entrant dans le pays de ce peuple, il s'était déclaré son protecteur et son défenseur auprès du gouvernement russe; mais voyant sa fourberie sans succès, il commença le pillage. En conséquence on ordonna de le faire sortir au plus tôt du pays des Bachkirs. Tatistchef exécuta cet ordre avec douceur et sans querelle.

Cependant le fils d'Aboulkhaïr-khan, Erali, restait en otage à Orenbourg.

Pendant qu'Aboulkhaïr exerçait ses ravages contre les Bachkirs, une partie de sa horde, qui campait à l'embouchure de l'Oural, renouvela ses attaques contre les Kalmouks, et, dans une de ses incursions, fit prisonniers beaucoup de Russes[3]. Craignant la juste punition de leurs méfaits, Aboulkhaïr et ses partisans n'apprirent qu'avec terreur que Tatistchef s'approchait d'Orenbourg avec des troupes, au mois de juillet 1738. Ils croyaient que cette armée, à laquelle et d'après la renom-

[1] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 30 décembre 1737.

[2] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 22 mars 1738.

[3] Voyez, dans les archives du collége des affaires étrangères, les rapports envoyés d'Astrakhan, et l'oukase du 6 février 1738, adressé à Tatistchef.

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mée s'étaient réunis quelques milliers de Kalmouks, venait pour les punir, tandis que Tatistchef qu'elle escortait n'avait d'autre but que d'entamer des conférences avec le khan et les principaux sultans kirghiz.

Désirant s'assurer de ses intentions, ils envoyèrent à la rencontre de Tatistchef Batyr Boukenbaï, dont nous avons déjà parlé, et qui était généralement respecté. Le but ostensible de sa mission était de s'informer du temps où Aboulkhaïr devait venir à Orenbourg et du nombre de sultans qui devaient l'accompagner; le but véritable était de reconnaître la force de l'armée et de savoir s'il y avait des Kalmouks.

Quoique Boukenbaï eût tranquillisé ses compatriotes à ce sujet, cependant Aboulkhaïr qui sentait ses crimes fut longtemps avant de se décider à se rendre à Orenbourg. Enfin il arriva, et s'arrêta avec toute sa suite sous les murs de la forteresse; mais il craignait de se rendre chez Tatistchef, et s'excusait sur ce qu'il ne convenait pas à la personne d'un souverain de faire la première visite à un général. Il tenait surtout à cette idée d'après les représentations des anciens qui l'accompagnaient. Mais Tevkélef, en sa qualité de coreligionnaire et d'ancienne connaissance, le tranquillisa et le détermina à renoncer à une prétention orgueilleuse. L'assurance qu'il se rendait au camp impérial et non chez le conseiller d'état Tatistchef le décida à rabattre de ses prétentions et à se rendre à Orenbourg, qui n'était alors qu'un camp fortifié.

L'entrevue fut assignée pour le mois d'août 1738.

Pour la rendre plus pompeuse, et frapper par là l'esprit des Asiatiques, qui aiment le faste en tout, on envoya au devant du khan un major avec une compagnie de dragons, deux pelotons de grenadiers, la musique militaire, et douze chevaux de haras. Ce détachement ayant rencontré Aboulkhaïr sur le chemin, l'escorta jusqu'à Orenbourg. Les autres troupes qui se trouvaient dans la ville mises sous les armes bordaient la route, et lorsque le khan passa près de l'artillerie, elle le salua de neuf coups de canon. En descendant de cheval près de la tente de

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Tatistchef, Aboulkhaïr fut reçu par un lieutenant; à la porte de la tente en dehors, il fut reçu par un major, et en dedans par un colonel. Le portrait de l'impératrice était placé dans le fond de la tente. Le khan était attendu au milieu de la salle par le chef principal entouré des officiers supérieurs et subalternes. Aboulkhaïr prononça en s'approchant de lui un discours dans sa langue dont voici la traduction :

« Sa majesté l'impératrice de Russie surpasse tous les autres souverains, de même que le soleil dans les cieux éclipse les autres astres. Quoique l'éloignement ne me permette pas de la voir, cependant je sens sa grâce dans le fond de mon cœur; et vous, seigneur et illustre chef, je vous considère comme la lune, éclairée de la lumière de sa majesté. C'est pourquoi je vous déclare ma soumission à elle et mon obéissance comme son fidèle sujet. Je vous félicite des victoires remportées sur l'ennemi, et vous souhaite des succès pour l'avenir. Je me mets moi-même, ma famille et mes hordes, sous la défense et la protection de sa majesté, comme sous l'aile d'un aigle puissant, promettant de ma part une soumission éternelle. Et vous, seigneur général et mon ami, je vous complimente sur votre arrivée ici; je confie à votre amitié moi et mes proches, et je vous assure ici d'une amitié réciproque de ma part[1]. »

Tatistchef lui répondit qu'il ne manquerait pas de faire connaître à l'impératrice sa soumission; il lui promit assistance et protection, et lui proposa cependant de prêter serment de nouveau. Aboulkhaïr lui répondit qu'il avait déjà prêté serment une fois, que malgré cela il était disposé à le prêter de nouveau. Alors on fit entrer dans la tente le plus ancien membre du clergé mahométan, avec le coran, et on apporta un tapis

[1] Ce discours n'a point été écrit, mais prononcé de vive voix, et ensuite placé dans la relation de la première visite du khan. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes permis d'y corriger les fautes de traduction sans changer le sens. Rytchkof l'a placé dans son Histoire d'Orenbourg, en faisant de même quelques corrections à la traduction.

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d'or sur lequel le khan se mit à genoux, et après avoir écouté la lecture du serment, il baisa le coran.

Immédiatement après la cérémonie, Tatistchef lui mit au côté un riche sabre monté en or, que le khan, comme une marque particulière de faveur, ne devait tirer que contre les ennemis de la Russie. Dans le même moment, les anciens et les Kirghiz du commun prêtèrent serment entre les mains de Tevkélef, dans d'autres tentes.

La cérémonie se termina par un repas, pendant lequel, pour divertir et pour étonner les convives, on but à la santé de l'impératrice et à celle de l'empereur, au bruit du canon.

Le lendemain le sultan Nourali, fils aîné du khan, arriva à Orenbourg. On lui rendit aussi de grands honneurs, quoique moindres que ceux qu'on avait rendus à son père; il prêta aussi serment en présence de Tatistchef, et reçut ensuite au nom de l'impératrice un sabre monté en argent.

Après la première entrevue du chef de l'expédition d'Orenbourg avec le khan, il y en eut bientôt plusieurs autres. Tatistchef et Aboulkhaïr se rendaient souvent, tant à Orenbourg, que hors de la forteresse, dans le camp du chef kirghis, des visites non-seulement publiques, mais aussi particulières. On arrêta dans ces diverses entrevues :

1° De renvoyer à la horde Erali-sultan, fils d'Aboulkhaïr, et demeuré en otage à Orenbourg, et de prendre à sa place Khodji-Akhmet, autre fils du khan.

2° Le khan s'obligea de délivrer et de renvoyer en Russie tous les prisonniers russes qui se trouvaient non-seulement à la horde, mais encore dans tous les pays voisins.

Remarquons en passant qu'il ne put jamais exécuter cette promesse, et qu'en la faisant il était sûr de l'impossibilité de tenir parole.

3° Pour mieux prouver sa soumission Aboulkhaïr exprima, en 1739, le désir d'envoyer à la cour son épouse la khanesse Papaï; le but de ce projet était sans doute la curiosité, jointe à l'espérance de recevoir de riches présents.

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4° En reconnaissance de toutes les faveurs qu'il avait reçues, le khan proposa et s'engagea solennellement à défendre et à protéger les caravanes russes à leur passage par les steppes des Kirghiz. D'après ces assurances, Tatistchef envoya à cette époque même la première caravane à Tachkent; une partie des marchandises appartenait à la couronne; le lieutenant Muller fut nommé chef de cette caravane, et on lui adjoignit un officier géodésiste pour les levées géographiques.

Cette caravane traversa heureusement la Petite et la Moyenne-Horde, et fut pillée dans la Grande à deux journées de Tachkent.

Avant le départ du khan pour ses steppes on distribua au nom de l'impératrice de riches présents, tant à lui qu'aux sultans, aux anciens, et même aux simples Kirghiz de sa suite.

La Moyenne-Horde n'avait point encore à cette époque élu de khan pour remplacer Chémiaka; mais elle était gouvernée par deux khans, Aboul-Mahmet et Ablaï, que Tatistchef avait invités à venir aux conférences d'Orenbourg en même temps que Chémiaka; cependant aucun d'eux ne s'y rendit. C'est pourquoi on leur envoya un officier pour reconnaître leurs dispositions à l'égard de la Russie, et pour s'informer des raisons qui les avaient empêchés de venir à Orenbourg. Cet envoyé fut de retour à la fin d'août 1738, et amena avec lui quelques anciens qui déclarèrent à Tatistchef qu'Aboul-Mahmet et Ablaï n'avaient pu répondre à son invitation, qu'à cause de l'éloignement de leurs aouls, qui se trouvaient sur l'Irtych; mais qu'ils ne manqueraient pas d'arriver au printemps suivant, et qu'ils prêteraient serment de fidélité.

Cependant cette entrevue même n'eut pas lieu; car Tatistchef partit pour Pétersbourg au commencement de 1739, et la première nouvelle qu'apprit son successeur le prince Ouroussof, qui n'arriva à Orenbourg qu'à la fin de l'été, fut que deux caravanes russes, parties depuis peu d'Orenbourg, avaient été pillées presque sur notre frontière par les Kirghiz de la Petite-Horde: telles furent les premières preuves de la protec-

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tion promise à notre commerce d'Asie par le khan Aboul khaïr.

On eut une seconde preuve de l'impuissance des princes, ou pour mieux dire des chefs kirghiz, lorsqu'en 1740 Karasakal, chef des rebelles bachkirs, s'enfuit au delà du Jaïk avec ses complices: le khan et les sultans refusèrent positivement d'arrêter ces déserteurs.

Toutes ces circonstances, et surtout le pillage des caravanes, furent cause qu'en 1740 Aboulkhaïr se trouva embarrassé de paraître à Orenbourg pour y avoir une entrevue avec le prince Ouroussof, et il s'excusa sur ce qu'il était malade et trop éloigné.

A ces deux raisons, qu'il donnait ouvertement, il faut en joindre une troisième qui était secrète. Il savait qu'on attendait à cette époque à Orenbourg Aboul-Mahmet, nouveau khan de la Moyenne-Horde, dont il était l'ennemi, sur lequel il avait la prééminence et qu'il craignait de voir traité à l'égal de lui-même; et pour éviter les reproches et éloigner les soupçons, il envoya au prince Ouroussof les sultans Nourali et Erali ses fils.

On les reçut avec tous les honneurs qui avaient été rendus à leur père deux ans auparavant. On traita aussi avec des égards particuliers les Kirghiz qui les accompagnaient. Soixante-quinze anciens dînèrent à la table du chef, et on distribua en plein air des vivres et de la bière aux gens de leur suite.

Quoique le sultan Nourali fût déjà un homme fait, cependant son père lui avait donné pour gouverneur pendant son voyage en Russie, Batyr Djanibek, généralement estimé chez les Kirghiz et renommé pour son esprit. Il fut reçu à Orenbourg presque à l'égal des sultans, et reçut à la première conférence, en même temps qu'eux, de riches présents au nom du gouvernement russe.

La première visite des fils du khan au prince Ouroussof ne fut qu'une visite de cérémonies et de politesses mutuelles. A la seconde entrevue, il fut question des affaires de la horde.

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Ils expliquèrent que la première caravane envoyée par Tatistchef avait été pillée par la Grande-Horde, sur laquelle ils n'avaient aucune espèce d'influence. Ensuite, à l'imitation de leur père, ils prirent sur eux de satisfaire aux demandes dont l'exécution était au-dessus de leurs forces; savoir: de restituer toutes les marchandises enlevées aux caravanes pillées près d'Orenbourg, et de rendre tous les prisonniers russes qui se trouvaient dans les hordes; enfin ils déclarèrent que leur père demandait quelques canons pour la guerre avec les Khiviens, et de plus qu'on bâtît une ville sur le Syr, après avoir préalablement levé le plan de l'emplacement qu'on lui destinait. En conséquence de cette demande, le prince Ouroussof envoya sur le Syr et de là à Khiva le géodésiste Mouravine et l'ingénieur Nazimof, qui, après avoir composé la première carte de la partie des steppes des Kirghiz et des terres de Khiva qu'ils avaient vues, revinrent en Russie un an après leur retour de cette mission. On refusa positivement de l'artillerie à Aboulkhaïr, sous prétexte qu'il n'y en avait que très-peu dans les forts construits sur l'Oural.

Nourali et Erali son frère n'étaient pas encore partis lorsqu'on vit arriver à Orenbourg Aboul-Mahmet, khan de la Moyenne-Horde, avec le sultan Ablaï, qu'on y attendait depuis longtemps. Ils étaient accompagnés d'un grand nombre de chefs de tribus, d'anciens, et de gens du commun. A la visite qu'ils rendirent au prince Ouroussof, ils furent reçus avec les mêmes honneurs qu'on avait rendus à Aboulkhaïr; mais en entrant dans la tente, au lieu de prononcer un discours, ils remirent chacun une lettre dont le contenu avait le même sens que le discours d'Aboulkhaïr: voilà pourquoi nous n'avons pas jugé à propos de transcrire ces lettres ici.

Le prince Ouroussof, après qu'elles lui eurent été lues par un interprète, y répondit par des compliments flatteurs, et leur promit, au nom de sa majesté impériale, ses bonnes grâces, son assistance et sa protection, dans le cas où ils se montreraient sujets fidèles. Ensuite il proposa au khan ainsi

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qu'au sultan et aux Kirghiz de leur suite, de prêter serment. Aboul-Mahmet et Ablaï, se conformant sans délai à l'invitation du chef de l'expédition, se mirent aussitôt à genoux sur un tapis d'or, et, ayant ôté leurs bonnets, ils jurèrent fidélité selon leurs usages; ensuite ils baisèrent le coran, le mirent sur leurs têtes et apposèrent leur cachet au lieu de signature sur les feuilles où le serment était écrit. A leur imitation, cent vingt-huit anciens kirghiz de la Moyenn-Horde prêtèrent serment dans une tente voisine, et le peuple en plein air. Cette cérémonie fut suivie d'un repas, de salves d'artillerie, etc.

Le lendemain le khan, accompagné d'Ablaï, revint à Orenbourg pour discuter sur les affaires des Kirghiz; le prince Ouroussof, pendant cette conférence, insista surtout pour qu'ils escortassent les caravanes venant de Russie ou y retournant; pour qu'ils fissent rendre les marchandises enlevées par la Grande-Horde à la caravane de Muller, et qu'ils terminassent les différents qui existaient entre les Kirghiz et les Kalmouks du Volga. Ils ne purent satisfaire à la dernière demande, parce qu'elle dépendait d'un peuple plus habitué au pillage qu'à l'obéissance envers ses chefs. D'ailleurs, les Kalmouks avaient plus à souffrir de la Petite-Horde, comme étant la plus voisine. Nous ajouterons, pour preuve de ce fait, qu'en cette même année 1740 Aboulkhaïr lui-même envoya près de trois mille Kirghiz pour piller les oulouss kalmouks.

Il fut impossible de mettre à exécution la demande d'escortes pour les caravanes. Ablaï, plus puissant qu'Aboul-Mahmet, aurait pu prendre sur lui cette obligation; mais elle n'était avantageuse ni au peuple ni à ses chefs. Car, quelque élevé que fût le prix qu'on payait pour l'escorte, il ne pouvait compenser les bénéfices que les Kirghiz tiraient du pillage des marchandises.

Deux jours après la première entrevue avec les chefs de la Moyenne-Horde, le prince Ouroussof les invita, ainsi que les fils d'Aboulkhaïr, à venir voir l'exercice de l'infanterie et de l'artillerie. Aboul-Mahmet et Ablaï admirèrent les manœuvres

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et surtout un feu d'artifice que l'on tira en leur honneur. Mais Nourali et Erali, pour éviter de se rencontrer avec Aboul-Mahmet, non-seulement ne se rendirent pas à l'invitation qu'ils avaient reçue, mais ils quittèrent Orenbourg le même jour, sans prendre congé du prince Ouroussof. La véritable raison de ce départ précipité fut, comme on l'apprit ensuite, la crainte d'être retenus en otages en Russie d'après l'instigation d'Aboul-Mahmet.

Le khan et les sultans quittèrent Orenbourg en donnant toutes les marques de soumission et de dévouement au gouvernement russe. Mais les événements de 1741 font douter de la sincérité de leurs démonstrations et de leurs promesses. Nous avons dit plus haut que Karasakal, chef des rebelles bachkirs, s'était retiré dans les hordes kirghizes. On ne sait quel est le khan ou le sultan qui le prit sous sa protection; mais il est reconnu que, s'étant donné pour frère de Galdane Tsyrène, général des Zungars, il alla dévaster les habitations de ces derniers à la tête d'un grand nombre de Kirghiz armés. Galdane, averti de cette attaque, envoya pour punir ces brigands une armée de quinze mille hommes, qui les poursuivit presque jusqu'à Orenbourg, à travers la steppe des Kirghiz, ravageant les aoûls qui se trouvèrent sur son passage, et tuant ou emmenant les hommes et les bestiaux. Ce furent les sujets d'Aboul-Mahmet et d'Ablaï qui eurent le plus à souffrir dans cette circonstance. Cela ferait supposer qu'ils avaient soutenu Karasakal et lui avaient donné des secours, ce qui leur avait attiré tant de malheurs. La marche rapide des Zungars fut arrêtée par le commandant d'Orenbourg, qui les voyant approcher de la frontière, leur envoya dire qu'ils violaient la paix qui subsistait entre la Russie et Galdane Tsyrène. Le chef de l'armée zungare se retira aussitôt après avoir déclaré que ni lui, ni son maître, n'étaient informés de la soumission des Kirghiz à la Russie, et que ces peuples, par leurs brigandages continuels, faisaient perdre patience à tous leurs voisins. On leur répondit qu'à l'avenir ils devaient adresser au gouvernement russe leurs

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plaintes contre la Moyenne et la Petite-Horde, et non se faire justice eux-mêmes. On conçoit que ni Galdane ni son général ne purent comprendre la justice de cet éclaircissement diplomatique, et qu'ils continuèrent de se conduire à l'égard des nouveaux sujets russes tout comme au temps de leur indépendance.

Cet événement fut la cause de la demande que fit Aboul-Mahmet au gouvernement russe de bâtir une ville forte au milieu des pâturages de la Moyenne-Horde. Il savait qu'on avait fait une semblable promesse à Aboulkhaïr, et se regardait comme ayant droit d'être traité sur le même pied.

Quelque forte que fût la leçon donnée aux Kirghiz par les Zungars, cependant un orage plus terrible les menaçait au sud-ouest. Shah Nadyr, la terreur de l'Asie, s'approchait de Khiva, et l'ayant soumise, il pouvait facilement attaquer les hordes kirghizes. Le cabinet de Petersbourg avait pris déjà des mesures pour fortifier autant que possible sa nouvelle frontière sur l'Oural. Cette précaution fut inutile; car Nadyr passa à côté des steppes kirghizes sans y faire aucune attention. Il ne pouvait ignorer que la soumission d'un peuple nomade est en général difficile, et que le butin qu'on peut y faire est à peu près nul; ainsi donc il n'est pas étonnant qu'il ait laissé les Kirghiz en repos.

Aboulkhaïr s'empara de Khiva en 1741, et s'y trouvait lorsque les armées persanes entrèrent dans ce pays. Il avait alors près de lui Mouravine, géodésiste au service de Russie, qui, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, avait été chargé, en 1740, d'examiner sur le Syr l'endroit où Aboulkhaïr avait demandé qu'on bâtît une ville. Comptant plus sur cet officier que sur ses sultans, il l'envoya de sa part à la rencontre du shah pour lui faire ses soumissions, et le prier de le laisser khan de Khiva. Nadyr reçut Mouravine très-gracieusement, lui fit des présents en argent et en habits, et il le chargea, en le renvoyant, de dire à Aboulkhaïr de se présenter lui-même au camp persan, où il serait reçu et récompensé comme un sujet de l'im-

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pératrice de Russie avec laquelle le shah désirait de se maintenir en paix et en bonne intelligence [1].

Soit crainte, soit manque de foi aux paroles de Nadyr, soit à cause d'une conspiration ourdie par les Khiviens, Aboulkhaïr refusa de paraître devant le conquérant persan, et se retira dans sa horde. Les Khiviens eurent l'idée, après son départ, de résister à l'armée persane, et se renfermèrent dans la ville. Nadyr l'emporta d'assaut en trois jours [2] et donna aux Khiviens un de ses généraux pour khan; mais ce nouveau prince disposant de peu de troupes, les Khiviens ne tardèrent pas à s'en défaire.

On choisit Nourali, fils d'Aboulkhaïr, pour remplacer ce chef qui n'avait fait que paraître; mais son règne ne fut pas plus long que celui du premier. Ayant appris que Nadyr, irrité de la révolte des Khiviens, préparait une armée pour les punir, il se hâta de quitter Khiva et de rejoindre son père dans les pâturages de la Petite-Horde kirghize.

Cependant il ne s'y trouva pas encore en sûreté. Galdane Tsyrène impatienté des incursions des Kirghiz pendant qu'il faisait la guerre à la Chine, ayant terminé ses affaires les plus importantes, envoya de nouveau deux corps de troupes, dont l'un attaqua la Petite-Horde et l'autre la Moyenne. Aboulkhaïr eut aussitôt recours au gouvernement russe et lui demanda du secours. Le cabinet impérial, pour répondre aux désirs du khan, ordonna, en cas de danger, de le laisser entrer avec sa famille et ses serviteurs dans la forteresse d'Orenbourg.

Cette permission était un bienfait pour Aboulkhaïr; mais elle ne le mettait pas à couvert des attaques que les Zungars pourraient faire par la suite. Habitant la plupart du temps au milieu de ses steppes ou aux environs du Syr, il ne

[1] Nous citerons pour preuve de sa sincérité le fait suivant : Janaief, Tatar russe, amena à Samara dix esclaves russes, prisonniers à Khiva. Nadyr leur rendit la liberté, et fit donner à chacun cinquante roubles et un cheval pour retourner dans leur patrie.

[2] Voyez, dans les archives de la commission des frontières d'Orenbourg, les rapports du Tatar Janaief, déjà cité, et qui était lui-même à Khiva pendant le siége.

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lui était pas toujours facile de chercher un refuge à Orenbourg trop éloigné de lui; et les Zungars, en occupant la partie septentrionale des steppes des Kirghiz, pouvaient toujours lui en couper le chemin. A l'occident les Zungars auraient été aidés par les Kalmouks de même race qu'eux. La position d'Aboul-Mahmet et d'Ablaï était encore plus dangereuse; leurs sujets étaient, dans beaucoup d'endroits, les plus proches voisins des Zungars, et souvent eux-mêmes vivaient en nomades plus près des terres de ces derniers que d'Orenbourg.

Le danger que justifiait l'enlèvement d'Ablaï, sultan zungar[1], fut cause que les chefs kirghiz se virent obligés, malgré leur dépendance de la Russie, d'avoir recours à la clémence de Galdane. Aboul-Mahmet lui envoya une ambassade pour lui faire ses soumissions, et enfin il lui donna son propre fils en otage[2]. Aboulkhaïr, qui surpassait Aboul-Mahmet en esprit, et qui demeurait plus près de la frontière russe, avait d'un côté moins à craindre des Zungars, et de l'autre avait aussi plus besoin de la protection de l'impératrice de Russie; en conséquence il se décida à employer, dans cette circonstance, les ruses les plus déliées. Il fit dire par ses affidés à l'armée de Galdane qu'il était prêt à lui obéir, et qu'il lui enverrait des gages de sa soumission s'il le désirait.

Galdane ayant reçu cette nouvelle, et regardant sans doute Aboulkhaïr comme le plus puissant des princes kirghiz envoya lui-même ses officiers pour s'assurer de sa soumission et recevoir les otages qu'il avait promis. L'arrivée de ces députés ne fit pas perdre au khan, aussi rusé que fécond en ressources, sa présence d'esprit naturelle. Il ne voulait pas exécuter la demande des Zungars, et comme sujet russe, il craignait de le faire; il résolut donc de les mener à Orenbourg, où il se dis-

[1] Voyez l'instruction donnée, en 1742, au major Miller qui fut alors envoyé d'Orenbourg à Galdane Tsyrène, et qu'on avait chargé de travailler à la liberté d'Ablaï.

[2] Voyez, dans les archives de la commission des frontières d'Orenbourg, les rapports du prince Irakof, qui avait été à la Moyenne-Horde en 1742.

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posait à se rendre sur l'invitation de Néplouief, nouveau commandant de cette place. Il avait deux raisons pour en agir ainsi. D'abord il pouvait prouver par là au gouvernement russe sa confiance et sa stricte obéissance; ensuite s'excuser devant Galdane de ne lui avoir pas envoyé d'otages; car il était certain que le chef des frontières ne le lui permettrait pas.

Ce fut ce qui arriva. Aboulkhaïr était à peine arrivé à Orenbourg, que Néplouief déclara aux envoyés zungars que le khan de la Petite-Horde étant sujet de la Russie, n'avait pas le droit de traiter avec des princes étrangers, ni celui de leur donner des otages. On en dit autant pour la Moyenne-Horde et le khan Aboul-Mahmet. Les Zungars répondirent que les Kirghiz-Kazaks faisaient sans cesse des incursions sur leurs terres; qu'on ne pouvait être tranquille si on ne leur prenait pas des otages; qu'au reste ils avaient eux-mêmes offert de satisfaire à cette demande, de même que la Grande-Horde qui, étant devenue leur vassale, non-seulement donnait des otages, mais payait en outre un tribut, et qu'elle jouissait à cause de cela d'une tranquillité parfaite. On leur répéta encore que les sujets russes ne pouvaient ni faire, ni exécuter de semblables promesses sans le consentement de leur gouvernement. Néplouief prit sur lui-même le soin d'empêcher à l'avenir toute incursion des Kirghiz sur les terres des Zungars. On proposa ensuite aux députés de s'en retourner chez eux; mais ils répondirent que, quoiqu'ils fussent très-satisfaits de la réception de Néplouief, cependant ses paroles ne leur suffisaient pas; car connaissant de près les Kirghiz-Kazaks, qui trompaient également Russes et Zungars par leurs promesses de soumission, ils ne pouvaient attendre d'eux à l'avenir que pillage et brigandage; et qu'ainsi ils n'osaient s'en retourner sans otages. Enfin, ils dirent ouvertement qu'ils étaient venus de la part de leur khontaïdzi, non auprès du gouvernement russe, mais chez le khan Aboulkhaïr.

Néplouief et le khan eurent bien de la peine à les décider à partir avec les réponses qu'on leur avait données; mais ils quittèrent enfin Orenbourg pour s'en aller directement dans leur

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pays. Pour mieux persuader à Galdane Tsyrène que les hordes kirghizes étaient vassales de la Russie, et pour faire remettre à Galdane une lettre de Néplouief, on fit partir avec ces députés le major Müller, qui avait été chef de la première caravane russe pillée par la Grande-Horde.

Tout ceci eut lieu au mois d'août 1742. A cette même époque Aboulkhaïr avec son fils Erali, le célèbre Batyr Djanibek, quelques sultans et anciens, et le bas peuple, qui se trouvait alors près de lui, prêtèrent serment de fidélité à l'impératrice Élisabeth. A cette occasion on fit faire après le repas, l'exercice à feu à une compagnie de grenadiers. Les envoyés zungars n'étaient pas encore partis, et Aboulkhaïr ne manqua pas de leur dire que, sous la protection de l'impératrice de Russie qui avait de semblables troupes, on pouvait être en sûreté.

Après le départ des envoyés, Néplouief fit tous ses efforts pour prouver à Aboulkhaïr que ni la Petite, ni la Moyenne-Horde ne devaient attaquer les domaines de Galdane Tsyrène. Aboulkhaïr parut se rendre à ces avis, et promit qu'à l'avenir ses sujets ne renouvelleraient pas leurs anciennes incursions.

De semblables avis étaient encore plus nécessaires à Aboul-Mahmet, khan de la Moyenne, qui était plus rapproché des Zungars, et qui avait éprouvé depuis peu avec quelle cruauté ils vengeaient leur injures. Néplouief l'attendait à Orenbourg à cette époque, et il n'était plus qu'à un jour de marche de cette forteresse; mais il retourna sur ses pas, d'après des bruits semés par Aboulkhaïr, qu'il serait, ainsi que ses anciens, retenu prisonnier à son arrivée sur le territoire russe. Espérant que la cause de l'éloignement d'Aboul-Mahmet serait toujours secrète, Aboulkhaïr faisait valoir à Néplouief sa soumission, qu'il opposait à l'obstination prétendue de son rival, auquel il cherchait tous les moyens de nuire. Le motif de ces menées d'Aboulkhaïr était non-seulement le désir de nuire à Aboul-Mahmet, mais encore celui de réussir dans un projet dont l'exécution était assez difficile. Il voulait, en échange de son fils Khodja-Akhmet alors en otage à Orenbourg, donner Tchin-

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ghis, un autre de ses fils. Mais ce dernier était fils d'une concubine et non d'une khanesse; et Néplouief, se conduisant d'après ses instructions et les avis de ses prédécesseurs, ne pouvait recevoir Tchinghiz au lieu du sultan Khodja-Akhmet. Le khan fut tellement irrité de ce refus qu'il voulait partir à l'instant; mais il s'apaisa bientôt, et consentit à attendre la décision de l'autorité suprême sur ce sujet.

Le caractère rusé, hypocrite, ambitieux et ardent d'Aboulkhaïr était entièrement opposé à la douceur et à la bonté d'Aboul-Mahmet. Celui-ci, à l'arrivée de l'interprète Ourazline, qui lui avait été envoyé par Néplouief, confessa franchement la cause de son brusque retour des environs d'Orenbourg, et ayant ensuite avoué que la crainte lui avait fait donner son fils en otage à Galdane, il prêta serment de fidélité à l'impératrice Élisabeth. Ce fut en cette même année 1742 que Barak, puissant sultan des Kirghiz, prêta serment pour la première fois au gouvernement russe, en même temps que Aboul-Mahmet. Il commandait à une grande partie de la Moyenne-Horde, et ses sujets lui donnaient le titre de khan.

Comme souverain indépendant il envoya, après le serment, des députés à Orenbourg avec prière de les adresser à la cour, afin qu'ils présentassent en personne et en son nom ses soumissions à l'impératrice.

Quelques mois après il prouva combien peu cette soumission était sincère. Ses députés furent présentés à Élisabeth; on les admit au baise-main et on les combla de grâces et de présents. On lui envoya à lui-même, par le gouvernement d'Orenbourg, une lettre[1] et un sabre d'or avec une inscription à son nom. N'ayant jamais vu Barak, et sachant qu'il n'avait eu auparavant aucune relation avec la Russie, Néplouief se crut obligé de lui remettre en main propre les marques de faveur de l'impératrice, et dans cette intention il lui dépêcha un exprès, qui partit avec ses ambassadeurs pour l'inviter à se rendre à Orenbourg.

[1] Cette lettre fut donnée le 24 mars 1743.

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L'orgueilleux sultan, irrité de ce que la lettre et le sabre ne lui eussent pas été apportés par son ambassade, fit dire quelques grossièretés à l'officier de Néplouief, et le renvoya sans l'avoir vu. La première cause de cette basse insolence ne peut être attribuée qu'à l'aveugle orgueil de Barak; on peut regarder comme la seconde, qu'à l'exception du sabre aucun présent n'accompagnait la lettre.

Le sultan Ablaï, après avoir gémi environ un an comme prisonnier chez les Zungars, fut enfin mis en liberté au printemps de 1742, grâce aux efforts du major Müller qu'on avait député vers Galdane.

Quelque peu sincères que fussent les protestations d'obéissance des Kirghiz, quelque vaines que fussent leurs promesses de rendre les prisonniers, de défendre les caravanes, etc., au moins, depuis le moment où ils s'étaient reconnus comme vassaux jusqu'à l'année 1743, ni eux ni leurs sujets n'avaient osé faire d'incursions à force ouverte sur les frontières ou contre les forteresses russes; mais, dans le cours de cette année, ils donnèrent des preuves d'une audace extraordinaire, dont l'instigateur secret était ce même Aboulkaïr, qui ne cessait d'assurer le gouvernement russe de sa bonne foi et de l'exécution de tous les devoirs d'un sujet fidèle. Ayant éprouvé de sa part un refus formel de recevoir son bâtard Tchinghiz en place de son fils Khodja-Akhmet, il en fut tellement irrité qu'il commença à exciter les Kirghiz à attaquer les villages des frontières. On conçoit que ses sujets ne tardèrent pas à profiter de conseils qui leur étaient aussi avantageux que conformes à leurs habitudes. A l'instant commencèrent les pillages, les meurtres, et les enlèvements d'hommes et de bestiaux. Des bandes, composées depuis mille jusqu'à deux mille brigands, se jetèrent sur des villages peu nombreux et à peine fondés, et emmenèrent avec eux, au delà de l'Oural, tout ce qui ne pouvait leur échapper, ou ce qu'ils ne pouvaient détruire. Les forteresses et les postes fortifiés furent eux-mêmes exposés à leurs attaques. On enleva, dans un jour, quatre-

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vingt-deux hommes sous la petite ville d'Iletzk. Nous n'énumérerons pas les autres brigandages et les violences qui furent commises [1]; nous nous bornerons à dire que le chef de ces bandes forcenées était Derbéchali, sultan, parent d'Aboulkhaïr, et que son but était, après s'être rassasié de brigandages, de se rendre au fort de Sarastchinsk où était Khodja-Akhmet et de l'enlever. Les troupes russes l'empêchèrent d'exécuter ce projet; mais occupées des travaux de construction des forts, elles ne purent arrêter les autres incursions. Leurs chevaux étaient en partie exténués de travaux et en partie lâchés dans la campagne, ce qui les rendit la proie des pillards.

Cependant Aboulkaïr, cachant son ressentiment, ne cessait de donner partout des assurances de son dévouement à la Russie, affirmant que toutes ces attaques étaient faites par des Kirghiz qui lui désobéissaient; il alla même jusqu'à conseiller de les mettre à l'amende et de les punir de mort [2].

Mais lorsqu'on eut renforcé les troupes sur les frontières russes, et que les Bachkirs, profitant de l'absence des Kirghiz, se furent jetés sur leurs aouls, et eurent commencé à enlever leurs haras, alors Aboulkhaïr songea sérieusement à arrêter les incursions, mais il n'en eut plus le pouvoir. Son peuple, avide de butin, ne voulut rester tranquille que quand il fut effrayé de la marche des troupes russes au delà de l'Oural, pour aller dans les steppes punir les brigands. Ce n'était qu'un bruit répandu sans doute à dessein par le chef prudent du pays d'Orenbourg; mais ce n'étaient pas là les véritables intentions du gouvernement russe. Il ne désirait pas perdre une armée régulière à poursuivre, dans des déserts stériles, des brigands nomades. Il trouvait plus avantageux de les punir par un autre peuple aussi remuant et aussi peu fidèle que les Kirghiz eux-mêmes; en un mot, on voulait armer contre eux les Kalmouks. En attendant on ordonna à Néplouief [3] de cher-

[1] Voyez les rapports de Néplouief au collége des affaires étrangères.
[2] Voyez la lettre du khan Aboulkhaïr à Néplouief, du mois de juillet 1743.
[3] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 31 octobre 1743.

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cher à s'emparer, comme otages, des Kirghiz des premières familles. Soit par suite de cet ordre, soit par toute autre raison, Aboulkhaïr rendit tout à coup un nombre considérable de sujets russes faits prisonniers par sa horde pendant les dernières incursions, et il promit de rendre bientôt les autres.

L'année 1744 non-seulement ne ramena pas le calme sur la frontière russe, mais elle augmenta encore les dangers de ses habitants, car le khan Aboulkhaïr leva le masque et prit ouvertement part aux hostilités de son peuple. Les plus hardis de ses sujets continuèrent leurs attaques sur les frontières; et lui-même, craignant de s'approcher de l'Oural, trouvait moyen, du sein de ses déserts, de se venger des Russes, qui avaient retenu son fils. D'abord il pilla une caravane qui allait d'Astrakhan à Khiva, et qui eut le malheur de passer par ses terres; ensuite il arrêta en route le lieutenant Gladychef, qui se rendait d'Orenbourg chez les Karakalpaks; il ne se contenta pas de dépouiller les envoyés karakalpaks qui, venant de Saint-Pétersbourg, accompagnaient Gladychef; il leur enleva même la lettre impériale qu'on leur avait remise [1].

Cette conduite affermit le gouvernement russe dans le dessein de punir les Kirghiz-Kazaks par les Kalmouks du Volga, d'autant plus qu'à cette époque les querelles des deux peuples et leurs incursions mutuelles avaient pris plus de force. On donna en conséquence, le 24 avril 1744, à Doundouk-Dach, lieutenant du khanat des Kalmouks, une lettre patente pour lui ordonner de rassembler autant qu'il pourrait de Kalmouks armés, qui recevraient à Astrakhan de la poudre et du plomb, marcheraient contre les Kirghiz, et agiraient d'après les ordres du gouverneur d'Orenbourg, Néplouief. On promit en récompense aux Kalmouks tout le butin qu'ils pourraient faire sur les Kirghiz-Kazaks, à l'exception des anciens et de leurs enfants. Cette lettre, autant par précaution que par confiance en

[1] Il est digne de remarque que Gladychef, dans son Journal, dit avoir trouvé, en 1742, un marchand anglais, nommé Djake, dans la Petite-Horde, et qu'il lui acheta diverses marchandises pour en faire des présents aux Karakalpaks.

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Néplouief, lui fut envoyée directement, au lieu de l'être à la horde, afin qu'il l'employât lorsque cela serait indispensable. On ne sait quelle était son opinion sur une mesure aussi décisive, mais cette lettre resta à Orenbourg, et l'original se conserve encore dans les archives de la commission des frontières.

Non-seulement l'ordre que donnait cette lettre ne fut pas exécuté; mais au contraire le collége des affaires étrangères ordonna d'empêcher les Kalmouks aussi bien que les Kirghiz de passer l'Oural pour s'attaquer les uns les autres.

Il est à supposer que le gouvernement changea d'idée à cause des troubles qui éclatèrent alors sur la frontière de Sibérie. Le khontaïdzi des Zungars s'avança tout à coup avec ses troupes vers les frontières russes; ses sujets commencèrent à menacer de la guerre les garnisons, et le bruit se répandit qu'il voulait attaquer les établissements de Kolyvano-Voscressensk, où l'attiraient les mines de métaux précieux.

Les Zungars, à cette époque, étaient encore redoutables, et une attaque de leur part ne pouvait être comparée aux incursions des Kirghiz; il était donc indispensable de préparer contre eux des forces respectables. En conséquence leur audace fut mise en oubli, et Néplouief reçut l'ordre[1] de les engager à faire des incursions sur les Zungars.

C'était un but difficile à atteindre. Le khan Aboulkhaïr, malgré l'indulgence que l'on avait pour ses crimes, conservait toujours du ressentiment contre la Russie. Aboul-Mahmet, khan de la Moyenne-Horde, pour éviter les intrigues d'Aboulkhaïr, se retira vers Turkestan et mit presque fin, de cette manière, à ses relations avec les autorités des frontières; en outre il avait moins besoin des secours de la Russie que de la protection du khontaïdzi des Zungars, qui avait son fils en otage; enfin Aboul-Mahmet cherchait à être khan à Turkestan, et cette ville reconnaissait l'autorité de Galdane Tsyrène.

[1] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 3 novembre 1744.

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Le sultan Barak qui avait, deux ans auparavant, juré fidélité à la Russie, habitait loin de ses frontières, et craignant plus les Zungars que les Russes, il avait ,comme Aboul-Mahmet, donné son fils en otage à Galdane Tsyrène.

Celui-ci cherchait par tous les moyens à s'attacher les sultans et le bas peuple de la Moyenne-Horde; pour y parvenir il employait tour à tour les menaces et les caresses, et enfin il achetait à son compte diverses marchandises russes qu'il faisait vendre à la horde, non-seulement sans bénéfice, mais à perte.

Quelque opposées que fussent ces circonstances aux vues du gouvernement russe, cependant la haine héréditaire et invétérée des Kirghiz pour les Zungars avait encore tant de force, qu'ils ne purent être indifférents aux insinuations des Russes, et qu'ils aimèrent mieux laisser en paix leurs frontières que négliger l'occasion d'attaquer des ennemis perpétuels, qui, à cette époque, menaçaient de les réduire à un complet asservissement. Les khans et les sultans, malgré leur soumission à Galdane Tsyrène, craignaient sa domination plus que celle des Russes; cependant ils prirent part avec le peuple aux dispositions hostiles que l'on faisait. Les tribus de la Moyenne-Horde, qui souffraient encore des ravages exercés contre elles en 1741, presque sous les murs d'Orenbourg, étaient les plus portées à donner des secours aux troupes russes. Elles n'attendaient que l'ouverture de la guerre entre elles et les Zungars, et à la première nouvelle du commencement des hostilités, elles se seraient jetées sur les habitations de leurs ennemis avec toute la fureur de demi-sauvages. Mais leur espoir fut trompé, les Zungars, malgré leurs menaces, laissèrent la Russie en paix. Ce n'était que de cette manière que les Kirghiz pouvaient éviter la tempête qui les menaçait; car, quelle que fût la patience avec laquelle le gouvernement russe eût supporté leurs incursions sur la frontière pendant plus d'un an, on avait fermement décidé d'employer à les punir sévèrement les troupes qui étaient

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sur la ligne d'Orenbourg et auxquelles on devait en ajouter d'autres.

Le sultan Khodja-Akhmet, détenu jusqu'alors en otage au fort de Sarastchinsk, fut dans l'intervalle transféré à Saint-Pétersbourg. Quoique Aboulkhaïr ne pût être content de voir l'éloignement de son fils, dont il désirait se rapprocher; quoiqu'il fût violemment irrité contre Néplouief, et se permît de nouvelles violences dans ses relations avec lui, cependant ses sujets ne firent aucune incursion pendant l'année 1745. Rytchkof[1] dit, d'après un Cosaque russe qui se trouvait alors à la Petite-Horde, que cette année, comme en 1773, le khan Aboulkhaïr excita ses sujets à renouveler leurs incursions sur la rive droite de l'Oural, mais que le peuple refusa d'obéir en cette circonstance. Cependant nous ne pouvons recevoir ce renseignement comme exact, par les raisons suivantes :

1° Les Kirghiz-Kazaks étaient trop accoutumés au brigandage pour se refuser à la proposition de leur khan d'attaquer un pays étranger, surtout quand ils n'avaient pas eu l'occasion d'éprouver la force de ses armes.

2° L'attention d'Aboulkhaïr était alors tournée vers Khiva, dont les habitants, attaqués par ceux du Turkestan, lui avaient envoyé demander du secours, qui étaient soumis à la Perse, et voulaient ensuite le sultan Nourali pour khan. Il envoya à Néplouief les lettres qu'il avait reçues de Khiva, à ce sujet, et lui demanda conseil.

3° Ce fut à cette époque qu'il prêta serment de fidélité en présence d'un officier russe, dans son aoul, à l'empereur Pierre III, successeur d'Élisabeth, et rendit ensuite trente prisonniers, tant russes que kalmouks, enlevés par ses sujets.

4° Il se plaignit de Néplouief à l'autorité suprême[2], et prouva que, excepté sa querelle personnelle contre ce gouverneur, et le déplaisir qu'il avait éprouvé du refus d'échanger

[1] Continuation de l'Histoire d'Orenbourg.

[2] Voyez, dans les archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg, la lettre d'Aboulkhaïr et le rescrit de Néplouief, du 17 septembre 1745.

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son fils Khodja-Akhmet contre Tchinghiz, il n'avait aucun autre sujet de plainte contre la Russie, ni aucune mauvaise intention.

Quant à la dignité de khan que l'on avait proposée à son fils à Khiva, quoique Néplouief eût cherché, au nom de l'impératrice [1], à le persuader par tous les moyens possibles d'y faire renoncer Aboulkhaïr, cependant ce dernier n'eut fait aucun cas de ses avis, si d'autres circonstances ne l'eussent empêché de céder aux désirs des Khiviens. Nourali reçut du fils du shah de Perse une lettre qui l'invitait à se rendre près de lui; ce prince, en qualité de conquérant, considérait le khanat de Khiva comme sa propriété; Nourali était sur le point de partir pour Khiva, lorsque sa femme, qu'il avait laissée dans cette ville, lui manda que les Persans ne l'invitaient que dans le but de le faire périr [2]. Cette nouvelle le retint auprès de son père.

Cependant les chefs de la Moyenne-Horde qui, depuis près de deux ans, n'avaient aucune relation avec la Russie, se rapprochèrent des frontières russes et renouvelèrent leurs assurances de dévouement à l'impératrice. Aboul-Mahmet quitta Turkestan pour rejoindre la horde, et envoya à Saint-Pétersbourg un exprès pour proposer ses services; ensuite il renouvela son serment de fidélité. Le sultan Barak en fit autant. Celui-ci envoya en outre une ambassade à Saint-Pétersbourg.

Les Kirghiz-Kazaks n'étaient pas encore tranquilles lorsque des mouvements eurent lieu dans la horde des Kalmouks du Volga. Le bruit se répandit qu'une grande partie, d'après l'invitation de Galdane Tsyrène, voulaient quitter la Russie pour joindre leurs compatriotes, les Zungars. Ce bruit, qui fut confirmé par l'événement, vingt-six ans après, était faux à cette époque; mais il inquiéta le gouvernement, surtout quand on eut reçu de l'Oural la nouvelle qu'un grand nombre de Kalmouks avaient passé de la rive russe sur celle des Kirghiz, et

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 21 octobre 1745.

[2] Continuation de l'Histoire d'Orenbourg, par Rytchkof; événements de 1745.

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que les rapports de Sibérie eurent appris que les armées zungares s'étaient, en quelques endroits, approchées de l'Irtych. La suite fit voir que le passage des Kalmouks à travers l'Oural n'avait d'autre but que d'attaquer les Kirghiz, auxquels ils enlevèrent à cette époque beaucoup de chevaux; l'armée zungare retourna tranquillement dans ses foyers, et Galdane Tsyrène, son chef, mourut. (1746.)

Cette retraite, qui fut bientôt suivie de la destruction de l'État des Zungars, rendit la tranquillité aux frontières de la Sibérie; mais elle ne fit pas perdre aux Kalmouks du Volga le désir de se réunir à leurs compatriotes. Pour entraver autant que possible ce projet, et pour mettre fin en même temps aux brigandages mutuels des Kalmouks et des Kirghiz-Kazaks, il fut sévèrement défendu à l'un et à l'autre peuple de passer l'Oural; et on destina un corps de troupes russes pour y veiller, et pour montrer qu'à l'avenir de semblables infractions ne resteraient pas impunies. Les principaux d'entre les Kalmouks, qui avaient pris part à la dernière incursion contre les Kirghiz, furent traités en criminels d'état et punis sur le Volga, pour servir d'exemple à leurs compatriotes.

On espérait que ces mesures rétabliraient la paix entre les deux hordes ennemies, et l'on se trompa. Peut-être qu'une défense sévère de passer la frontière, et la punition exemplaire de quelques violateurs de cette défense, produisirent quelque effet sur les Kalmouks; mais elles n'arrêtèrent pas les Kirghiz, habitués depuis deux ou trois ans à piller impunément, non-seulement les Kalmouks mais encore les Russes. La construction de forts et de postes fortifiés sur les parties inférieures de l'Oural ne put que retarder les incursions sur les Kalmouks, sans les arrêter. L'exactitude de la surveillance leur suggéra le moyen de surmonter cet obstacle.

La partie septentrionale de la mer Caspienne gèle pendant l'hiver, et pendant les grands froids, non-seulement les hommes et les chevaux peuvent y passer, mais on peut encore transporter sur la glace les poids les plus lourds, sans aucun

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danger. Mettant à profit cette circonstance, au mois de février 1746, les Kirghiz passèrent de leurs steppes dans celles des Kalmouks, sur la glace, vis-à-vis l'embouchure de l'Oural, et ils exécutèrent sous Krasnoï-Iar une attaque si impétueuse et si inattendue contre les Kalmouks, qu'ils enlevèrent près de sept cents prisonniers des deux sexes, tuèrent environ cent hommes, et emmenèrent une énorme quantité de bétail.

Après cette fameuse expédition eurent lieu quelques petites incursions sur la frontière russe.

Le khan Aboulkhaïr était encore la cause de ces nouveaux brigandages; nourrissant toujours une haine profonde contre Néplouief, il était irrité que le gouvernement n'eût pas satisfait à ses plaintes contre les autorités des frontières, et ne lui eût pas rendu son fils Khodja-Akhmet : c'est pourquoi il prit le parti d'exercer sa vengeance contre tous les Russes. Non content du tort qu'il avait fait à la Russie par les incursions de ses sujets, il injuria, d'après leurs conseils, un interprète que lui avait envoyé Néplouief avec des papiers; il le fit garder à vue; le retint environ un an, et le tourmenta de différentes manières.

C'était encore trop peu; la fureur d'Aboulkhaïr était si aveugle, qu'il chercha à engager son peuple à s'éloigner de la Russie, et à se retirer au sud, dans les sables et dans des déserts dépourvus d'eau. Mais les Kirghiz connaissaient les avantages des contrées voisines de la Russie, et ils refusèrent ouvertement de lui obéir dans cette circonstance. Il fit tomber alors sa colère sur ceux de ses sujets qui s'étaient opposés à son plan de changer le lieu de leurs demeures, et il écrivit aux autorités des frontières d'arrêter ces gens, lorsqu'ils viendraient dans les endroits fortifiés, comme fauteurs de tous les troubles.

Pendant qu'il livrait ainsi à la justice les innocents, il préparait les véritables brigands à une nouvelle attaque contre les Kalmouks du Volga, et n'attendait que l'hiver pour les expédier. Au mois de janvier 1747, la glace étant assez forte sur la mer Caspienne, ils sortirent de chez eux, traversèrent heu-

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reusement sur la glace, vis-à-vis les bouches de l'Oural, et attaquèrent de nouveau les oulouss de leurs ennemis. Mais la fortune les trahit cette fois : les Kalmouks, prévenus à temps de cette attaque, se retirèrent dans la partie occidentale de leurs steppes. Ils étaient trop loin et il était dangereux de les poursuivre ; ainsi les bandits s'en retournèrent les mains vides. Pour compléter leur malheur, le dégel commença; le passage sur la glace devint difficile, et il leur fallut traverser l'Oural où les attendaient les Kozaks du Jaïk, qu'on avait envoyés contre eux. Le passage à travers les troupes russes leur coûta cher; car, lorsqu'ils eurent atteint leur rive, on trouva beaucoup de morts sur la place, et un plus grand nombre se noyèrent dans le fleuve, dont la glace s'était rompue. La plus grande partie de leurs chevaux tomba au pouvoir des Russes.

Aveuglé par son ressentiment, Aboulkhaïr regarda ce châtiment comme une nouvelle injure pour lui. Cherchant tous les moyens de nuire à la Russie, il demanda la protection de la Perse.

Son fils Khodja-Akhmet avait été transféré de Pétersbourg à Kazan, où il devint amoureux de la fille d'un Tatar et la demanda en mariage. Les insolences d'Aboulkhaïr étaient si fréquentes et si graves, qu'on ne peut trop admirer la patience avec laquelle les supportait la cour de Pétersbourg. Afin de donner à ce khan une nouvelle preuve de son indulgence, tant pour lui que pour son peuple, on envoya, en 1747, à Orenbourg, Tevkélef qui, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, professait la même religion que les Kirghiz : il avait passé plus d'un an parmi eux et s'était acquis la considération générale; il connaissait leurs mœurs, leurs usages, et avait toujours été l'ami d'Aboulkhaïr. Il lui fut enjoint d'adoucir Aboulkhaïr par ses conseils; de le réconcilier avec le gouverneur Néplouief, et de lui rendre son fils Khodja-Akhmet, mais en échange d'un autre fils, né d'une khanesse.

La mort d'Aboulkhaïr, qui arriva bientôt, ne nous permet

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pas de dire quelles eussent été les suites de ses relations avec Tevkélef; mais à l'ouverture de ces relations, Aboulkhaïr se montra disposé à une réconciliation. Il arriva pendant l'été de 1748 à la forteresse d'Orsk[1], pour avoir une entrevue avec son ancien ami, et non-seulement il donna en otage en place de Khodja-Akhmet un autre fils légitime nommé Aïtchouvak, qui devint khan par la suite, mais il y ajouta encore les enfants de quelques-uns de ses anciens; il promit en outre de rendre incessamment tous les prisonniers russes enlevés par ses sujets, et promit, par une obligation écrite, que jamais la Petite-Horde n'attaquerait les frontières. Arrivé à la horde, il envoya secrètement quelques Kirghiz affidés, pour proposer sa fille en mariage au souverain zungar.

Au moment où le gouvernement russe, qui ignorait encore cette dernière démarche d'Aboulkhaïr, attendait l'exécution de ses promesses, on reçut la nouvelle qu'il avait été assassiné.

Voici les circonstances qui précédèrent sa mort: à son retour de la forteresse d'Orsk dans les aouls, il rassembla une bande de Kirghiz armés, et alla à leur tête piller les malheureux Karakalpaks, qui avaient déjà tant souffert de sa part et de celle de ses fils. Il rencontra le sultan Barak, qui le haïssait depuis longtemps et qui enviait les marques de distinction et les prérogatives que lui avait accordées le gouvernement russe; il en voulait surtout à Aboulkhaïr, parce que celui-ci avait pillé les présents que lui envoyait le khan de Khiva. En outre, tous les deux s'attribuaient les droits souverains sur des Karakalpaks qui s'étaient établis dans la horde kirghize. Ils étaient tous les deux ardents, vindicatifs, et par conséquent leur rencontre ne pouvait avoir lieu sans querelle.

Barak, ayant avec lui plus de monde, commença le premier le combat. La troupe d'Aboulkhaïr, moins nombreuse, ne put résister au premier choc, et prit la fuite; le khan, entraîné par les fuyards, fut obligé de suivre leur exemple. Chigaï,

[1] C'est ainsi qu'on nommait le vieil Orenbourg, après avoir fondé le nouveau sur l'emplacement qu'il occupe actuellement.

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sultan, fils de Barak, l'atteignit et le désarçonna d'un coup de lance. Alors arriva Barak lui-même, qui assouvit sa fureur sanguinaire, en tuant son ennemi de ses propres mains [1].

Quoique les Karakalpaks eussent beaucoup souffert de la part d'Aboulkhaïr, cependant sa mort, au lieu d'alléger leur sort, ne fit que leur porter un nouveau coup. Barak, délivré de son rival, ne manqua pas l'occasion de les attaquer et de les piller.

Cette action à l'égard d'un peuple considéré comme sujet de la Russie, et l'assassinat d'un khan vassal de l'empire, firent craindre à Barak de séjourner dans des endroits voisins des frontières russes; c'est pourquoi il se hâta de s'éloigner de la mer d'Aral. Ayant pris la route du côté du Turkestan, il s'empara des villes d'Ikane, d'Otrar, de Saganak, et établit ses campements entre ces villes. Cependant sa résidence n'y fut pas longue; car l'année suivante (1749), se trouvant en visite avec ses deux fils chez un khodja, il fut empoisonné [2].

La nouvelle de la mort d'Aboulkhaïr ne put causer d'impressions désagréables en Russie. La conduite de ce khan pendant les dernières années de sa vie avait été telle, que l'administration de la Petite-Horde par un nouveau chef donnait plus d'espoir que la mort d'Aboulkhaïr n'excitait de compassion. La dignité de l'empire demandait seulement que les Kirghiz-Kazaks, en qualité de sujets, demandassent à l'impératrice la confirmation de leur nouveau khan. Il était dangereux et inutile d'annuler le choix qu'on aurait fait selon les anciens usages de la nation, et d'en désigner arbitrairement un autre; mais il paraissait facile de déterminer le peuple à élire un des fils d'Aboulkhaïr; dans cette vue Néplouief, après

[1] Nous avons puisé ces renseignements dans les journaux de Tevkélef, que l'on conserve à Orenbourg dans les archives de la commission des frontières.

[2] On voit dans les papiers conservés aux archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg, que les Kirghiz de la Petite-Horde, qui arrivaient alors sur la frontière russe, assuraient que Barak avait été empoisonné par l'ordre du khontaïdzi des Zungars, auquel Nourali s'était plaint de l'assassinat de son père.

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avoir pris l'avis de Tevkélef, envoya à la horde un officier chargé de ménager les moyens de faire tomber le choix du peuple sur le sultan Nourali; et dans le cas où il y réussirait, de le convaincre, ainsi que les anciens, de la nécessité d'envoyer à Pétersbourg une ambassade pour demander la confirmation à l'impératrice.

Cette mesure eut un plein succès; Nourali fut proclamé khan dans l'assemblée du peuple, et on envoya à la cour le sultan Djanibek et quelques Kirghiz distingués, qui étaient venus apporter cette nouvelle à Orenbourg. Ils dirent qu'ils avaient été envoyés de la part de la Moyenne et de la Petite-Horde, et demandèrent en conséquence que le khan Nourali fût nommé khan des deux hordes. Plusieurs motifs empêchaient de satisfaire à cette demande: 1° l'officier russe qui avait présidé à l'élection de Nourali déclara que Djanibek-Batyr était le seul ancien de la Moyenne-Horde qui y eût pris part; il avait toujours vécu près d'Aboulkhaïr, ainsi que quelques dizaines de Kirghiz du commun, qui, s'étant depuis longtemps séparés de la Moyenne-Horde, vivaient de même parmi les sujets d'Aboulkhaïr; 2° presque tous les sultans les plus distingués de la Moyenne-Horde avaient ou leurs fils, ou leurs plus proches parents en otages chez le prince des Zungars, qui dès lors commença à élever des prétentions sur la souveraineté de toute la horde, ce qui donna au gouvernement russe de violents soupçons sur son obéissance.

D'un autre côté on ne voulut pas affliger Nourali en opposant un refus formel à la demande de son ambassadeur, et on décida de le nommer khan des Kirghiz-Kazaks, sans désigner aucune horde. Ce fut le 26 février 1749 qu'on lui remit la lettre patente impériale sur sa nouvelle dignité. On envoya en même temps une autre lettre patente au nom du peuple kirghiz-kazak, pour confirmer son choix; et on prescrivit à Néplouief d'engager Nourali à venir à Orenbourg et de l'y proclamer d'une manière imposante.

Avant de parler de cette cérémonie, nous dirons que Né-

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plouief et Tevkélef, furent aidés dans leur dessein de faire élire Nourali par sa mère, la khanesse Papaï, qui s'était acquis, par son esprit, la considération de toute la Petite-Horde, et avait quelquefois beaucoup d'influence sur son administration. Aimant les Russes, elle détourna souvent son mari Aboulkhaïr de l'exécution de projets nuisibles à la Russie[1] : tout ceci fut porté à la connaissance de la cour; et Djanibek, à son retour à la horde, lui remit une lettre de la part du chancelier, accompagnée d'un morceau de brocart précieux de la part de l'impératrice.

On apprit à Pétersbourg, en même temps que l'élection de Nourali, que les Zungars, d'après les instigations du sultan Barak, voulaient attaquer la Petite-Horde. Quoique la suite eût prouvé que ce bruit était faux, cependant on prit des mesures pour mettre la horde à l'abri d'une attaque.

D'après l'invitation de Néplouief, le khan Nourali arriva près d'Orenbourg au mois de juillet 1749, escorté des sultans et des anciens les plus distingués, et de beaucoup de gens du commun; il s'arrêta sur la rive gauche de l'Oural, où on avait préparé d'avance un camp pour y faire avec éclat la cérémonie de son exaltation. Il fut reçu dans le camp, comme son père, au bruit du canon et de la musique. La cérémonie commença par la lecture des lettres patentes données, tant à lui qu'à sa nation. Ensuite on lui mit une pelisse de robe, un bonnet et un sabre envoyés par la cour. Enfin le nouveau khan se mit à genoux, et prêta serment de fidélité à la Russie sur le coran.

Nous ne donnons pas ici de détails sur cette cérémonie, parce qu'elle se répète à chaque nouvelle exaltation, et que nous en ferons ailleurs la description à l'article des usages et cérémonies des Kirghiz-Kazaks[2].

[1] Elle avait un cachet avec son nom, distinction tout à fait extraordinaire chez un peuple habitué à traiter les femmes en esclaves; on ne leur laisse prendre aucune part aux affaires publiques.

[2] Voyez la troisième partie.

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Nourali, devenu khan, montra qu'il ne se contentait pas du titre, mais qu'il voulait en avoir aussi l'autorité: la première demande qu'il fit au gouvernement russe avait pour but d'en obtenir des troupes auxiliaires pour venger sur Barak l'assassinat de son père; par la seconde, il demandait qu'on arrêtât sur les frontières ceux des Kirghiz-Kazaks qu'il représenterait comme des gens mal intentionnés et nuisibles à la Russie.

Barak ou ses héritiers et leurs adhérents n'auraient sans doute pas échappé à la vengeance des fils d'Aboulkhaïr, s'ils eussent reçu de la Russie des secours en troupes; mais les exploits de Nourali ne se fussent pas terminés là; il avait le projet d'employer les troupes russes contre tous ses ennemis, et surtout contre ceux des princes de la Moyenne-Horde qui ne le respectaient pas et qu'il voulait exterminer, afin de soumettre leurs races et leurs tribus à ses frères, et de se faire alors khan unique, tant de la Moyenne que de la Petite-Horde.

La seconde demande d'arrêter sur les frontières russes les Kirghiz mal intentionnés tendait aussi au même but: il la représentait comme une mesure nécessaire pour le repos de la Russie; mais l'ambition en était le véritable motif.

D'un côté, l'exécution en était effectivement utile et indispensable pour les Russes; car elle donnait la faculté de livrer au moins une partie des brigands aux mains de la justice, et en augmentant la puissance du khan, elle fournissait de nouveaux moyens d'agir par lui sur sa nation; mais d'un autre côté elle pouvait être la source d'injustices sans nombre, et aurait anéanti le commerce d'échange qui commençait alors à peine à s'établir entre les Russes et les Kirghiz.

D'après ces raisons, la première demande du khan fut formellement refusée, et on promit d'examiner la seconde.

A son départ d'Orenbourg, Nourali, au nom de ses frères et de sa mère Papaï, témoigna le désir d'avoir quelque grand monument sur le tombeau de son père, et demanda à cet effet mille ouvriers pour quinze jours [1]. Ce désir n'était que l'effet

[1] Tous les entretiens de vive voix qu'avaient les khans avec les chefs des fron-

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d'une vanité très-commune chez les Kirghiz-Kazaks; mais comme elle n'avait rien de nuisible, Néplouief en fit son rapport à l'autorité supérieure. Le collége des affaires étrangères consentit non-seulement à satisfaire le vœu de la famille d'Aboulkhaïr, mais il trouva même que l'exécution en serait utile, si Nourali consentait à choisir l'emplacement de l'édifice funèbre dans le voisinage de la frontière russe, et à y transporter le corps de son père. Alors on aurait pu établir pour règle d'y enterrer tous les khans de la Petite-Horde, et de bâtir dans les environs du cimetière une ville dont Aboulkhaïr lui-même avait demandé la construction. On résolut, d'après ces considérations, de condescendre au désir de Nourali; et un officier civil et un ingénieur envoyés d'Orenbourg, lui annoncèrent les conditions auxquelles ce travail devait être exécuté. On chargea le premier d'engager Nourali à fixer le lieu de la sépulture à trois ou quatre journées de chemin de la frontière russe, surtout sur l'Ilek, et d'y joindre une ville; l'ingénieur eut ordre d'examiner l'emplacement, d'en lever le plan et de faire la façade de l'édifice.

Cet objet donna lieu à des correspondances et à des conférences qui durèrent plusieurs années. Le gouvernement russe, se réglant sur les circonstances et la conduite du khan, se montrait tantôt prêt, tantôt éloigné de remplir son désir. Enfin ce projet fut mis en oubli, comme nous le verrons plus bas. Les raisons en étaient assez fortes de chaque côté.

Nourali craignait de s'établir près des lignes militaires russes, et ses sujets ne le voulaient pas; aussi la première réponse qu'ils donnèrent pour le choix de l'emplacement était trop peu décisive. Par la suite, au lieu de l'Ilek, on proposa de fonder le cimetière et de bâtir la ville à l'embouchure de l'Emba; mais comme cette rivière était aussi voisine de la frontière, et que les Kirghiz-Kazaks craignaient de même de s'y établir[1],

tières étaient inscrits dans des journaux que l'on conserve jusqu'aujourd'hui aux archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg.

[1] Le sous-lieutenant Righelman, qui alla avec Nourali pour s'accorder défi-

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le khan ne put, pour cette seconde fois, donner de réponse positive. Quant à l'endroit où Aboulkhaïr avait été enterré, il manquait de pierre, de chaux et de bois de construction. Pendant que ces pourparlers avaient lieu, des affaires plus importantes survinrent à la horde, et le désir qu'avait le gouvernement russe de satisfaire à la demande de la famille d'Aboulkhaïr fut affaibli par le temps et les circonstances. Le plan et la façade de l'édifice funèbre faits par l'ingénieur envoyé à Nourali et non exécutés, se conservent encore aujourd'hui aux archives d'Orenbourg.

Le cabinet de l'impératrice Élisabeth, et les autorités de la frontière d'Orenbourg, à l'exaltation du khan, ne réclamèrent qu'un seul service; c'était de rendre les Russes qui gémissaient en esclavage chez les Kirghiz, et on lui envoya à ce sujet de Pétersbourg une lettre patente particulière. Nourali et ses frères s'engagèrent à satisfaire une aussi juste demande; mais l'exécution dépassait les bornes de leur faible pouvoir, et elle resta sans effet, comme des centaines ou même des milliers de demandes et d'obligations semblables, répétées jusqu'à nos jours par les chefs des frontières. Nourali était à peine arrivé d'Orenbourg dans les aouls, qu'il reçut du khontaïdzi des Zungars des ambassadeurs qui, d'après la proposition faite par son père avant sa mort, venaient lui demander sa sœur en mariage pour leur souverain, et lui promirent la ville de Turkestan, au lieu de Kalyme. Il lui était difficile de former cette alliance en reconnaissant la suzeraineté de la Russie; mais il lui était encore plus difficile de refuser des liaisons de parenté avec un souverain aussi redoutable pour les ennemis de Nourali, et surtout de manquer l'occasion de s'emparer, sans effusion de sang, de Turkestan où avaient régné

nitivement sur la construction du monument funèbre, rapporte que les Kirghiz-Kazaks, pour détourner leur khan de se rapprocher de la frontière russe, lui rappelaient la conquête de Kazan et d'Astrakhan, et l'assuraient que si les habitants autrefois nomades de ces villes ne se fussent pas établis à poste fixe, leurs descendants seraient encore libres aujourd'hui.

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ses ancêtres, où ils étaient inhumés, et où avait vécu Aboulkhaïr lui-même avant d'en avoir été chassé par les Zungars.

Balancé entre la crainte et l'espérance, Nourali ne savait à quoi se décider. Les sultans et les anciens lui conseillaient d'envoyer, sans tarder, sa sœur au khontaïdzi, et ensuite, comptant sur son secours, d'aller venger la mort de son père sur Barak et ses sujets. Ces conseils s'accordaient parfaitement avec ses désirs; mais il ne voyait pas qu'ils étaient contraires aux intérêts de la Russie, qui pouvait le punir de son infidélité.

En outre, il avait alors près de lui un officier russe venu avec lui d'Orenbourg. Il ne pouvait, en présence d'un témoin semblable, agir autrement qu'en secret; c'est pourquoi il congédia les ambassadeurs zungars sans la prétendue; mais il promit de l'envoyer bientôt. Néplouief ayant demandé la raison de cette ambassade, Nourali prétendit qu'elle venait de la part du fils de Galdane Tsyrène, avec des propositions de paix et d'amitié. Il dissimula de même, que les Zungars lui avaient proposé d'échanger les prisonniers kirghiz-kazaks qu'ils avaient en leur pouvoir contre les Kalmouks du Volga, dont un grand nombre étaient esclaves à la Petite-Horde. Sa fourberie fut inutile, parce que l'officier russe[1] qui se trouvait alors à la horde rapporta les choses telles qu'elles étaient aux autorités de la frontière, et celles-ci à l'autorité supérieure, qui trouva qu'une liaison de parenté entre les souverains zungars et kirghiz pouvait être très-nuisible à la Russie. On en avait déjà eu un exemple, lorsque Aïouka, khan de la horde des Kalmouks du Volga, épousa Darma Bala, parente du khontaïdzi des Zungars; celle-ci engagea son fils Sanjipe, en 1701, à partir avec quinze mille tentes pour la Zungarie. Si les Zungars, qui avaient déjà soumis depuis longtemps la Grande-Horde, et qui avaient des otages de tous les sultans de la Moyenne, s'étaient encore, par l'alliance de leurs souverains, réunis à la Petite, alors toute la population des contrées, à

[1] Voyez le Journal et les Rapports du capitaine Jakovlef, aux archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg.

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commencer depuis les possessions occidentales actuelles de la Chine, jusqu'à la partie septentrionale de la mer Caspienne, aurait pu se mettre en mouvement au premier signe d'un chef unique, et la frontière russe, depuis l'Irtych supérieur jusqu'à l'embouchure de l'Oural, aurait pu, sur toute son étendue, se trouver exposée à être attaquée le même jour.

Pour détourner ce danger, il était indispensable que le gouvernement russe défendît à Nourali de devenir beau-frère du khontaïdzi des Zungars; et il fut ordonné de prendre tous les moyens propres à empêcher cette alliance. Celui qu'on regardait comme le plus efficace c'était d'employer les conseils d'un homme respecté par le khan et connu de toute la Petite-Horde, et cet homme était Tevkélef; à cet effet on l'envoya exprès à Orenbourg afin d'y avoir une entrevue avec Nourali. Pour appuyer les conseils, les caresses et les promesses dont Tevkélef devait combler le khan, on ordonna à Néplouief de commencer sur le champ le monument funèbre d'Aboulkhaïr, et d'y joindre des habitations pour les khans afin de plaire à Nourali et à ses frères. On décida également de prendre pour otage le bâtard Tchinghiz au lieu du frère légitime du khan [1], chose qu'on avait souvent refusée à Aboulkhaïr. Dans l'intervalle, Nourali fut effrayé du bruit qui se répandit que, si le khontaïdzi des Zungars avait un fils de sa sœur, il exterminerait tous les chefs kazaks et leurs descendants, pour donner à ce fils la dignité de khan unique de tous les Kirghiz-Kazaks.

La mort de la fille d'Aboulkhaïr, destinée au chef des Zungars, qui eut lieu en 1750, tranquillisa la Russie. La nouvelle de cette mort arrivée à Orenbourg avant que Tevkélef eût pu avoir une entrevue avec Nourali [2], empêcha qu'on ne lui fît part des ordres donnés pour commencer incessamment

[1] Voyez l'oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 2 novembre 1749 et du 13 août 1750.

[2] En attendant Tevkélef, Néplouief avait député à Nourali et à sa mère un officier interprète pour leur donner des conseils et pour prendre des renseignements sur les ambassadeurs zungars. Cet interprète fut chargé de remettre en présent au khan, comme une chose rare, dix tchetverst de farine et autant de

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le tombeau de son père, et de l'intention où l'on était de recevoir Tchinghiz comme otage : ces mesures étaient devenues inutiles dans un temps de tranquillité.

Dans son ignorance des indulgentes dispositions du gouvernement, et pour se conformer aux demandes antérieures, il donna, en 1749, son frère légitime, Adil, comme otage en remplacement du sultan Aïtchouvak, et, en 1750, il échangea ce frère contre son propre fils, Pirali, qui n'avait que cinq ans.

A cet époque, le sultan Batyr, père de Kaïp, alors khan de Khiva et fils de Kaïp, qui avait été sultan des Kirghiz, entra en relation avec les autorités d'Orenbourg; Kaïp, son père, avait, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, écrit en 1718 à Pierre le Grand. Batyr, qui avait hérité de la haine de son père pour Aboulkhaïr, n'avait jamais reconnu son autorité, et par ce motif il n'avait eu pendant longtemps aucune liaison avec la Russie. Mais lorsque une partie de la Petite-Horde le proclama khan, égal à Nourali, et que son fils fut devenu souverain de Khiva, il eut encore moins de respect pour le fils d'Aboulkhaïr, espérant que la Russie aurait pour lui la même considération que pour son rival.

Cependant dans le commencement de ses relations avec Orenbourg, il ne se décida pas à demander sa reconnaissance en qualité de khan; mais, en 1750, il demanda seulement par ses envoyés aux autorités d'Orenbourg, que les caravanes russes, qui se rendaient à Khiva et en Boukharie, passassent par ses pâturages, et qu'il se chargeait de les escorter et de les défendre. Pour donner plus de force à cette proposition, son fils, le khan Kaïp, envoya un député chargé de porter des assurances de paix et d'amitié, et de demander aussi que les caravanes fussent expédiées par les aouls de son père. On ne put satisfaire à ce désir de Batyr et de son fils, parce qu'il tendait à faire un tort patent à Nourali, qui par son état de vassal de la Russie et de khan reconnu par elle, était

gruau. Le but principal de ce présent était d'engager les Kirghiz à prendre aux Russes du blé en échange de leurs marchandises.

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tenu de protéger le commerce russe dans les steppes, entre l'Oural et le Syr, et qui s'était déjà chargé de ce soin.

Il est vrai qu'on ne pouvait guère compter sur ses efforts; mais les promesses du sultan Batyr, vu son éloignement de la frontière russe, présentaient encore moins de sûreté; c'est pourquoi on lui répondit que l'obligation d'escorter les caravanes à travers les terres de la Petite-Horde kirghize était du ressort de Nourali; qu'il pouvait l'aider en cela, et qu'il eût à vivre avec lui en bonne intelligence s'il voulait jouir de la protection de la Russie.

L'envoyé de Khiva reçut de Néplouief une réponse qui ne contenait rien de décisif, mais du reste fort honnête.

Ces mesures, indépendamment de leur justice, étaient basées sur les avantages de la Russie; elle devait protéger et même augmenter la puissance des khans qu'elle avait institués ou reconnus; car leur faiblesse ne lui procurait, ni même ne lui promettait aucune utilité. Il y avait déjà près de vingt ans que les hordes kirghizes étaient au nombre de ses sujets. Il y avait près de vingt ans qu'elle perdait de l'argent à les maintenir en paix, à faire des présents aux sultans et aux anciens, à construire des forts et à entretenir des troupes; et malgré tous ces sacrifices, elle ne put, pendant cet intervalle, mettre ses frontières à l'abri du pillage, ni même trouver moyen de retirer ses sujets natifs des fers d'un peuple qui s'était soumis à elle de bonne volonté. Les excuses d'Aboulkhaïr sur son impuissance, excuses assez rares à cause de sa vanité, étaient regardées comme des subterfuges, tant à cause de son caractère fourbe que de sa désobéissance ouverte. Les aveux de Nourali, et ses demandes fréquemment répétées d'user de représailles sur les frontières, en saisissant les bandits ou leurs parents, étaient plus sincères qu'on ne le crut au commencement; et par la suite, on les prit en considération. Elles sont confirmées par l'opinion de Tevkélef, qui avait de l'expérience dans les relations avec les Asiatiques; par les réponses de quelques sultans auxquels on demanda, comme au khan, sans aucun succès pendant

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plusieurs années, la reddition des prisonniers russes, et par les exemples de Khiva, de la Boukharie et d'autres puissants états, qui regardaient les représailles (baranta) comme indispensables pour contenir un peuple nomade.

Convaincu par l'expérience, et voyant qu'une patience indulgente, loin de diminuer la témérité des Kirghiz, ne faisait qu'y ajouter, le gouvernement russe se décida enfin à agir avec ce peuple de la même manière que tous ses autres voisins; en conséquence il fut ordonné[1] aux autorités de la frontière, en cas de vol ou d'enlèvement de personnes, d'exiger à l'instant du khan que ce qui avait été pris fût rendu; et dans le cas où il refuserait satisfaction ou conseillerait d'exercer des représailles, que l'on profitât de la première occasion favorable pour s'emparer d'un des parents du coupable, ou même d'un individu quelconque de sa tribu (en supposant que le coupable lui-même ne se montrât plus aux Russes), et de le tenir sous bonne garde jusqu'à ce que le prisonnier, ou les objets volés, eussent été rendus.

Cette mesure n'était pas d'accord avec les principes d'équité en usage chez les peuples civilisés mais elle était indispensable avec des brigands nomades.

A la même époque, pour obliger Nourali à satisfaire aux demandes du gouvernement russe, et pour lui fournir les moyens de récompenser, sans se faire tort, les services rendus à la Russie par ses sujets, on lui attribua des appointements annuels, et on posa pour règle, en même temps, d'envoyer, au nom du gouvernement des frontières, divers présents pour une somme fixée. Mais il fut ordonné de ne commencer à payer ces appointements que quand il aurait rendu tous les prisonniers russes et les Kalmouks du Volga, ou au moins la plus grande partie. On supposait que cela s'exécuterait bientôt; mais il en arriva tout autrement et Nourali ne reçut ses appointements que cinq ans après qu'ils lui eurent été assignés.

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 27 novembre 1749.

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Au commencement de 1750, le sultan Aïtchouvak, frère du khan, forma le projet, avec les amis de son père, Batyr-Djanibek, et une troupe nombreuse, composée en partie de gens de la Moyenne-Horde, mais dont la plupart étaient de la Petite, d'aller attaquer un peuple qui, vivant près de la mer d'Aral, portait le nom d'Araliens; ce peuple était peu nombreux et n'était pas accoutumé à la guerre. On peut facilement deviner qu'Aïtchouvak et ses complices réussirent dans leur entreprise, et qu'ils revinrent chez eux avec une grande quantité de prisonniers, de haras de chevaux étrangers, et avec beaucoup d'objets de différentes sortes qu'ils avaient pillés. Mais les Araliens étaient sujets du khan de Khiva, qui ne voulut pas laisser sans réparation le dommage qu'on leur avait causé; et en conséquence il retint à Khiva un grand nombre de sujets de Nourali, venus pour les marchés d'échange; il arrêta même son ambassadeur. On ne pouvait faire autrement, pour les délivrer, que de rendre aux Araliens au moins une partie de ce qu'ils avaient perdu, et surtout les prisonniers.

Peu après, le sultan Erali, suivant l'exemple de son frère, attaqua les Karakalpaks; mais la bande qui lui servait d'armée était trop peu nombreuse; et au lieu du butin qu'il espérait, il fut fait prisonnier, et la plupart de ses compagnons furent tués.

Après lui avoir rendu la liberté, au bout de quelques mois, Nourali arriva à Orenbourg pour y voir Néplouief et Tevkélef; mais son voyage n'eut aucune conséquence importante.

Les rapports de la Moyenne-Horde avec la Russie étaient alors assez rares. Son khan, Aboul-Mahmet, s'était retiré à Turkestan où il vécut jusqu'à sa mort, sans qu'on en entendît parler, et Ablak, comme nous l'avons dit, avait été exclusivement. Les héritiers de leur puissance n'avaient pas encore fait connaissance avec les Russes. Le sultan Koutchak, proclamé khan par quelques tribus, n'avait pas été confirmé par la Russie, et n'avait même pas recherché sa protection. Les bonnes grâces du prince des Zungars lui étaient plus nécessaires ainsi qu'à tous

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les sultans de la Moyenne-Horde; il n'y eut qu'Ablaï qui ne renonça pas à la protection de la Russie, malgré ses relations secrètes avec les Zungars; car la plus grande partie de ses sujets vivaient près de la frontière de Russie, et il sentait combien il lui était utile de se maintenir en bonne harmonie avec elle.

Comme il avait à ménager, outre l'intérêt de sa sûreté, les avantages du commerce d'échange avec les Russes, il demanda d'ouvrir un marché dans le fort de Troïtsk, représentant qu'Orenbourg était trop loin pour que lui et surtout le plus grand nombre de ses sujets pussent s'y rendre.

Batyr Djanibek, qui, après la mort d'Aboulkhaïr, s'était éloigné d'Orenbourg, sollicita la même chose. La satisfaction de cette demande devait procurer autant d'avantages au gouvernement russe, en lui donnant plus de moyens de surveillance sur la Grande-Horde; en conséquence, un marché d'échange fut ouvert à Troïtsk, en 1750.

Galdane Tsyrène, avant sa mort, s'était réconcilié avec les Kirghiz et semblait vouloir se les attacher par la douceur et les bienfaits plus que par la terreur; mais son fils avait une tout autre manière de voir, et renouvela ses attaques. La Moyenne-Horde eut surtout beaucoup à souffrir, en 1751, aux environs des monts Oulou. Une perte considérable qu'elle fit en hommes, que les Zungars retinrent prisonniers, obligea la plus grande partie de cette horde de se rapprocher de la frontière russe, et de se mêler presque avec la Petite, après avoir atteint le fleuve Ori et les monts Mougodjar.

Les relations de la Russie avec Nourali-khan, en 1752, eurent moins pour objet les affaires des Kirghiz que l'extension du commerce par caravanes, avec Khiva, la Boukharie, Tachkent, et à travers ces pays, avec les autres états de l'Asie centrale, même jusqu'aux Indes, que l'on regardait comme la source de toutes les richesses. Comme les Indes ne sont pas éloignées des steppes kirghizes, c'était à travers ces pays que l'on voulait faire le premier pas pour se rapprocher de cette con-

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trée; c'est pourquoi les secours de Nourali, s'il les eût donnés de bonne foi, auraient été, sous le rapport commercial, d'une haute importance pour la Russie.

On lui accorda, dans cette vue, plusieurs grâces, et entre autres on accepta pour otage son plus jeune fils, âgé de trois ans, en place de son fils aîné, le sultan Pirali.

Ce fut encore dans le même but qu'on en revint à la pensée exprimée par l'impératrice Anne, dans son oukase, à Kirilof, en date du 11 février 1736; pensée qui s'accordait avec ce que nous avons dit plus haut du désir d'Aboulkhaïr, de bâtir une ville à l'embouchure du Syr-Daria, et l'on devait commencer à la peupler de criminels condamnés à l'exil; mais tous ces projets n'eurent aucun succès.

La haine des khans, Aboulkhaïr et Kaïp, connue depuis le commencement du XVIIe siècle, ne s'éteignit pas par leur mort; ils la laissèrent en héritage à leurs enfants et à leurs petits-enfants. Nous verrons, dans la suite de cet ouvrage, que, non-seulement elle n'est pas encore éteinte aujourd'hui, mais qu'elle n'est même pas affaiblie entre les principaux descendants de ces deux chefs. Mais avant de parler de ces contemporains, nous allons décrire les faits de leurs ancêtres. La constance avec laquelle ces deux familles se haïssent et se poursuivent depuis cent ans mérite une attention particulière; cette haine remonte peut-être encore plus haut, car nous ignorons quels sentiments existaient entre le père d'Aboulkhaïr et celui de Kaïp.

Nous avons dit déjà que le sultan Batyr, fils de Kaïp, et son fils, le khan de Khiva, avaient, en 1650, envoyé pour la première fois des ambassadeurs à Orenbourg. Quoique leurs propositions n'eussent pas été reçues, comme préjudiciables au khan Nourali, reconnu par la Russie, cependant l'arrivée des envoyés de Batyr, et ses intentions de se lier avec les Russes, firent naître des soupçons dans le cœur de Nourali et rallumèrent sa haine héréditaire pour Batyr; d'ailleurs, il ne pouvait voir de sang-froid que, malgré le refus du gouver-

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nement russe d'envoyer toutes les caravanes, en général, à travers les pâturages de Batyr, son fils, le khan de Khiva eût défendu à ses sujets d'aller de Khiva à Orenbourg, et d'en revenir par une autre route que celle des terres de son père. Cette mesure diminuait l'influence de Nourali sur le commerce et les revenus, qu'il tirait comme tous les khans kirghiz, de la perception d'un droit sur les marchandises passant par leurs steppes.

Nourali irrité envoya, en 1753, piller la première caravane de Khiva qui irait en Russie ou qui en reviendrait. Ses ordres furent exécutés. Les Kirghiz de la race d'Alimoul, tribu de Kara-Kitine, pillèrent aussitôt sur le Saghiz beaucoup de marchands khiviens et turkomans, qui venaient avec des marchandises sous l'escorte de Kirghiz de la même race d'Alimoul, mais de la tribu de Tchikline. Néplouief envoya exprès à la horde un officier civil pour engager le khan à rechercher les bandits, à leur ôter les marchandises et à les restituer aux propriétaires. Nourali répondit décidément que le pillage avait eu lieu d'après ses ordres, parce que le sultan Batyr, non content de lui désobéir, cherchait encore à soulever la Moyenne-Horde contre lui, et que, d'accord avec son fils, il obligeait les caravanes de Khiva à ne passer que par ses aouls; de plus, pour se justifier, et dans l'esprit d'armer la Russie contre Khiva, il écrivit à Orenbourg que Kaïp et Barak (ou Batyr) se disposaient à attaquer la frontière russe; qu'alors il conseillait de conquérir le pays de Khiva, et promettait de le soumettre en quelques jours si on lui envoyait un secours de dix mille hommes de troupes russes avec de l'artillerie.

Son but, en proposant ses services, était facile à deviner, aussi, Néplouief et Tevkélef, sans écouter ses insinuations, répétèrent la demande de la reddition des marchandises enlevées à la caravane pillée, et lui firent des reproches sur sa conduite, indigne d'un khan. Leurs instances auraient été inutiles si l'interprète chargé de les transmettre n'eût, d'après l'instruction de Néplouief, fait espérer à Nourali, qu'en satisfaisant les mar-

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chands il acquerrait le droit de demander au gouvernement les appointements qui lui avaient été assignés, mais qu'on ne lui donnait pas tous les ans. Ceci produisit plus d'effet que tous les conseils, et il s'occupa à l'instant de faire rendre les marchandises par ses sujets.

Kaïp, khan de Khiva, agissait tout différemment. Tandis que le gouvernement russe procurait à ses sujets la restitution de ce qu'ils avaient perdu, ce khan fit arrêter à Khiva une caravane russe, et malgré les demandes des autorités d'Orenbourg, il ne la relâcha qu'au bout d'un an à peu près. Au retour de cette caravane à Orenbourg, en 1754, un envoyé de Kaïp, lui-même vint avec elle, ainsi qu'un officier russe qui avait été à Khiva. Ce dernier déclara qu'ayant rencontré sur sa route le sultan Erali, ce prince l'avait prié de rapporter à Néplouief, que lui et ses frères étaient prêts à aller attaquer Khiva pour venger les insultes du sultan Batyr et de son fils; qu'il avait le projet de se réunir aux mécontents, sujets de Kaïp, de le mettre à mort, de s'emparer de sa place, et de délivrer les prisonniers russes qui se trouvaient alors à Khiva. Il demandait seulement que, dans le cas où il ne réussirait pas, la Russie promît de le racheter, s'il était pris lui-même.

Au grand étonnement de tout le monde, l'envoyé de Khiva, au lieu d'exécuter les ordres de son maître, se plaignit au gouvernement russe de son avidité et de ses injustices; il dépeignit les maux qu'il faisait souffrir au peuple, et au nom de tous les Ouzbeks, à la race desquels il appartenait, il réclama du secours pour détrôner le khan.

Quoique cette demande fournît à la Russie l'occasion de punir les Khiviens de leur perfidie, et leur prince de l'insolence qu'il avait eue, l'année précédente, de retenir une caravane d'Orenbourg, cependant le gouvernement trouvait alors la conquête de Khiva plus difficile qu'utile. D'ailleurs l'engagement d'Erali faisait espérer d'acquérir quelque influence sur cette contrée, sans effusion de sang. En conséquence on refusa d'acquiescer à la proposition de l'envoyé de Khiva, qui

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avait sollicité du secours pour renverser Kaïp, sans lui défendre néanmoins d'en demander aux princes kirghis[1]. On permit au khan Nourali et au sultan Erali, de marcher contre Khiva et de s'en emparer, si la fortune les favorisait. On décida d'accorder à Erali son rachat, s'il venait à être pris dans cette expédition.

La Russie aurait certainement gagné un avantage immense sous le rapport commercial, si les fils d'Aboulkhaïr avaient exécuté leur projet, et réussi à s'emparer de Khiva; mais par malheur ils ne se mirent même pas en devoir d'atteindre le but proposé par Erali. La cause de cette inaction fut sans doute l'insuffisance des troupes qu'ils pouvaient opposer aux forces de Kaïp et de son père réunies.

Le capitaine prince Maksioutof, envoyé alors d'Orenbourg à la Petite-Horde, écrit dans ses rapports, que Nourali-khan et ses frères, se disposant à marcher sur Khiva, convoquèrent une assemblée du peuple qui approuva le projet; mais qu'un khodja, auquel on alla, comme à un demi-saint, demander sa bénédiction pour la réussite de l'expédition, leur ayant défendu de faire la guerre aux Khiviens, ils lui obéirent. La Moyenne-Horde essuyait alors les derniers efforts de la puissance des Zungars. En 1754 elle se trouvait tellement pressée par eux, qu'un grand nombre de Kirghiz de cette horde demandèrent au gouvernement de laisser passer en dedans des lignes russes leurs femmes et leurs enfants, si on ne pouvait leur accorder cette faculté à eux-mêmes : quelques-uns allèrent jusqu'à solliciter qu'on leur concédât des terres sur la frontière, où ils promirent de s'occuper d'agriculture et de bâtir des villages.

Une garde de cette espèce eût été trop peu sûre, et il eut même été dangereux de laisser entrer dans les forts les femmes et les enfants des Kirghiz. On ordonna donc au gouverneur de Sibérie de ne faire aucune attention à de sembla-

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 2 avril 1755.

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bles demandes[1]. Peu de temps après, une partie de la Moyenne-Horde sollicita de nouveau d'être reçue sous la protection des forts. Alors le gouvernement, d'après les représentations de Néplouief, et désirant d'ailleurs traiter favorablement les Kirghiz, leur permit de vivre en nomades près de la ligne d'Ouïsk, et l'on ordonna, en cas qu'ils fussent attaqués, de les laisser passer au delà des frontières, en leur prenant seulement des otages pour garantie de leur tranquillité.

Cette faveur, qui leur fut accordée à la fin de 1756 devint inutile[2]; car alors les Zungars, les plus terribles ennemis des Kirghiz-Kazaks, étaient presque détruits; ces mêmes Zungars qu'on avait vus, sous le règne de leurs khontaïdzis Batour et Galdane Tsyrène, non-seulement répandre la terreur parmi les faibles principautés de l'Asie centrale, mais encore inspirer de justes alarmes aux empereurs de la Russie et de la Chine.

Ce peuple passa avec une étonnante rapidité du faîte de la puissance à une entière destruction: il pouvait encore, en 1745, sous les ordres de Galdane Tsyrène, causer une importante révolution dans toute l'Asie centrale. Sous les fils de Galdane, dont le génie n'approchait pas de celui de leur père, ce peuple perdit insensiblement toute son énergie; mais ses voisins le redoutaient toujours. En 1756 il était déjà soumis, dispersé, et on en avait exterminé une telle quantité, que ses terres devinrent presque entièrement désertes.

Les causes principales de la chute de l'empire zungar furent, comme l'on sait, la discorde qui se mit entre ses derniers chefs, et les [illegible] civiles provoquées par l'ambition d'Amoursane, qui amenèrent la ruine de toute la nation. S'étant brouillé avec Davatsii, qui lui disputait l'autorité, il se reconnut, en 1754, sujet de la Chine, et réclama de cet empire des troupes auxiliaires contre Davatsii. L'empereur Tsian-Loung le reçut très-gracieusement et lui

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, 3/17, 1755.
[2] Oukase du sénat, du 24 octobre 1756.

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donna une nombreuse armée, chargée secrètement de l'accompagner, non pour lui assurer la suprême puissance, mais pour soumettre les Zungars qui avaient si souvent inquiété le gouvernement chinois. Les intentions du bogdo-khan furent remplies, et en 1756, les terres ravagées de la Zungarie, furent réunies à la Chine[1].

Le sultan Ablaï, aussi sage qu'entreprenant, ne laissa pas échapper l'occasion de profiter des querelles des princes zungars, et il travailla à les prolonger, sentant de quelle utilité seraient, tant pour son propre repos que pour la sûreté des Kirghiz à l'extérieur, l'affaiblissement et le morcellement de leurs anciens ennemis. Dans ce but, non-seulement il donna asile dans son aoul à Amoursane[2] et à Lobatcha, (autre prince zungar), mais il alla combattre pour eux[3], et les aida à exterminer leurs propres compatriotes. Les affaires ayant pris une nouvelle face, et l'armée chinoise remportant des avantages décisifs sur les Zungars, Ablaï se réunit aux vainqueurs. Ce changement d'alliés ne lui fit pas changer de but: et réuni aux Chinois, il continua d'exterminer ses odieux voisins, comme il les exterminait quand il était réuni aux partisans d'Amoursane. Mais quand la Zungarie fut entièrement soumise, et que l'armée chinoise pour compléter son occupation eut commencé à s'approcher des steppes des Kirghiz, Ablaï vînt à sa rencontre, et se reconnut vassal du bogdo-khan.

Depuis ce moment (1756), la vanité des Chinois les porta à placer au nombre de leurs états les pâturages d'Ablaï, et on lui envoya sur-le-champ, de la part de Tsian-Loung[4], une pa

[1] Voyez les extraits de l'ouvrage chinois intitulé *Si-iouï-rouinr-kian-lou*, placés dans le Voyage de M. Timkofsky à la Chine, tome I, page 155.

[2] Amoursane s'étant détaché de la Chine erra parmi les hordes kirghizes, et chercha ensuite un asile en Russie, où il mourut.

[3] Voyez les rapports du capitaine Jakovlef qui était alors à la Moyenne-Horde, et qui accompagna quelque temps Ablaï qui suivait Amoursane et Lobatcha pour combattre les Zungars.

[4] C'est ce qu'écrit un Chinois, auteur du livre *Si-iouï-rouinr-kian-lou*, et dont nous trouvons un extrait dans le Voyage de M. Timkofsky, tome I, page 253.

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tente de prince, et un calendrier où étaient relatées les conditions auxquelles on le reconnaissait pour vassal.

Pendant qu'Ablaï et les faibles sultans de la Moyenne-Horde, ses partisans, ravageaient avec leurs sujets la Zungarie, la Petite-Horde combattait ses coréligionnaires, les Bachkirs. Une insulte commise par elle produisit entre les deux peuples une haine qui, jusqu'aujourd'hui, n'est pas entièrement éteinte. Pour mieux décrire cet événement, nous allons donner un tableau de l'état du pays des Bachkirs à cette époque.

Ce peuple, se trouvant sous la domination russe depuis le règne d'Ivane Groznoï, avait souvent levé l'étendard de la révolte, et en avait été puni. Les maux que lui avait causés la révolte de 1735 avaient à peine cessé en 1742. Quelque dure que fût la position de cette contrée, qui pendant le cours de ces sept années avait eu à déplorer la perte et les souffrances d'un nombre considérable de ses habitants, cependant les survivants ne restèrent pas long-temps en repos. Ils se révoltèrent de nouveau le 18 mai 1755. La sédition éclata tout à coup et commença par le massacre de tous les Russes qui se trouvaient dans le pays, non-seulement le même jour, mais presque à la même heure. Cette révolte fut excitée par les lettres d'un mollah nommé Batyr-Cha, qui, en reprochant aux fidèles musulmans leur obéissance à des chrétiens, conjurait tout fidèle, croyant en Dieu et en Mahomet, de prendre les armes, affirmant que ceux qui périraient dans cette sainte querelle recevraient les récompenses éternelles promises par le koran. De semblables lettres furent aussi envoyées aux Tatars de Kazan et dans les hordes kazakes. Celles-ci, profitant de l'occasion, commencèrent dans l'instant à faire des incursions sur les frontières russes, sous prétexte de secourir les Bachkirs.

La position de la ligne d'Orenbourg devint alors extrêmement critique. Elle s'étendait sur une longueur de plus de mille verstes; elle était séparée des habitations de l'intérieur, et était enveloppée au nord par les Bachkirs, et au sud par

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les Kirghiz; la plus grande partie des soi-disant forteresses et postes fortifiés n'avaient point de fortifications; les garnisons étaient faibles: en un mot, au moindre revers, tous les habitants des frontières pouvaient périr, à l'exception de ceux que défendait la forteresse d'Orenbourg. Heureusement, ce pays était alors gouverné par Néplouief. Sa présence d'esprit et son activité détournèrent l'orage qui le menaçait. Il réunit immédiatement les troupes qu'il commandait sur les points où la défense était le plus nécessaire; il fit venir des renforts de Kazan; il en tira de chez les Kozaks du Don, et de chez le khan des Kalmouks du Volga; en attendant, il arma contre les Bachkirs, les Mestchériaks et les Teptiars. Il promit grâce entière à ceux des rebelles qui donneraient des marques de repentir; et offrit de fortes récompenses pécuniaires pour la tête de Batyr-Cha et de ses principaux complices. Il envoya dans les hordes kazakes, au nom de l'akhoune d'Orenbourg, des déclarations en langue tatare, par lesquelles ce doyen du clergé mahométan manifestait son approbation de la révolte des Bachkirs, mais en même temps sa crainte que, s'ils venaient à se rendre indépendants de la Russie, ils n'attaquassent les Kirghiz et ne finissent par les soumettre.

Lorsque les troupes auxiliaires furent entrées dans le pays des Bachkirs, ceux-ci n'étant pas assez forts pour résister aux Russes, aux Kalmouks, aux Teptiars et aux Mestchériaks réunis, s'enfuirent au delà de l'Oural avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, au nombre de plus de cinquante mille personnes. Un grand nombre furent détruits au passage du fleuve; les autres se cachèrent dans les hordes. Ceux qui restèrent dans leurs habitations, demandèrent grâce; mais leur repentir n'était pas sincère, et ils attendaient une nouvelle révolte. Pour la prévenir, et pour empêcher surtout les Bachkirs de se réunir aux Kirghiz, Néplouief fut obligé de prendre une mesure cruelle, mais que les temps et les lieux rendaient indispensable.

Il sentit qu'il était nécessaire, pour la sûreté de la ligne

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d'Orenbourg, de jeter une haine irréconciliable entre les Bachkirs et les Kirghiz; que sans cela leur réunion serait toujours possible en tout temps, et que la suite infaillible de cette réunion, serait la ruine de tous les établissements russes sur l'Oural. Pour atteindre ce but, il se détermina à remettre au pouvoir des Kirghiz-Kazaks les femmes et les enfants des Bachkirs qui avaient quitté la Russie pour chercher un asile parmi eux. Le ministère d'Élizabeth aurait voulu mettre la frontière russe à couvert par un moyen plus conforme aux voies de la douceur et de l'humanité; mais il fallut céder aux circonstances, et Néplouief, ayant enfin reçu les ordres qu'il avait demandés pour l'exécution de son projet, fit savoir sur-le-champ au khan, aux sultans kirghiz, ainsi qu'aux anciens les plus distingués, qu'en récompense de leur fidélité et de leur dévouement à la Russie, l'impératrice leur faisait don de toutes les femmes et de toutes les filles des Bachkirs qui se trouvaient parmi eux, à condition que les hommes seraient rendus sur la ligne, ou tout au moins chassés des hordes kazakes. On promit en outre d'autres récompenses pour l'extradition des déserteurs.

Les voluptueux Kirghiz se hâtèrent de s'emparer des femmes qu'on leur abandonnait. Les Bachkirs voulurent défendre leurs familles; mais trop peu nombreux, ils ne purent résister. Une partie périt sur la place; quelques-uns furent livrés aux Russes, d'autres revinrent d'eux-mêmes dans leurs foyers, attendant avec impatience le moment de mettre à exécution la ferme résolution qu'ils avaient formée de venger cette injure sur les Kirghiz.

La rage et la jalousie armèrent aussitôt chez les Bachkirs des troupes de vengeurs, qui demandèrent au gouvernement la permission de traverser l'Oural. Néplouief répondit que l'impératrice ne permettait pas de passer les frontières; cependant il donna secrètement l'ordre aux commandants des forts et des cordons, de ne faire aucune attention aux gens qui passeraient sans permission dans les steppes au delà de

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l'Oural. Profitant de la prétendue négligence des gardes, des bandes entières de Bachkirs traversèrent l'Oural, fondirent sur les hordes, commencèrent le pillage et le massacre, et se mirent à emmener les femmes et les enfants.

Le khan Nourali se plaignit : on lui répondit d'Orenbourg, que les Kirghiz avaient eux-mêmes attiré sur leurs têtes tous ces malheurs, en recevant dans leurs aouls de perfides déserteurs, et que tous les Bachkirs allaient courir à de semblables exploits. Les sujets de Nourali prirent les armes et commencèrent à repousser les attaques de leurs ennemis; ceux-ci les renouvelaient à chaque instant; et les deux peuples continuèrent ainsi à se détruire mutuellement, jusqu'à ce que Néplouief jugea à propos d'arrêter ces désordres. Il fut alors sévèrement interdit aux Bachkirs de traverser l'Oural. On proposa aux Kirghiz, pour leur sûreté, de se retirer au midi de ce fleuve; en même temps l'on enjoignit aux chefs des frontières de ne plus permettre le passage d'aucun côté, et l'on renforça les gardes à cet effet.

L'effusion du sang diminua; mais la haine entre les deux peuples continue encore aujourd'hui; des représailles mutuelles de temps à autre contribuent à l'entretenir.

Ces résultats peuvent faire accuser le gouvernement russe de cruauté; mais qu'on examine les circonstances: qu'en jetant un coup-d'œil sur la position géographique de la ligne et du pays d'Orenbourg, on voie quels sont les peuples qui l'occupent, ainsi que ses environs; que d'un autre côté on fasse attention au petit nombre de troupes qui couvrait la frontière russe, et on conviendra que la mesure prise par Néplouief était la seule capable de sauver le pays qu'il gouvernait, et peut-être la plus grande partie du sud-est de la Russie. Les Kirghiz-Kazak[illegible] habitaient au delà de la ligne militaire n'eussent pas été les seuls à soutenir les Bachkirs. Ils pouvaient se réunir aux Tatars de Kazan, d'Orenbourg, de Simbirsk, de Penza, qui habitaient dans l'intérieur de l'empire, et même aux Teptiars et aux Mestchériaks, qui, d'après les sages mesures des autorités

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d'Orenbourg, au lieu de se révolter, servirent à punir les rebelles. Tous ces peuples professent la même religion, et tous, reconnaissant Mahomet, ne voient dans les chrétiens que des infidèles (kachfyr), que devait-on attendre de leur réunion?

En considérant les choses sans partialité, on voit que la Russie devait se résoudre à sacrifier ou les Bachkirs, ou les Russes; si elle a sacrifié les premiers pour sauver les seconds, cette conduite ne peut lui mériter aucun blâme.

Le khan Nourali, ainsi que ses deux frères Erali et Aïtchouvak, contribuèrent beaucoup à aider les autorités d'Orenbourg à retrouver et à ramener sur les frontières les Bachkirs qui s'étaient enfuis au delà de l'Oural. Pour complaire à la Russie, ils combattirent non-seulement les déserteurs, mais encore ceux des Kirghiz qui les défendaient. Quoique ce zèle ne fût pas tout à fait désintéressé, cependant, comme il fut accompagné d'autres marques de bonnes dispositions, le gouvernement y eut égard, et ordonna, pour le récompenser[1], de commencer à donner à Nourali les appointements qui lui avaient été assignés cinq ans auparavant, et qu'on avait retenus parce qu'il ne rendait pas les prisonniers russes. Ensuite on lui accorda aussi, par forme de grâce, d'envoyer tous les deux ou trois ans, les parents ou les plus distingués des sultans ou des anciens à la cour. Ces voyages promettaient d'un côté des avantages et des présents au khan et à ses députés; et d'un autre, ils étaient utiles au gouvernement. Les envoyés, pendant leur séjour à la cour, pouvaient servir d'otages; et en apprenant, pendant ce séjour, à connaître les lois, les mœurs et les usages de la Russie, il était possible qu'ils s'y accoutumassent et qu'ils répandissent dans la horde les connaissances des Européens.

La haine et les hostilités mutuelles des Bachkirs et des Kirghiz, en empêchant leur réunion, sauvèrent beaucoup de Russes d'une perte certaine; cependant elles n'assurèrent pas

[1] Par un oukase du 25 août 1755 on donna à ce sujet au khan une lettre patente.

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la tranquillité des frontières. Les Bachkirs, brûlant du désir de se venger, ne cessaient, malgré les défenses de traverser l'Oural, de faire des incursions sur les pâturages de leurs ennemis et de les ruiner; les Kirghiz ne cessaient pas non plus de poursuivre et de punir ces ardents ennemis, jusque dans le centre de leur pays. Pénétrant dans cette contrée à travers la frontière, ils combattaient les gardes et pillaient au retour les habitations russes: ces événements étaient fréquents. Le khan et les sultans, bien intentionnés, ne pouvaient calmer leurs sujets; et avouant franchement leur impuissance, ils écrivaient que le bas peuple les soupçonnait même d'entretenir de secrètes liaisons avec les autorités d'Orenbourg, pour soumettre toutes les hordes à la Russie[1]. En conséquence, le gouvernement résolut d'augmenter le pouvoir de Nourali, et de former en même temps un plan pour punir les Kirghiz-Kazaks, de manière à ce qu'ils sentissent au moins une fois les effets de la force et de la puissance de l'empire. On avait déjà donné l'ordre de dresser la carte détaillée de la partie occidentale de la steppe des Kirghiz; on commençait déjà à chercher les meilleurs moyens de faire une campagne au delà de l'Oural; tout annonçait un orage terrible à la Petite-Horde[2], lorsque l'ouverture de la guerre de sept ans, entre la Russie et la Prusse, vint le détourner.

Cependant une grande assemblée nationale qui eut lieu dans la Petite-Horde, en 1756, sans doute dans le but de discuter les moyens de détourner le danger qui les menaçait, s'opposa, non-seulement à la demande du khan et de ses frères de rendre les prisonniers russes et les déserteurs bachkirs,

[1] Le sultan Aïtchouvak, dans son rèle pour la Russie, écrivit déjà en 1754, sultan Aïtchouvak, dans son rèle pour la Russie, écrivit déjà en 1754, ouief, que les Kirghiz du commun le soupçonnaient ainsi que le khan d'a- s liaisons secrètes avec les autorités d'Orenbourg; et qu'en conséquence ndait, pour ne pas confirmer ses sujets dans cette idée, que, quand on lui rait des réprimandes pour eux dans les lettres venant d'Orenbourg, on lui essât pour lui aussi. Il disait des brigands connus, qu'il pouvait les faire tre en secret, mais non les livrer, laissant au gouvernement russe la fa- 'envoyer des troupes contre eux.

[2] Voyez l'oukase du 10 juin 1756.

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mais elle se chargea encore de les aider. Les sultans Aïtchouvak et Erali prirent dans cette circonstance les intérêts de la Russie avec beaucoup de chaleur.

Au commencement de l'année 1757, Doundouk-Dachi, lieutenant du khan des Kalmouks du Volga avertit le gouverneur d'Astrakhan que tous les Kirghiz-Kasaks avaient l'intention de passer dans les possessions turques sur le Kouban, et qu'ils en avaient déjà demandé à la Porte-Ottomane la permission par une ambassade envoyée à ce sujet. Cette nouvelle était difficile à croire; cependant la prudence voulait qu'on reconnût le degré de probabilité qu'elle pouvait avoir et sur quoi elle était fondée. D'après les informations qu'on reçut sur la Petite-Horde, par un officier [1] qu'on y avait envoyé exprès, on sut que les Kirghiz n'avaient aucunement pensé au Kouban, mais que Doundouk-Dachi et deux autres princes kalmouks avaient eux-mêmes expédié au khan Nourali des gens de confiance pour l'avertir que les Tatars de Crimée avaient l'intention d'attaquer la Russie, et pour l'inviter à leur donner du secours comme les Kalmouks eux-mêmes étaient décidés à le faire. Nourali n'avait pas rejeté la proposition, mais il avait demandé qu'on l'avertît du moment où les Tatars exécuteraient leur projet.

Cette duplicité de Doundouk-Dachi, et la haîne éternelle des Kalmoucks, ses sujets, contre les Kirghiz-Kazaks, firent supposer que son véritable but était de déterminer Nourali à marcher contre les Russes et à profiter de l'éloignement d'une grande partie de la Petite-Horde pour attaquer ses aouls sans défense.

Au reste, ceci n'est qu'une supposition, et l'événement ne prouva pas qu'elle fût vraie; car en 1757, ni les Tatars de Crimée, ni les Kazacks n'attaquèrent la Russie, et en conséquence les Kalmouks du Volga n'eurent occasion ni d'aider les premiers ni de ruiner les seconds.

[1] Voyez, dans les archives de la commission des frontières, à Orenbourg, les rapports du prince Ourakof, 1757.

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La conduite de la Moyenne-Horde, en 1758, donna plus d'inquiétude au gouvernement russe que les bruits de la réunion de Nourali au khan de Crimée. Une partie de cette horde ayant fait une irruption dans les frontières, se permit d'emmener prisonniers deux cent vingt Tatars du district de Kouznetsk, connus sous le nom de Dvoëdantzy (Dvoëdantzy veut dire qui payent double tribut ou deux tributs). Les Russes et les Zungars prélevaient en même temps un tribut sur ce peuple. Une autre partie de la Moyenne-Horde, et la plus considérable, s'étant emparée des terres des Zungars chassés de leurs pays, s'était rapprochée de la Chine, et paraissait trop dévouée à cet empire. Son chef, le sultan Ablaï, avait prêté serment de fidélité à la Russie; mais ensuite il avait été sous la protection de Galdane Tsyrène, khontaïdzi des Zungars, et enfin il avait, comme nous l'avons dit, reçu du Bogdo-khan une patente de prince chinois. Ainsi donc les assurances de soumission qu'il renouvelait de temps à autre au gouvernement Russe, ne signifiaient rien, et il eût été d'autant plus imprudent de s'y fier, que ses relations avec la Chine étaient assez fréquentes.

Il reçut, en 1756, pour la première fois, un ambassadeur chinois; en 1757, un autre officier du Bogdo-khan vint pour chercher à déterminer toute la Moyenne-Horde à se reconnaître solennellement sujette de la Chine.

Ablaï se refusa à l'exécution de cette demande, non par respect pour le serment qu'il avait prêté à la Russie, mais parce qu'il trouvait cette double position très-avantageuse; d'abord, elle lui assurait plus d'indépendance et de considération de la part des deux empires; ensuite, il craignait de renoncer entièrement à l'obéissance de la Russie, parce qu'une grande

de ses sujets vivait en nomade près de ses frontières
les endroits fort avantageux.
endant la Russie ne pouvait se contenter de cette ap-
e de soumission. Outre les incursions des Kirghiz, elle
ait alors les attaques d'un ennemi beaucoup plus puis-

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sant. L'armée chinoise qui avait ravagé la Zungarie passa la frontière de Sibérie et menaçait de pénétrer dans l'intérieur de l'empire.

Cette crainte se dissipa bientôt, car les Chinois ne tardèrent pas à se retirer dans leur pays, mais le rétablissement de la paix ne parut pas solide entre les deux empires tant qu'on n'eut pas terminé les différents au sujet de la reddition du prince zungar Amoursane, qui s'était d'abord reconnu vassal de la Chine, et avait ensuite cherché un asile en Russie. Sa mort fit cesser la discorde; mais avant qu'elle arrivât et que la tranquillité fût rétablie, l'autorité d'Orembourg entra, par ordre du gouvernement, en relation avec les princes Kirghiz de la Moyenne et de la Petite-Horde, pour donner du secours aux troupes Russes contre la Chine, et pour attaquer les possessions occidentales de cet état.

On donna à ce sujet au khan Nourali, le 19 mars 1758, une lettre patente au nom de l'impératrice, pour l'inviter à agir de concert avec les troupes russes, parce que les Chinois, ayant violé la paix, avaient fait une invasion sur les frontières de Sibérie. On ne sait pourquoi cette lettre patente ne fut pas envoyée; on la conserve encore aujourd'hui à Orenbourg; mais on voit par les affaires de cette année, que Nourali déclara à un officier russe qu'on lui envoya exprès, avec des présents et l'ordre de l'engager de vive voix à seconder la Russie, qu'il consentait à faire la guerre aux Chinois, et qu'il se tiendrait prêt à marcher.

Un autre officier déclara à son retour de la Moyenne-Horde que le sultan Ablaï avait aussi promis de combattre pour les Russes contre les Chinois. Afin de confirmer ses promesses, il envoya deux députés qui assurèrent qu'il ne s'était jamais reconnu sujet de la Chine, mais qu'il était toujours demeuré fidèle à la Russie; que c'était uniquement par crainte qu'il avait eu des relations avec les Chinois et qu'il leur avait témoigné de la soumission. Quoiqu'il fût évident que ses assurances étaient fausses, cependant on feignit à dessein d'être persuadé de

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leur sincérité[1], et Ablaï reçut, non-seulement des éloges pour sa constante fidélité à la Russie, mais il reçut en récompense, au nom de l'impératrice, un sabre précieux, et on lui fit espérer d'autres faveurs par la suite.

Le khan Nourali reçut aussi du gouvernement russe plusieurs marques de bienveillance à cause de son intention d'aller combattre les Chinois[2]. Ainsi son fils, qui était en otage à Orembourg, étant mort, il devait sans tarder en envoyer un autre à sa place; mais il mit du retard, chercha de mauvaises raisons, et enfin l'autorité locale reçut ordre de ne pas l'y forcer. On lui prescrivit également de construire pour lui et ses frères, aux frais de la couronne, des hangars et des enclos près de l'Oural pour faire hiverner leurs bestiaux. Enfin le khan et les sultans les plus distingués reçurent à cette époque beaucoup de présents.

Afin de tranquilliser tous les Kirghiz-Kazaks du côté du Nord, et de les mettre à l'abri des attaques qui auraient pu les arrêter, même pendant leurs préparatifs pour marcher contre les Chinois, on renouvela les défenses les plus sévères qui interdisaient aux Bachkirs de passer l'Oural.

Quelques difficultés que présentât la construction des enclos à bétail, pour le khan et les sultans, leurs demandes continuelles pour qu'on leur laissât passer l'hiver dans les steppes d'Astrakhan, et la crainte que cette concession ne fût la cause de la ruine des Kalmouks du Volga, portèrent le gouvernement à revenir, en 1759, à l'idée de bâtir une ville à l'embouchure de l'Emba. On supposait que si l'on ne pouvait déterminer le khan et les Kirghiz à l'habiter constamment, ils ne refuseraient pas au moins d'y passer l'hiver pour conserver leurs haras et leurs bestiaux; cependant ce projet est resté

[1] A cette même époque, le tribunal chinois des affaires étrangères écrivit dans une de ses feuilles, au sénat russe, que le sultan Ablaï s'était solennellement reconnu sujet de la Chine.

[2] Nourali montra même le désir d'aider les Russes dans la guerre contre la Perse, quoiqu'il n'eût aucun moyen de mettre son projet à exécution.

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sans exécution jusqu'à nos jours, de même que celui dont nous avons parlé plus haut.

Après la mort d'Amoursane et la cessation des relations désagréables qui avaient eu lieu à son sujet entre les gouvernements russe et chinois, les préparatifs de la Russie pour repousser une attaque de ce dernier, ainsi que les secours promis par le khan Nourali et le sultan Ablaï, devinrent inutiles; mais la cour de Russie craignit encore longtemps que les Kirghiz ne se retirassent des frontières dans les terres ravagées de la Zungarie. La Moyenne-Horde paraissait, à cause des liaisons d'Ablaï avec la Chine, et des efforts des Chinois pour l'attirer dans son voisinage, déjà disposée à changer d'habitations. On supposait que si elle se retirait vers l'orient, la Petite suivrait aussi son exemple.

Cette émigration ne pouvait nuire à la Russie sous le rapport de sa sûreté; car les Kirghiz, devenus ses sujets, ne discontinuaient pas leurs brigandages, et ravageaient comme auparavant ses provinces frontières; mais l'éloignement des Kirghiz lui eût fait un grand tort sous le rapport du commerce, et c'était pour le prévenir qu'elle désirait retenir ses sujets demi-sauvages dans leurs premières habitations.

Il était essentiel de maintenir dans ses bonnes dispositions pour la Russie le sultan Ablaï qui acquérait tous les jours plus d'influence sur ses sujets et devenait plus propre que tout autre à les porter à quelque haute entreprise. Une grande partie de la Moyenne-Horde lui donnait déjà le titre de khan. Lui-même, dans ses relations avec les autorités russes, ne se donnait encore que le titre de sultan; mais sa puissance et la dignité de prince chinois à laquelle l'avait élevé Tsian-Loung, lui facilitaient les moyens de changer son titre et de reprendre celui de chef suprême de toute la Moyenne-Horde, sans aucune permission ni coopération de la part de la Russie. Cette manière d'agir eût été contraire à la dignité de l'empire, car la Moyenne-Horde était au nombre de ses sujets; mais il était impossible d'empêcher un événement semblable par une

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défense : il eût été trop désavantageux d'en tirer vengeance les armes à la main. Ainsi donc on décida de déterminer Ablaï par la douceur et les caresses à demander lui-même, au nom de son peuple, l'investiture du titre de khan. Dans l'attente de cette demande, on lui assigna une pension annuelle, et on lui envoya un officier chargé de lui montrer adroitement le chemin qui devait le conduire à la dignité de khan, et de lui déclarer que, pour y parvenir, il fallait qu'à l'imitation de Nourali, il donnât son fils en otage.

Contre toutes les prévisions, Ablaï reçut fort mal l'envoyé russe, et refusa de donner son fils; en outre on apprit bientôt d'une source certaine qu'Aboul-Mahmet, créé khan de la Moyenne-Horde par la Russie, vivait encore; on remit donc à un autre temps l'exaltation du nouveau khan.

En 1760 les Kirghiz-Kazaks de la Moyenne-Horde attaquèrent les Kirghiz sauvages, ou Bouroutes, et leur firent éprouver une grande perte; ensuite ils causèrent du désordre dans une partie des nouvelles conquêtes de la Chine, et y firent quelques prisonniers. Les Chinois exigèrent d'Ablaï leur restitution, et envoyèrent une armée pour soutenir leur demande[1]. L'apparition de cette armée jeta la terreur dans la Moyenne-Horde. Non-seulement on s'empressa de satisfaire aux désirs du gouvernement chinois, mais on rendit sur la frontière de la Russie un grand nombre de Bachkirs, de Tatars Barabines et de prisonniers russes.

Au reste la Russie fut moins redevable du retour de ces prisonniers à la terreur inspirée par les armées chinoises, qu'aux efforts et à la puissance d'Ablaï, qui, quoique sujet des deux empires, cherchait par des vues politiques à empêcher les incursions de son peuple sur la Russie; aussi cette frontière, vis-à-vis de la Moyenne-Horde, fut-elle toujours beaucoup plus sûre que la ligne militaire de l'Oural.

Revenons maintenant à la Petite-Horde, dont le khan, ainsi

[1] Voyez les rapports de l'interprète Gordéief, aux archives de la commission des frontières à Orenbourg.

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que ses frères, semblait plus dévoué à la Russie que le sultan Ablaï.

Depuis l'ouverture du printemps jusqu'au milieu de l'été, elle ne cessa de piller les habitations des frontières, parce que les Kalmouks du Volga lui avaient enlevé beaucoup de bétail pendant l'hiver précédent, et que la garde, placée sur l'Oural, les empêchait d'aller sur le Volga pour réparer leurs pertes. Peut-être à cette première raison s'en joignit-il une seconde, qui était moins importante, mais qui pouvait aussi avoir de l'influence sur la conduite de la garde. Pendant l'automne de 1759, le khan Nourali était venu à Orenbourg, ainsi que ses frères; le gouverneur qui avait remplacé Néplouief les reçut avec peu de politesse, et ce qui est encore pis, il ne leur fit aucun présent: cela les aigrit à un tel point qu'ils ne voulurent pas prendre congé de lui et refusèrent résolument de satisfaire à aucune de ses demandes.

Ces dispositions augmentèrent sans cesse l'audace de la Petite-Horde; le khan s'excusait sur la faiblesse de sa puissance; dans cet état de choses l'on envoya l'ordre de Saint-Pétersbourg[1] d'obliger les Kalmouks à rendre les chevaux qu'ils avaient volés, et de punir les incursions des Kirghiz, en expédiant des troupes dans leur pays pour rechercher les coupables et s'emparer de leurs biens, ou au moins pour arrêter leurs parents, sans toucher toutefois à ceux qui leur seraient étrangers.

En 1761, une partie de la Petite-Horde attaqua de nouveau les frontières russes, et fut encore punie par la force des armes. La raison de ses attaques était la même que l'année précédente. Les Kalmouks n'avaient pas rendu les chevaux volés, et on n'avait pas eu, pour le khan et ses frères à Orenbourg, les attentions qu'on leur devait, quoique au commencement de l'année ils n'eussent pas pris part aux incursions. En automne, les sultans Erali et Aïtchouvak se trouvèrent tellement offensés de la conduite qu'on tenait à leur égard,

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 18 juillet 1760.

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qu'ils commencèrent à arrêter les caravanes qui se rendaient à Orenbourg. Aïtchouvak eut même l'intention de se retirer avec la race de Sémirodsk, vers les frontières de la Chine, sur les terres qui avaient appartenu aux Zungars. Pour maintenir ces deux sultans dans les bonnes dispositions qu'ils avaient auparavant manifestées pour la Russie, l'autorité supérieure, malgré la conduite des autorités locales d'Orenbourg, leur assigna à chacun des appointements annuels.

Cette situation des affaires de la Petite-Horde et la position ambiguë, sans être du reste nuisible à la Russie, que gardait le sultan Ablaï, furent cause qu'à l'avénement au trône de l'empereur Pierre III, on envoya au khan et aux principaux sultans kirghiz les lettres d'information sans leur demander un nouveau serment. On croyait qu'ils le refuseraient; et on résolut de ne remplir cette formalité que quand ils seraient eux-mêmes à Orenbourg. Pour les maintenir dans la dépendance et les détourner d'entretenir des relations amicales avec la Chine, le gouvernement continua à n'épargner ni dépenses ni efforts. Dans les instructions données au commencement de 1762 aux autorités des frontières d'Orenbourg et de Sibérie, il fut prescrit de flatter, de toutes les manières possibles, les plus distingués des Kirghiz-Kazaks, de leur distribuer généreusement des présents et des récompenses, et de bâtir pour ceux qui le voudraient, des hangars et des étables dans le voisinage de la frontière.

On ordonna d'envoyer sans délai au sultan Ablaï des ingénieurs pour lui construire une maison avec les dépendances et les magasins nécessaires, le tout entouré d'un rempart afin de lui donner l'aspect d'un petit fort[1]. Une pareille marque de distinction était très-flatteuse pour la vanité d'un kirghiz.

Par ces moyens et d'autres semblables, le khan et les sultans kirghiz se maintinrent fidèles à la Russie, au moins en

[1] On construisit en effet une maison au khan Ablaï, vis-à-vis le fort de Pétropavlofsk, mais seulement quelques années après.

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apparence. Nourali, Ablaï et Aïtchouvak, ayant reçu les lettres d'information sur l'avénement au trône de l'impératrice Catherine II, prêtèrent tout aussitôt serment de fidélité.

Il est à remarquer qu'Ablaï n'était pas le seul qui, devenu depuis longtemps vassal des deux empires, eut prêté serment à l'impératrice de Russie, sans avoir pour cela l'intention de renoncer à ses liaisons avec la Chine; mais le khan Nourali, à son imitation, se détermina, vers cette époque, à entrer en relation avec la cour de Pékin. Dans le cours de cette même année 1762, il envoya à Pékin une ambassade, qui partit pour cette capitale avec les députés du sultan Batyr de la Moyenne-Horde, et du sultan Aboulfenze, fils d'Aboul-Mahmet, khan de la Horde-Moyenne. Ils furent tous comblés de présents par le Bogdo-khan, et surtout les députés du khan Nourali [1] qui, enorgueilli de cette distinction, ne fit plus aucune attention aux plaintes de la Russie. Ses sujets recommencèrent leurs incursions contre les Kalmouks du Volga, et exigèrent ensuite qu'on les laissât hiverner sur la rive droite de l'Oural. On avait déjà plusieurs fois rejeté cette demande : un nouveau refus les irrita tellement qu'il voulurent passer de force les frontières pour hiverner en Russie avec leurs troupeaux et leurs haras. Cette audace porta l'impératrice Catherine à donner, le 18 mai 1763, à Oubachi, lieutenant du khanat des Kalmouks, une lettre patente [2] pour punir à main armée les Kirghiz de la Petite-Horde, dès qu'il recevrait l'avis du gouvernement d'Orenbourg qu'une partie aurait passé la frontière. On donna ordre d'autoriser les Bachkirs et les Kazaks du Jaïk d'en faire autant; mais personne n'en profita, car les Kirghiz restèrent dans leurs steppes.

Le rusé sultan Ablaï, après avoir réussi à plaire pendant quelques années à deux puissances d'intérêts opposés, fut à cette époque appelé au secours d'une troisième, moins né-

[1] Voyez les rapports de l'interprète Gordéief à son retour de la Moyenne-Horde, en 1763.

[2] Cette lettre est re tée à Orenbourg où on la conserve encore.

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cessaire que les autres à sa sûreté dans la horde, mais au sort de laquelle le liaient également les lois du Koran et son amour-propre.

Les Chinois conquirent presqu'en même temps que la Zungarie ce qu'on appelle la Petite-Boukharie, et voulaient encore étendre leurs conquêtes sur d'autres petits états mahométans de l'Asie centrale. L'attente de cette invasion et l'impossibilité de la repousser obligèrent les khans de Tachkent, de Kokane et leurs voisins, aussi faibles qu'eux, à réclamer d'abord du secours contre la Chine d'Akhmet, souverain des Afghans, qui, à ce titre et comme musulman, devait prendre sous sa protection ses coreligionnaires. Les habitants de Kachgar, de Jarkène, et d'autres villes déjà soumises par les Chinois, lui demandèrent de même de les délivrer de la domination des infidèles. Animé par tant de demandes, Akhmet envoya contre les Chinois une forte armée qui, s'étant arrêtée entre Tachkent et Kokan, entra en pourparlers avec les Chinois.

Pendant les correspondances et les envois de courriers, les zélés mahométans se réunissaient de tous côtés à leurs défenseurs, et par des lettres et des prédications ils excitaient tout le monde à venir à leur secours. Aboul-Mahmet, considéré comme khan de la Moyenne-Horde, reçut aussi une lettre d'invitation; mais comme depuis longtemps il ne gouvernait plus les Kirghiz, il transmit cette invitation à Ablaï [1]. Celui-ci serait sans doute entré dans la ligue générale des Mahométans, s'il eût été un peu moins lié aux Chinois. Mais la cour de Pékin, dans le but de prévenir ses dispositions à secourir ses coreligionnaires, avait envoyé, fort peu de temps avant l'arrivée de la lettre d'Aboul-Mahmet, une lettre patente à Ablaï [2], qui lui permettait d'occuper les environs du fleuve Ili et lui assurait une protection constante; mais en même temps

[1] Le bachkir Térigoulof, envoyé à la Moyenne-Horde, apporta cette même année 1763 une copie de cette lettre à Orenbourg.

[2] Voyez les rapports de l'interprète Gordéief.

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la cour de Pékin prit en otage son beau-père, le sultan Sultanamet, quelques anciens et leurs enfants.

On proposa aussi à Nourali de se réunir aux Afghans : il ne s'y refusa pas absolument; mais la position de sa horde, et les circonstances, ne lui permettaient pas de marcher avec une armée vers les frontières de la Chine. Les Kalmouks d'un côté, et les Bachkirs de l'autre, n'auraient pas manqué de profiter de l'absence des Kirghiz-Kazaks, et ils auraient non-seulement pillé toutes leurs richesses, mais ils auraient encore emmené en esclavage leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Nourali avait raison de craindre cet événement; car les Bachkirs conservaient un vif souvenir des injures qu'ils avaient reçues, en 1755, de la Petite-Horde, injures dont beaucoup n'étaient pas encore vengées; et en 1762, les Kalmouks avaient reçu un nouveau coup de la part des Kirghiz, qui étaient venus sur le Volga en traversant la mer Caspienne sur la glace. Cette même année deux cents tentes de Tourkhmènes, qui avaient longtemps habité avec les Kalmouks, avaient fui au delà du Jaïk. Les Kirghiz après les avoir laissés entrer sur leur territoire les réduisirent en esclavage et se les partagèrent.

Pendant les premières années du règne de Catherine, les relations de la Russie avec les Kirghiz-Kazaks tendirent plus que jamais aux deux résultats qu'on avait en vue: le premier, d'établir des habitations dans les deux hordes; le second, d'assurer l'inviolabilité des caravanes.

On voulut, pour le premier point, renouveler le projet de bâtir une ville forte à l'embouchure de l'Emba, et d'y construire une maison pour le khan Nourali; mais comme ses sujets craignaient de voir les Russes au milieu de leurs steppes, on ordonna de bâtir, au lieu d'une forteresse, un camp en forme de redoute, afin de couvrir les pêcheurs qui venaient en cet endroit; et pour que cet établissement même ne pût effaroucher les nomades, on ordonna d'y ouvrir un marché d'échange où ils pourraient s'approvisionner de blé de la couronne au plus bas prix. On voulait aussi leur apprendre à

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faucher le foin, et à construire des hangars pour leurs bestiaux et des habitations pour eux-mêmes s'ils le demandaient; on réitéra également les ordres donnés aux autorités des frontières de construire, sur l'Irtych et au delà de l'Oural, des hangars pour les bestiaux, et des maisons pour ceux des Kirghiz qui en désireraient. Profitant du consentement d'un petit nombre de Kazaks, on ordonna aux autorités de Sibérie, qui avaient l'avantage de vivre en bonne intelligence avec quelques Kirghiz-Kazaks, de bâtir, sur la petite rivière de Koltchakly, un village entier, et de lui procurer tous les avantages imaginables. En un mot le gouvernement essayait par tous les moyens possibles d'inspirer à ses sujets nomades le goût d'une vie sédentaire; mais ils ont toujours eu pour elle, et ont encore aujourd'hui un éloignement invincible, soit par suite de leur habitude de la vie nomade, soit par crainte de perdre leur liberté sauvage, qu'ils estiment au delà de toute espèce de biens.

Pour le second objet, la sûreté du commerce, il fallait chercher de nouveaux moyens: car une expérience de trente ans avait prouvé que ni les khans, ni les sultans ne pouvaient offrir aux caravanes, dans toute l'étendue de leurs terres, une protection sûre et inviolable. La faiblesse de leur pouvoir, et leurs fréquentes dissensions sont encore des obstacles presque insurmontables pour la sûreté du commerce, et jusqu'à nos jours ils ne laissent pas la possibilité de rendre parfaitement sûres les routes des caravanes qui amènent les marchands de Tachkent, de Kokan, ou de leurs voisins orientaux. Quant aux communications avec les Boukhares et les Khiviens, la Russie a une autre route, celle de la mer Caspienne; c'était, avant que les hordes se fussent reconnues vassales de l'empire, la seule qui servît pour son commerce avec la Perse et avec l'Asie centrale. Catherine ne tarda pas à tourner toute son attention de ce côté, et ayant renoncé à d'inutiles espérances sur les promesses aussi vides que pompeuses des princes kirghiz, elle voulut

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concentrer à Astrakhan toutes les relations commerciales de ses sujets avec Khiva et la Boukharie; mais ce projet ne s'exécuta pas, d'un côté, parce que les Asiatiques ne le trouvaient pas avantageux pour eux, et de l'autre, parce que son exécution menaçait d'une ruine complète Orenbourg, Troïtsk et toutes les mines de cuivre et de fer établies dans leurs environs.

Au reste les intentions du gouvernement russe, relativement au commerce avec l'Asie centrale, ne l'empêchèrent pas de soutenir, par tous les moyens possibles, le commerce d'échange avec les Kirghiz; il ne se faisait d'abord qu'à Orenbourg; on l'ouvrit ensuite à Troïtsk, et en 1764, au fort de Sémipalatinsk. Ce dernier fort fut désigné pour cet objet, à la prière du sultan Aboulfenze, fils du célèbre khan Aboul-Mahmet, et frère de Polate, khan du Turkestan. Il commandait dans la Moyenne-Horde à la puissante race de Naïmane: il était indépendant; mais il campait sur les anciennes terres des Zungars, ce qui lui avait fait rechercher la protection du bogdo-khan. N'ayant jamais juré fidélité à la Russie, ni entretenu de relations avec elle, il put envoyer sans dissimulation aux autorités des frontières de Sibérie un ancien respectable pour réclamer en faveur de ses sujets la liberté de commercer avec les Russes à Sémipalatinsk: ce qui lui fut immédiatement accordé.

A cette époque le sultan Ablaï demanda au gouvernement russe qu'on lui envoyât dix cultivateurs afin d'instruire ses Kirghiz à l'agriculture. Catherine ordonna de satisfaire à cette demande, après avoir pris à Ablaï de sûrs otages pour garantir la liberté des Russes qu'on lui envoyait.

Le khan Nourali, fier de ses relations avec l'armée des Afghans et la Chine, écrivit en 1764 directement à l'impératrice, tant pour l'informer de l'invitation qui lui avait été faite par tous les musulmans de l'Asie centrale, de prendre part à la guerre contre la Chine, que pour lui faire connaître la réception distinguée qu'avait eue son ambassade à Pékin. Ces deux circonstances enflaient sa vanité, et dans ses rêves sur

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son importance, il crut pouvoir exiger plusieurs concessions qu'on lui avait déjà refusées. Cependant ses exigences réitérées n'eurent pas plus de succès que ses premières demandes. On lui envoya de Russie des remerciments pour les nouvelles qu'il avait données sur les Afghans; on y joignit quelques présents avec une réponse aussi polie que peu satisfaisante. Cependant sa horde ne se tenait pas tranquille, et continuait ses incursions, tantôt contre les Kalmouks du Volga, tantôt contre les habitations russes situées sur la frontière, sans renoncer pour cela à ses dissensions accoutumées, qui ne méritent pas une description détaillée. Ce fut ainsi qu'elle passa les années 1765 et 1766. En 1767, les troupes russes les punirent d'une manière sensible, en poursuivant les brigands jusqu'au milieu de la horde.

Il n'y a pas de doute que ce châtiment n'eût violemment irrité Nourali; cependant, comme il avait besoin des bonnes grâces de Catherine, il dissimula longtemps son ressentiment. Craignant qu'après sa mort la dignité de khan ne passât dans une autre famille, il demanda qu'on lui désignât, de son vivant, un successeur ou lieutenant, et que le gouvernement russe élevât solennellement à cette nouvelle dignité son fils aîné le sultan Ichim. Ce désir était nouveau, mais n'était pas en opposition avec les vues de la Russie. Il est vrai qu'elle pouvait désigner comme khan de la Petite-Horde quelqu'un des frères de Nourali, à son choix; mais comme on n'avait pas de raison alors pour les préférer aux autres sultans, et que l'impératrice Anne, en promettant à Aboulkhaïr de conserver la dignité de khan dans sa postérité, ne s'était fixée aucune règle pour le choix de ses successeurs, le vœu de Nourali pouvait être rempli. Les qualités particulières du sultan Ichim n'étaient pas un obstacle à l'accomplissement des intentions de son père. Il fallait seulement savoir si la création d'un lieutenant du khan ne causerait pas de mécontentement aux Kirghiz, et s'ils ne refuseraient pas de reconnaître leur chef futur. Il était aussi nécessaire de savoir quelles étaient les dispositions

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personnelles d'Ichim pour la Russie, et si cette nouveauté ne serait pas pour elle la source de quelques conséquences désagréables. On ordonna de faire à la horde même des recherches sur tous ces points, et d'en envoyer le résultat à Pétersbourg. Les autorités d'Orenbourg répondirent qu'après la mort de Nourali, la dignité de khan devait, selon l'usage des Kirghiz, passer à un de ses frères et non à un de ses fils; le ministère répondit que la loi de succession dans la vie privée ne pouvait s'appliquer à la succession au titre de khan; car ce titre passait toujours d'un homme à un autre, par le choix du peuple. Au reste, pour éviter les murmures et les dissentions, on décida de porter les Kirghiz à choisir d'eux-mêmes le sultan Ichim pour lieutenant du khan, et à confirmer ensuite le choix du peuple.

Pendant qu'on faisait des recherches à ce sujet, et que les correspondances continuaient, vint l'année 1771; la désertion des Kalmouks fit oublier les affaires des Kirghiz, non-seulement au gouvernement, mais aux Kirghiz eux-mêmes, comme nous le verrons plus bas; c'est pourquoi le projet du khan Nourali, pour faire élever son fils à la dignité de lieutenant, demeura sans exécution.

Il aurait pu atteindre son but, si la mort de son fils, arrivée en 1769 à Orenbourg, où on le gardait en otage, ne l'eût vivement chagriné, et ne l'eût poussé à une opiniâtreté pardonnable à un père, mais désagréable au gouvernement russe. C'était le second fils qu'il perdait à Orenbourg, et tous les deux étaient morts enfants. Attribuant leur mort au défaut de soins, il ne voulut aucunement donner un nouvel otage pris parmi ses enfants; et lui-même refusa de se rendre à Orenbourg, lorsqu'il y fut invité plusieurs fois par l'autorité, pour des conférences. Des différends qui s'élevèrent entre lui et ses frères vinrent augmenter ses chagrins. L'envie causée par les marques d'attention que leur donnait le gouvernement russe, en les employant plus que lui et avec plus de succès dans ses relations avec la Petite-Horde; enfin le dépit de sa

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propre faiblesse; tous ces sentiments le troublaient, lui ôtaient le pouvoir d'agir de sangfroid, et en excitant son arrogance, éloignaient la cour de Pétersbourg de la pensée qu'elle avait eue d'augmenter sa puissance sur les Kirghiz-Kazaks: mesure que l'on avait regardée un moment comme indispensable. De cette manière Nourali en vint au point qu'on commença à lui témoigner moins de considération; malgré les querelles de ses frères avec lui, on leur envoya des sabres en récompense de leur zèle, et sa demande d'appointements fixes par an fut mise de côté. On lui refusa même la permission d'envoyer des députés à Pétersbourg; on ordonna de ne faire aucune attention à son entêtement sur l'article de l'otage, en lui déclarant toutefois que la Russie saurait maintenir sans cela les Kirghiz dans l'obéissance[1]. On écrivit la même chose, dans cette année, au sultan Ablaï, qui, espérant recevoir de la Russie plusieurs avantages et priviléges, offrit de donner un de ses fils en otage, et voyant ensuite qu'on ne pouvait satisfaire à la plupart de ses demandes, refusa, sous des prétextes imaginaires, d'exécuter ce qu'il avait proposé de lui-même.

Le renouvellement des incursions de la Petite-Horde sur la frontière d'Orenbourg, en 1770, allait lui attirer encore un châtiment[2] de la part du gouvernement russe; elle ne dut le bonheur de l'éviter qu'à la désertion des Kalmouks du Volga, qui fit prendre une autre direction aux affaires. Ce changement donna une autre destination aux troupes russes, qui, d'ennemies qu'elles étaient des Kirghiz, devinrent leurs alliées. Nous allons maintenant donner l'historique de cet événement[3]. Le pays des Kalmouks, ou plus exactement des Torgoutes,

[1] Oukase du collége des affaires étrangères, du 16 mars 1770.

[2] Le gouverneur d'Orenbourg, Reinsdorg, reçut le 10 janvier 1771 un rescrit de l'impératrice pour envoyer des troupes dans la steppe des Kirghiz, afin de punir les bandits et de délivrer les prisonniers.

[3] Nous regardons comme étant de notre devoir d'avertir nos lecteurs que la description de la fuite des Torgoutes et de la bataille qu'ils livrèrent aux Kirghiz est tirée de deux bonnes sources; savoir: 1° du Journal du capitaine Rytchkof, envoyé avec les troupes russes à la poursuite des fuyards, sous le commandement du

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dont les sectes vivent en nomades aujourd'hui sur la rive droite du Volga, dans le gouvernement d'Astrakhan, était situé dans les possessions actuelles de la Chine, à l'occident. Ils le quittèrent à cause des attaques continuelles de leurs voisins les Zungars, dont la puissance n'avait cessé de croître depuis le commencement du XVIIe siècle, et qui menaçaient de les soumettre entièrement. Le manque de forces pour se venger de leurs ennemis, et la crainte de tomber un jour dans leurs fers, portèrent les Torgoutes à quitter leurs anciennes possessions, et à se retirer à l'occident.

Ils vinrent en 1636 en Russie, et le tzar Mikhaël Féodorovitch, les ayant reçus au nombre de ses sujets, leur donna pour pâturages de vastes terres sur les deux rives du Volga.

Après la conquête de la Zungarie par les Chinois, en 1756, et la destruction de la plupart de ses habitants, leurs faibles restes, au nombre de dix mille tentes, toutes composées des races de Derbet, de Khoïte et de Khochoute, se souvinrent de leurs compatriotes du Volga, et oubliant leur ancienne inimitié, ils se réunirent à eux sous le commandement de Chérène, un des plus zélés compagnons d'armes du prince zungar Amoursane, que nous avons déjà fait connaître.

Chérène et les Kalmouks, ses sujets, des trois races que nous avons nommées, apportèrent de la Zungarie des sentiments et des désirs entièrement différents de ceux qu'avaient les Torgoutes, depuis cent vingt ans qu'ils habitaient la Russie. Les premiers étaient habitués aux guerres civiles et aux combats, et les derniers à la paix, que troublaient quelquefois les pillages des Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Les premiers aspiraient secrètement à se venger des Chinois qui les avaient chassés d'une patrie qu'ils espéraient reconquérir par les armes; les seconds habitaient la terre où ils étaient nés, et où ils jouissaient de la paix. Selon l'ordre

général Traubenberg; 2° la Description de cette fuite par le prince chinois Taichi, ouvrage dont nous devons la traduction à M. Lipotsof. (Voyez le Nouvelliste Sibérien, 1820.)

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des choses, il semblait que ces nouveaux sujets de la Russie, fatigués par les malheurs d'une longue guerre, venant se réunir à un nombre bien plus considérable d'anciens habitants du Volga, consentiraient avec joie à demeurer toujours en lieu de sûreté. L'immense espace qui séparait le Volga de la Zungarie, la réunion de ce pays à la Chine, la barbarie avec laquelle il avait été ravagé par les troupes du bogdo-khan, contribuaient à fortifier l'opinion, qu'il était impossible aux Kalmouks venus en Russie, de jamais retourner dans leur patrie; mais l'expérience prouva le contraire. Chérène et ses compagnons les Derbets, les Khoïtes et les Khochoutes, non-seulement ne renoncèrent pas au désir d'aller vivre en nomades sur leurs anciennes terres, mais ils le firent naître encore dans le cœur de leurs compatriotes nés en Russie.

Ayant répandu divers bruits sur les soi-disant mauvaises intentions et même sur des projets barbares formés par le gouvernement russe contre les Kalmouks, Chérène et ses turbulents complices réussissent à se rendre maîtres de l'esprit faible et crédule d'Oubachi, chef des Kalmouks. Il mit à profit les différends qui existaient entre lui et les autorités russes les plus voisines; il le flatta de l'espoir de changer son titre de sujet pour celui de souverain indépendant, et il réussit enfin à l'engager à se retirer dans l'ancienne Zungarie, à travers les steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Le bas peuple, effrayé par ces bruits, et écoutant avec une aveugle superstition les instigations de son clergé, ne put opposer de résistance. Oubachi prit son parti, et après avoir tenu conseil avec les princes et les lamas (prêtres), on fixa l'époque du départ pour le moment où le Volga se couvrirait de glace. Cette disposition était nécessaire, parce que, quoique Oubachi lui-même se trouvât sur la gauche du fleuve, une grande partie des Torgoutes se trouvaient sur la rive droite, et ne pouvaient se réunir à lui, avec ce qu'ils possédaient, qu'en passant sur la glace.

Cette circonstance est cause qu'aujourd'hui encore une

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grande partie des habitants d'Astrakhan est composée de Kalmouks; car l'hiver de 1770 ayant été chaud, les rivières de la Russie méridionale ne gelèrent pas, et Oubachi, après avoir inutilement attendu jusqu'au mois de janvier la réunion des Kalmouks de la rive droite, fut obligé de les abandonner et de partir seulement avec ceux qui se trouvaient sur la gauche.

Ils partirent le 5 janvier, au nombre de trente mille tentes[1].

Comme ils approchaient du Jaïk, le gouverneur d'Orenbourg avertit le khan Nourali qu'ils allaient attaquer les Kirghiz-Kazaks. En conséquence il lui conféra, au nom du gouvernement suprême, le droit de les combattre et de leur enlever autant de butin qu'il pourrait, à condition de les faire ensuite revenir dans leurs premières habitations en dedans de nos frontières. Le gouvernement des frontières de Sibérie transmit le même avis à la Moyenne-Horde, par le sultan Ablaï et d'autres chefs. Pour confirmer ces déclarations, on donna, le 27 janvier 1771, une lettre patente impériale au nom de Nourali et de tout le peuple kirghiz, afin de retenir les Torgoutes.

Toute espèce d'instigations ou de conseils était superflue pour l'accomplissement de semblables dispositions. Chaque Kirghiz regardait comme un bonheur particulier la possibilité de contribuer à leur exécution; et animés d'une haine violente contre toutes les races de Kalmouks, héritage de leurs pères et de leurs aïeux les plus reculés, ils se hâtaient d'aller les combattre et les dépouiller. En moins d'un mois, les hordes kazakes furent sous les armes, et toute l'étendue du pays, depuis les bords du Jaïk jusqu'aux frontières de la Chine, fut couverte de troupes de guerriers attendant avec impatience l'apparition d'un peuple, qu'ils brûlaient d'immoler aux injures qu'ils en avaient reçues et aux inimitiés que soulevaient contre lui son nom seul et son origine. Nourali répondit à la lettre patente que, non-seulement il était prêt à se conformer

[1] C'est ce que dit le Journal de Rytchkof; mais le Dictionnaire géographique de l'empire de Russie n'en met que vingt-huit mille cent soixante-deux.

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aux désirs du gouvernement russe, mais qu'il s'était déjà mis en marche avec ses sujets contre les fuyards. On reçut en même temps la nouvelle qu'Ablaï et sa horde étaient prêts au combat. Aïtchouvak et d'autres sultans écrivaient dans le même sens, et Kaïp, qui avait été khan à Khiva, et qui habitait dans la Petite-Horde depuis son expulsion par ses sujets, promit de se réunir aux troupes russes. A l'orient des steppes des Kirghiz, les Kalmouks étaient attendus par les sultans Aboulfenze, fils d'Aboulkaïr-khan, et Erali, sultan de la Grande-Horde, et enfin, par les Kirghiz sauvages, ou Bouroutes, qui surpassaient tous les peuples voisins en audace et en férocité.

Quelle effroyable série de combats ne devaient pas soutenir les Torgoutes! Quel enchaînement d'attaques, de meurtres et de pillages se présentait sur leur route jusques aux bords de l'Ili où ils voulaient se rendre, voyageant, non comme une armée toujours prête à combattre, mais traînant avec eux leurs femmes, leurs enfants, leurs troupeaux et tous leurs biens!

On destina sur le champ plusieurs détachements de troupes russes pour contenir les Kirghiz-Kazaks, mais différentes circonstances les empêchèrent d'agir de manière à répondre à l'espoir du gouvernement; on perdit dès lors tout espoir de retenir les Kalmouks, et l'armement de toutes les hordes kirghizes ne servit qu'à exterminer une grande partie des Torgoutes, sans contribuer en aucune façon à leur retour en Russie.

La première barrière qu'on aurait dû leur opposer, était l'armée des Kozaks de l'Oural (Jaïk), dont ils traversèrent les terres. Après leur passage on lui ordonna bien de se mettre à leur poursuite, mais alors elle se souleva et refusa ouvertement de quitter ses foyers.

Un second détachement était composé de Kozaks d'Orenbourg. Il entra dans la steppe des Kirghiz et se réunit au khan Nourali dans la première moitié de février; mais les chevaux étaient tellement épuisés par le manque de nourriture, que ce

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détachement resta en arrière et fut enfin obligé de passer en Russie.

On destina des troupes régulières pour le remplacer. Le même manque de fourrages dans les steppes au delà de l'Oural pendant l'hiver, et la perte d'un temps précieux en correspondances et en préparatifs, furent cause que ce corps, sous le commandement du général-major Traubenberg, ne sortit de la forteresse d'Orsk que le 12 avril. Il avait ordre de se joindre au khan Nourali et d'atteindre les Kalmouks sur l'Irtych, mais il n'arriva sur cette rivière que quand ils étaient déjà sur la Tourgaï. Ayant perdu, de cette manière, la possibilité d'agir autrement que sur les derrières des fuyards, les Russes réunis aux troupes de Nourali [1] et de Kaïp [2], marchèrent rapidement à la poursuite des Torgoutes. Aux environs des monts Oulou-Taou, la disette et les mauvaises eaux répandirent parmi les soldats les maladies d'enflure; les chevaux se fatiguèrent et commencèrent à périr en grand nombre. Cependant les fuyards s'éloignaient de plus en plus, et l'impossibilité de les atteindre devenait de jour en jour plus évidente. Enfin, le général Traubenberg fut obligé de tourner de l'orient au nord, et de revenir en Russie par le fort d'Ouïsk, comme étant le point de la frontière le plus proche.

Les Kirghiz-Kazaks seuls ne pouvaient retenir les Kalmouks, et ils n'en avaient pas besoin. Ils remplirent mieux le but de leur coopération par leurs attaques sans cesse répétées, leurs pillages et l'enlèvement d'un grand nombre de prisonniers. Le sultan Aïtchouvak en battit une partie sur le Saghiz; Nourali fit éprouver un violent échec à une autre partie vers l'orient; il remporta sur eux, en outre, plusieurs victoires près des monts Mougodjar et sur l'Ichime. Ablaï les com-

[1] Nourali, dans cette occasion, fit parade de son dévouement à la Russie en présence du chef des troupes russes, et se plaignit qu'on ne lui eût pas demandé de secours pour la guerre de Prusse et celle de Turquie.

[2] Ce fut à peu de distance des lacs Aksakal-Barbi que Nourali opéra sa jonction avec les troupes russes, et Kaïpe sur le Karaganly-Tourgaï, à sept cent cinquante-quatre verstes du fort d'Orskaia.

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battit toujours avec succès. Il agit de concert, en quelques endroits avec le sultan Aboulfenze, et leurs forces réunies causèrent un tort immense aux Kalmouks, surtout par le nombre des prisonniers qu'ils firent sur eux.

Erali, sultan de la Grande-Horde et en même temps paladin de la cour de Pékin, invita plusieurs fois Ablaï à se réunir à lui contre les Kalmouks. Celui-ci lui refusa son secours, ce qui ne l'arrêta pas dans l'exécution du projet qu'il avait formé. Erali trouva d'autres alliés et fit éprouver aux fuyards de grandes pertes en hommes, en bestiaux et en objets mobiliers. Nous avons vu les détails de cet événement dans la description historique de la Grande-Horde.

Délivrés enfin des Kirghiz-Kazaks, les Kalmouks tombèrent entre les mains des Bouroutes, et le mal que ceux-ci leur firent dépassa de beaucoup tout ce qu'ils avaient eu à souffrir auparavant, surtout pour ce qui regarde la perte en prisonniers. Les Bouroutes, aussi avides que féroces, les poursuivirent jusqu'à la frontière de la Chine, jusqu'à la nouvelle ligne établie sur les terres des Zungars, sur lesquelles Oubachi entra, non, comme il l'avait imaginé en quittant le Volga, en souverain indépendant, mais en humble sujet qui veut sauver sa vie. Il n'amena à la Chine que moins de la moitié des Kalmouks qui avaient quitté la Russie avec lui; les autres périrent en route.

En 1773 et 1774 la révolte de Pougatchef agita violemment les provinces du sud-est de la Russie. Les contrées que baigne l'Oural, presque depuis sa source jusqu'à son embouchure, furent les plus exposées, parce que les Kozaks du Jaïk furent les premiers complices du faux Pierre, et les Bachkirs, ses premiers alliés. Les troupes qui formaient la garde des frontières furent réunies dans les principaux forts pour les défendre contre les rebelles, et les frontières restèrent sans défense. Personne ne pouvait les mettre à couvert des incursions des ennemis extérieurs, car chacun songeait à se soustraire à l'ennemi du dedans infiniment plus dangereux. C'est pourquoi on eut raison de craindre alors que les Kirghiz

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ne se réunissent aux rebelles, qu'ils n'entrassent dans l'empire et qu'ils ne pillassent et ne ruinassent toutes les habitations de la frontière. Cela n'arriva pas parce que les Kozaks du Jaïk et les Bachkirs qui composaient l'armée de Pougatchef étaient ennemis des Kirghis-Kazaks.

Au reste si cette haine les empêcha de se réunir pour marcher dans l'intérieur, elle ne mit pas les frontières à l'abri des pillages accoutumés et des incursions que la Petite-Horde répéta souvent pendant la révolte de Pougatchef.

Nous voyons par un rapport du commandant qui se trouvait alors dans la ville d'Yaïsk (aujourd'hui Ouralsk), que Nourali arma un assez grand nombre de ses sujets, mais qu'il ne fit aucun mouvement, attendant dans le voisinage de la frontière l'issue des affaires. On pourrait supposer, d'après les assurances qu'il donna et le zèle qu'il mit à l'extradition de quelques rebelles qui avaient fui, que son intention était de prendre parti pour le gouvernement légitime, cependant les autorités locales craignaient vivement que, dans le cas où la fortune deviendrait favorable au chef de l'insurrection, Nourali ne se réunît à lui.

D'après cette circonstance, et pour punir plusieurs incursions partielles faites sur les frontières par les Kirghiz, pendant la révolte, le gouvernement d'Orenbourg envoya, en 1774, après la défaite des rebelles, un corps de troupe contre la Petite-Horde; ces troupes réussirent à reprendre un grand nombre de prisonniers, enlevèrent beaucoup de bétail, et firent sentir à ces audacieux bandits la puissance de la Russie.

A cette même époque eut lieu, dans l'intérieur de la Petite-Horde, un événement qui mérite de fixer l'attention : quelques tribus de Turkomans, qui vivaient en nomades aux environs de la mer Caspienne, se choisirent pour khan le sultan Pirali, second fils de Nourali. Le nouveau souverain ayant aussitôt quitté son père, vint habiter au milieu de ses nouveaux sujets sur la route qui conduit de Khiva à Saraïtchik

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et Gourief. Il s'y fit bientôt connaître par les droits considérables qu'il prélevait sur les caravanes marchandes.

En 1775, les Kirghiz-Kazaks n'inquiétèrent pas la Russie. La Petite-Horde resta tranquille, parce qu'elle sentait vivement les suites du châtiment que lui avaient infligé les troupes russes l'année précédente. La Moyenne-Horde donna des soupçons pendant quelque temps, parce que le bruit se répandit qu'Ablaï, profitant des derniers troubles des Bachkirs, leur avait envoyé des exprès pour les engager à passer sous sa domination; mais les recherches que l'on fit prouvèrent que ces bruits étaient faux.

Dans les mois de juin et d'octobre de cette même année, quelques anciens et sultans indépendants d'Ablaï envoyèrent des députés au commandant de la ligne de Sibérie, pour proposer d'être reconnus sujets russes. Dans le nombre se trouvait le fils du khan Aboul-Mahmet, Aboulfeïs, qui avait demandé qu'on lui assignât des appointements annuels; le fils et le neveu d'Ablaï sollicitaient la même chose.

L'impératrice Catherine en ayant reçu le rapport répondit par un rescrit du 25 mai 1776, au nom du gouverneur d'Orenbourg, comme administrateur principal des affaires des Kirghiz, que les propositions particulières de se faire recevoir comme sujets, de la part des Kirghiz de la Moyenne-Horde, n'étaient fondées que sur le désir d'obtenir des présents; qu'elles étaient complétement inutiles, car toute la horde s'é-s'était reconnue sujette de l'empire dès le règne de l'impératrice Anne; que la satisfaction accordée à de pareilles demandes ne ferait qu'en produire de nouvelles; que la fixation d'appointements annuels deviendrait pour le gouvernement une obligation, et habituerait les Kirghiz à considérer comme un devoir ce qui était l'effet de son indulgence; qu'en conséquence il valait beaucoup mieux se les concilier par des présents non fixés. Ces idées prouvent une profonde connaissance du caractère des Kirghiz; elles étaient le fruit d'une expérience de quarante-six ans, depuis 1730 à 1776.

Irmazar-Maksioutof, ambassadeur boukhare, qui vint en

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Russie en 1775, dans les conférences qu'il eut sur les moyens de mettre à l'abri de tout danger le commerce de caravanes entre la Russie et la Boukharie, renouvela l'idée de bâtir une ville russe dans le steppe des Kirghiz, à l'embouchure de l'Emba. Le gouvernement russe se montra prêt à exécuter ce projet [1]; cependant il resta sans exécution, comme tous ceux que l'on avait faits auparavant.

L'on voit dans les rapports des mois de mars et d'avril 1776, du gouverneur d'Orenbourg, Reinsdorf, à l'impératrice, que la Petite-Horde avait recommencé des actes d'hostilités contre la Russie, et que, quoique après l'entrée des troupes russes dans les steppes, en 1774, il eût été défendu aux chefs des frontières d'envoyer des troupes au delà de l'Oural, cependant le khan Nourali lui-même avait demandé des secours armés pour mettre à la raison ses sujets turbulents.

Le sultan Ablaï, au contraire, devenait alors de jour en jour plus puissant, plus âgé, plus rusé, et ayant plus d'expérience qu'aucun des princes kirghiz contemporains; connu par son esprit, redouté par le nombre de ses sujets, illustré par ses liaisons avec l'impératrice de Russie et le bogdo-khan de la Chine [2], il réunissait tous les droits possibles à la dignité de chef de la Moyenne-Horde. Sûr de son mérite, il savait s'attirer des partisans par son importance et sa conduite prudente. Il menaçait ses ennemis de sa puissance, et se reconnaissant selon les occasions, tantôt sujet de la Russie et tantôt de la Chine [3], il était par le fait un souverain entièrement indépendant ; on put surtout le remarquer après l'année 1771, lorsqu'il chercha moins à conserver les apparences d'une soumission extérieure envers la Russie, et que devenu moins hypocrite il prit ouvertement le titre de khan.

[1] En conséquence de l'oukase donné à ce sujet le 17 décembre 1775, le géodésiste Vassilief leva la carte des environs de l'Emba et des rivières qui s'y jettent.

[2] Le plus connu d'entre eux était sultan Dair, fils de Barak, qui se plaignit au gouverneur d'Orenbourg qu'Ablaï usurpait injustement le titre de khan.

[3] Quelques Kirghiz qui venaient sur nos frontières assuraient qu'Ablaï parlait chinois.

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Le gouvernement russe lui demanda de quel droit il avait pris le titre de khan; il répondit hardiment qu'il l'avait acquis par ses victoires sur les Torgoutes, et après la mort d'Aboul-Mahmet, par le choix non-seulement des hordes kirghizes mais encore par celui des habitants du Turkestan et de Tachkent; ajoutant qu'à l'exemple de ses aïeux indépendants et des khans ses prédécesseurs, il voulait vivre à Turkestan, près du tombeau de Khodja-Akhmet [1]. Il était trop tard alors pour rappeler à Ablaï les obligations d'un sujet fidèle. Il fallait au moins soutenir dans les hordes l'opinion qu'on ne pouvait devenir khan dans l'une d'elles sans le consentement de la Russie; l'impératrice ordonna d'expédier à Ablaï un officier, pour l'engager en particulier à demander la confirmation de sa nouvelle dignité par le gouvernement russe.

Il consentit à cette proposition, et promit d'envoyer à Saint-Pétersbourg son fils, le sultan Tougoume.

Le 25 novembre 1777 on lui fit déclarer officiellement le consentement de l'impératrice à sa demande, s'il l'adressait par écrit et non de vive voix; on ordonna, dans le cas contraire, de renvoyer son fils de la frontière à la horde.

Ablaï ne fit pas la moindre difficulté d'adresser une demande écrite; en conséquence le sultan Tougoume, qui l'apporta à Saint-Pétersbourg, fut très-gracieusement reçu, et son père fut confirmé khan par un diplôme, le 22 octobre 1778.

On expédia ce diplôme à Orenbourg, accompagné d'une pelisse de robe, d'un sabre et d'un bonnet; on invita Ablaï à s'y rendre pour les recevoir et pour prêter serment à Orenbourg, à Troïtsk ou sur la ligne de Sibérie; mais ayant refusé de venir, le gouvernement russe consentit à ce qu'il prêtât serment à la horde en présence d'un officier russe, qui lui remettrait ensuite ces objets. Ablaï ne voulut pas prêter un nouveau serment de fidélité, même à cette condition. Il croyait que la demande qu'on lui faisait de ces marques exté-

[1] Les Kirghiz regardent Khodja-Akhmet, enterré à Turkestan, comme le plus grand saint après Mahomet.

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rieures de soumission avait pour but de le rendre suspect aux Chinois, auxquels il était alors particulièrement attaché. C'est pourquoi toutes les propositions que lui fit la Russie furent sans succès, et le diplôme et les marques de la dignité de khan restèrent au fort de Pétropavlofsk, vis-à-vis lequel il demeurait dans la maison que le gouvernement russe lui avait fait bâtir.

La désobéissance d'Ablaï devint plus patente lorsque, le gouvernement russe ayant décliné la demande d'un secours en hommes pour faire la guerre aux Bouroutes, il refusa ouvertement de rendre les prisonnniers russes qui se trouvaient à sa horde, ainsi que les Turkomans, que les Kalmouks dans leur fuite avaient emmenés du gouvernement d'Astrakan, et qui étaient restés chez les Kirghiz-Kazaks. Le gouvernement, justement irrité de l'audace et de l'insolence d'Ablaï, lui retrancha ses appointements, et chercha à l'abaisser en soutenant contre lui quelqu'un des sultans ses ennemis. On avait déjà pris des mesures à cet effet. On crut même un instant le faire prisonnier et l'envoyer dans l'intérieur de la Russie. Mais il rassembla des troupes à cette époque, attaqua les Bouroutes, leur fit éprouver un violent échec, leur prit des otages, et retourna vivre en nomade dans les environs du Turkestan.

Pendant qu'il y demeurait, il bâtit à son fils, le sultan Hadil, une maison entourée d'un rempart sur la petite rivière de Talach, près des monts Oulou-Taou; à la prière des Kirghiz de la Grande-Horde, qui lui étaient soumis, il fonda tout auprès un village qu'il peupla de Karakalpaks habitués à l'agriculture. Quant aux Bouroutes qu'il avait faits prisonniers, il les fit passer au nord de la Moyenne-Horde, où ils vivent encore aujourd'hui avec leurs enfants, et y composent la tribu de *Djany* ou *Iany-Kirghiz*, qui veut dire *Nouveaux-Kirghiz*.

En 1781 Ablaï revenait vers les frontières russes, mais il mourut en chemin, âgé de soixante-dix ans, et fut enterré à Turkestan. Aussitôt que cette nouvelle fut arrivée à Pékin, le gouvernement chinois envoya à la horde un officier de dis-

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tinction, qui réunit la famille du défunt et fit célébrer avec pompe en sa présence un service funèbre.

Ainsi se terminèrent les relations d'Ablaï avec la Russie. Quoique la désobéissance de ce prince, dans les dernières années de sa vie, fût ouverte, elle n'eut cependant aucune suite importante. La Petite-Horde dont le khan paraissait alors entièrement dévoué à la Russie, ce qu'il prouvait par sa conduite, incommodait beaucoup plus les frontières en continuant ses incursions et ses brigandages accoutumés. L'impératrice avait, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, défendu en 1775 d'envoyer des troupes au delà de l'Oural pour châtier les Kirghiz, et quoique non-seulement les autorités d'Orenbourg, mais le khan lui-même, eussent sollicité de nouveau l'emploi de cette mesure en 1776, cependant elle ne fut pas suivie; le gouvernement suprême ayant pris le parti de remplacer la sévérité par la douceur. Ce système si favorable aux Kirghiz ne dura pas longtemps; leurs brigandages forcèrent à le changer. Nourali lui-même avoua une seconde fois l'urgence absolue de la punition des coupables. En conséquence, le 4 octobre 1779, l'impératrice ordonna au gouverneur d'Orenbourg, par un rescrit, non-seulement de poursuivre les bandits à main armée, mais comme autrefois de s'emparer de leurs parents en cas de besoin, ou même de leurs voisins, afin que les familles de ces voisins fissent leurs efforts pour livrer les coupables, ou au moins pour faire rendre les Russes retenus prisonniers.

Selon la tradition, la partie méridionale de la Moyenne-Horde éprouva, après la mort d'Ablaï, un terrible échec de la part de la Grande-Horde, qui l'attaqua et lui enleva beaucoup de bétail. Ceux qui avaient souffert ne restèrent pas en repos, et se vengèrent de leurs ennemis. La partie septentrionale de la Moyenne-Horde ne participa point à ces représailles. Cette horde choisit pour succéder à Ablaï son fils Vali, qui, mettant du prix à la protection de la Russie, ne voulait pas se brouiller avec elle; en conséquence il lui demanda la confirma-

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tion de sa nouvelle dignité. Sa demande fut accordée, et en 1782 il fut proclamé khan de la Moyenne-Horde par le lieutenant général Jacobs, dans le fort de Pétropavlofsk. Les cérémonies observées dans cette circonstance furent les mêmes que celles que le gouvernement russe observe à chaque installation de khan. Nous en avons déjà parlé.

L'élection de Vali par les Kirghiz sujets d'Ablaï, et sa confirmation par la Russie, n'empêchèrent pas un autre khan de paraître dans la même horde. Il fut choisi par la race de Naïmane et confirmé par le bogdo-khan de la Chine. Les descendants des anciens Naïmanes, qui se sont fondus dans la masse du peuple kirghiz actuel obéissaient, du temps d'Ablaï, au sultan Aboulfenze, fils d'Aboul-Mamhet, et frère de Poulate, khan du Turkestan; et quoiqu'il eût quelques relations avec les autorités d'Orenbourg, et qu'il eût même demandé des appointements, il était cependant sujet de la Chine. Il mourut en 1783, laissant un fils nommé Boupou, et un beau-fils, le khan Khodja, fils de Barak, que nous avons fait connaître. Un de ces princes devait hériter du pouvoir d'Aboulfenze; mais chacun d'eux avait ses partisans, qui ne pouvaient s'accorder sur le choix, et qui, par leurs querelles, mirent en mouvement toute la race des Naïmanes. La pluralité des voix ayant été en faveur du khan Khodja, ce prince devint souverain des anciens sujets d'Aboulfenze, et les troubles furent terminés. L'empereur de la Chine l'ayant appris, lui envoya par un de ses grands officiers le diplôme de khan. Le ministère de Pékin regarda cette mesure comme nécessaire, parce qu'il considérait toute la Moyenne-Horde comme sujette de la Chine, et qu'il nommait Ablaï, prince chinois. Voyant que son fils Vali se donnait à la Russie, il se hâta, pour la dignité de l'empire, de le remplacer par un autre prince kozak qui fût soumis.

A l'exception de Vali, les autres fils et les proches parents d'Ablaï eurent peu de relations avec la Russie. Quelques-uns se reconnurent hautement sujets de la Chine.

Ce fut la conduite que prit le sultan Tchinghiz, qui, en

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1784, vint avec une armée levée dans les steppes, pour apaiser une révolte qui s'était déclarée à Tachkent. Un autre frère du khan Vali, le sultan Tyz, aussi dévoué à la Chine, ne nous est connu que par sa haine contre les Bouroutes.

Tyz n'attaqua pas seul ses sanguinaires voisins : plusieurs sections ou branches de Kirghiz-Kazaks, qui habitaient près des frontières de la Chine, continuèrent à soutenir contre les Bouroutes la guerre commencée par Ablaï : mais les Bouroutes, accoutumés à des combats continuels, n'étaient pas faciles à vaincre. Les Chinois éprouvèrent aussi plusieurs fois les effets de leur valeur, et furent quelquefois battus par eux ; il n'est donc pas étonnant que le sultan Tyz, qui les attaqua imprudemment avec une poignée de monde, eût été battu et fait prisonnier. Il ne sortit de prison qu'à des conditions humiliantes, et en donnant des esclaves qui lui appartenaient.

L'ancien Berdy-Khoja eut encore plus à souffrir des Bouroutes[1] ; gouvernant la partie de la Moyenne-Horde qui vit en nomade près des frontières de la Chine, il combattit souvent les Kirghiz sauvages, et obtint sur eux de fréquents succès. En 1785 il remporta une victoire assez importante, mais qui fut la dernière. Agissant comme auxiliaire de l'armée chinoise, qui se dirigeait contre eux des bords de l'Ili, il marcha rapidement des bords de l'Aiagouz, et leur fit supporter un échec terrible. Encouragé par ce succès, il se mit de nouveau en marche avec un petit nombre des siens, et arrivé sur le Jidisse, il s'y arrêta pour attendre des renforts. Les Bouroutes, profitant de sa faiblesse, l'attaquèrent la première nuit, le battirent et le firent prisonnier. Le malheureux ancien, au désespoir, connaissant les mœurs de ses ennemis, ne pouvait plus se promettre de bonheur pour l'avenir et dans la résolution de hâter sa mort, il massacra un des Bouroutes qui le

[1] Ce même Berdy-Khoja vint au mois de juillet 1785 au fort de Semipalatinsk, et communiqua aux Russes les notions que nous avons données ici sur les fils d'Ablaï et sur les Bouroutes. Elles furent imprimées pour la première fois dans le *Sibirski Vestnik*, livre III, année 1820, où nous les avons puisées.

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conduisaient au chef de sa tribu. Les autres ne purent supporter l'idée de laisser un instant cette action impunie. Ils s'arrêtèrent en chemin, et mirent à mort Berdy-Khoja de la manière la plus barbare. Ils lui coupèrent la tête, les pieds et les mains, puis ils lui ouvrirent le ventre et y mirent tous les membres coupés.

La vengeance qu'on tira de cet exécrable assassinat prouva que si les Kirghiz le cédaient en valeur aux Bouroutes, ils ne leur cédaient pas en férocité. Ak-Kaiak, frère de Berdy-Khoja, et ses fils Lépes et Tchoka, réussirent, dans un combat heureux contre les Bouroutes, à faire prisonnier le fils de leur ancien, et à l'amener dans leur aoul. Là, les femmes de Berdy-Khoja se jetèrent sur le malheureux prisonnier. Chacune d'elles voulait le tuer; c'était à qui lui ferait le plus de blessures, et il expira enfin sous leurs coups.

Revenons à la Petite-Horde: elle fut pendant dix ans, de 1781 à 1791, l'objet des soins du gouvernement russe à beaucoup d'égards. Ces soins avaient surtout pour but d'y rétablir le bon ordre et la tranquillité; mais ils n'obtinrent aucun succès, et on se trouva dans la nécessité de recourir souvent aux armes pour punir les bandits qui, au mépris de toute espèce de remontrance, ne cessaient de faire des incursions sur la frontière d'Orenbourg.

Ayant pris la ferme résolution d'introduire chez les Kirghiz un ordre quelconque, et d'en venir ensuite peu à peu à des règlements fixes, l'impératrice Catherine prescrivit, en 1782, 1° d'établir à Orenbourg une administration particulière pour les frontières, sous le nom d'expédition des frontières, dont le devoir serait d'employer tous les moyens possibles pour exécuter les intentions bienveillantes de sa majesté envers les Kirghiz-Kazaks; 2° elle abolit la défense de laisser entrer le bétail des Kirghiz en dedans de la ligne, pour passer l'hiver[1]; 3° elle recommanda sévèrement aux chefs de veiller constam-

[1] Au reste, il est bon de remarquer que, malgré cette défense, les Kirghiz

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ment et avec fermeté au maintien de la justice, voulant qu'ils accordassent aux Kirghiz toute la protection et tous les secours possibles[1]; 4° on donna de grandes sommes d'argent pour construire sur les frontières d'Orenbourg et de Sibérie, des mosquées auxquelles on joignit des écoles et des caravansérails.

En réunissant tous ces établissements sur les points principaux de la frontière, l'impératrice se proposait non-seulement de rapprocher les Kirghiz des Russes, mais encore d'adoucir leurs mœurs.

Soins et dépenses, tout fut inutile; car les Kirghiz ne montrèrent pas la moindre envie de se civiliser. L'année suivante (1783) ils firent tant de mal par leurs incursions, qu'il fut impossible de ne pas employer la force armée pour les punir; en conséquence, au mois de février 1784, on envoya au delà de l'Oural un détachement de trois mille quatre cents soixante-deux hommes de troupes, qui, n'ayant pas trouvé les coupables, s'empara, pour se faire rendre les prisonniers, de quarante-trois Kirghiz qui n'avaient pris aucune part aux derniers brigandages; leurs parents, exaspérés de cette injustice, se jetèrent aussitôt sur la rive droite de l'Oural, pour se venger. Indépendamment de cette attaque, les habitants des frontières furent ruinés sur d'autres points, par les Kirghiz qui pillaient, non par vengeance, mais par amour du pillage[2]. Un certain Syrym Batyr se distinguait parmi eux; nous le signalerons bientôt comme un homme choisi pour être l'instrument des révolutions les plus importantes chez les Kirghiz. En attendant nous dirons que ses brigandages et ceux de ses partisans obligèrent les Russes d'envoyer, au commencement de 1785, deux

passaient souvent l'Oural en cachette et venaient hiverner avec leurs bestiaux dans les steppes d'Astrakhan.

[1] Cette volonté de l'impératrice Catherine est écrite de sa main, le 27 décembre 1782, sur le rapport du chef d'Orenbourg, lieutenant général Apoukhtine.

[2] En 1784, les Kirghiz firent prisonniers 176 Russes, et 175 en 1786; de plus, combien n'en ont-ils pas tués?

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détachements de troupes au delà de l'Oural : le premier, composé de deux mille sept cent soixante hommes, fut expédié de l'Oural vers les sources de l'Emba ; le second, de douze cent cinquante Kosaks, se dirigea d'Ouralik vers l'embouchure de cette même rivière. Les neiges empêchèrent ces troupes d'agir conformément à leurs instructions; cependant cette expédition ne fut pas entièrement inutile : elle s'empara de deux cent treize femmes et enfants, pour le rachat desquels on rendit un grand nombre de Russes faits prisonniers auparavant.

On comprend que de semblables circonstances n'étaient pas de nature à faire fleurir le commerce de caravane entre la Russie et l'Asie centrale. Depuis longtemps on ne croyait plus aux promesses des khans de défendre les caravanes. Une longue expérience avait fait connaître leur faiblesse; on ne pouvait espérer de ramener de longtemps les brigands à la raison; c'est pourquoi on chercha les moyens d'établir par les armes la sûreté du commerce. On se proposa, dans ce but, de bâtir des forts sur les rivières d'Emba et de Témir, et des défenses sur la route de ces deux points à Iletsk, ou de ne faire qu'une seule fortification à Manghichlak, sur la mer Caspienne, et d'expédier les caravanes de Gourief par cette mer; et d'Orenbourg à Gourief, elles auraient suivi en toute sûreté la route le long de la ligne de Nijne-Ouralsk.

Un de ces projets ne fut pas exécuté, en partie à cause des difficultés extraordinaires qu'il y avait à surmonter, et en partie parce que les anciennes routes du commerce présentaient aux Khiviens et aux Boukhares de grands avantages; quoique les nouvelles fussent plus sûres, cependant elles n'étaient pas encore entièrement à l'abri des attaques.

La commission des frontières d'Orenbourg gouvernait les affaires des Kirghiz, ou pour mieux dire elle prenait connaissance de toutes les relations du gouvernement avec ce peuple, mais elle ne pouvait examiner les différends particuliers qui s'élevaient entre les habitants des deux côtés de la ligne; l'im-

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pératrice, pour y remédier, conçut le projet d'établir un tribunal aux opérations duquel les Kirghiz prendraient la même part que les Russes, et qui leur servirait d'école de justice. C'était au moins ce que pensait Catherine, en signant, le 2 mai 1784, l'oukase pour la formation du tribunal de frontières. Il était composé, sous la présidence de l'ober-commandant d'Orenbourg, de deux employés, deux marchands, et deux paysans russes; un sultan et six anciens kirghiz, un député des Bachkirs et un des Meschériaks. Son devoir consistait à prendre connaissance des affaires litigieuses et criminelles qui pouvaient avoir lieu entre les Kirghiz et les habitants des frontières.

On ordonna d'ouvrir en même temps que cet établissement, dont on attendait les plus grands avantages, les mosquées et les écoles pour les enfants kirghiz [1]. Les mosquées furent terminées à Orenbourg et à Troïtsk, en 1785; à la réception de cette nouvelle, Catherine ordonna [2] de bâtir sans tarder dans les mêmes emplacements les écoles et les caravansérails ou marchés d'échange.

Les soins persévérants que cette souveraine prenait de l'état des Kirghiz étaient guidés par son extrême attention aux affaires, et la connaissance parfaite de la véritable situation de ses sujets à demi sauvages. Leurs éternels brigandages ne la détournèrent pas de l'intention de leur donner le goût d'une bonne organisation, parce que, d'un côté, elle leur pardonnait avec justice beaucoup de traits d'insolence, comme à des hommes qui n'avaient aucune idée des avantages d'un ordre public; d'un autre côté son esprit pénétrant ne tarda pas à découvrir que les incursions des Kirghiz n'étaient souvent que de justes représailles du tort et des violences qu'ils éprouvaient de la part des Russes de la frontière, sans parler des Bachkirs, qui, au mépris de toutes les défenses, passaient souvent l'Oural et ruinaient leurs ennemis.

[1] 2 mai 1784.
[2] 3 septembre 1785.

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Beaucoup d'incursions, en effet, furent le fruit de la vengeance; cependant les audacieuses entreprises d'un puissant ramas de brigands, qui se rassembla, en 1784, près des frontières, n'appartiennent pas au nombre de celles qui furent provoquées. Cette bande se composait de trois mille hommes, sous les ordres de Batyr-Syrym, dont nous avons parlé; elle menaça longtemps plusieurs forts de la ligne d'Orenbourg, et enfin, cette bande audacieuse réussit à faire éprouver un échec considérable au fort de Tanalytskoï et à un corps de troupes envoyé contre elle.

En 1785 commença, dans l'administration intérieure de la Petite-Horde, une révolution très-remarquable pour l'historien, et très-curieuse pour la politique. Le but dans lequel elle fut entreprise tenait au plan conçu par Catherine et son ministère, d'établir la paix chez les Kirghiz. Nous allons décrire les moyens qu'employèrent les autorités locales pour atteindre un résultat si désirable. Le baron Igelstrom, nommé alors à la place de gouverneur général d'Orenbourg et de commandant de toute la frontière russe, depuis la mer Caspienne jusqu'au gouvernement de Tobolsk, trouva la Petite-Horde dans une violente agitation, et les frontières des provinces qui lui étaient confiées, en danger. Des troupes de Kirghiz armés, parcourant la rive gauche de l'Oural, faisaient sans cesse craindre quelque attaque, et ne permettaient pas aux paysans de s'occuper des travaux de la campagne; et là où ils en trouvaient l'occasion, ils enlevaient les hommes, pillaient et emmenaient les bestiaux. Le détachement commandé par Batyr-Syrym se montrait encore plus audacieux.

Son attaque sur le fort de Tanalytskoï fut un des premiers événements qui eurent lieu après l'arrivée du baron Igelstrom à Orenbourg. Profitant de cette circonstance, le khan Nourali se hâta d'informer le nouveau gouverneur, que tous les brigandages se commettaient par des Kirghiz qui méprisaient ses ordres; que, non content de méconnaître son autorité, Syrym soulevait contre lui toute la horde; et que, pour

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prévenir de plus grands désastres, tant pour la Russie que pour les Kirghiz, il était indispensable de punir les rebelles par les armes, et d'éloigner de la horde les fauteurs du désordre. Le khan concluait comme auparavant en reconnaissant sa faiblesse et en demandant du secours pour ranger les bandits à leur devoir.

Tout cela était juste; mais on n'y fit pas attention, parce qu'on ne croyait pas, à Orenbourg, à la sincérité de Nourali, et l'autorité nouvelle, prévenue contre lui, regardait le rétablissement de la tranquillité comme impossible dans la horde, sans changer son administration ou au moins sans un nouveau khan.

Le premier sur qui s'arrêta le baron Igelstrom, pour le choix d'un nouveau khan, fut Kaïp, fils du sultan Batyr, qui avait régné à Khiva, et en avait été chassé pour sa rapacité et sa cruauté. Nous avons plusieurs fois parlé de lui ainsi que de son père. Le gouvernement suprême ne pouvait ignorer les actes d'hostilité qu'avait commis ce sultan contre les Russes, ni sa conduite à Khiva; aussi son élection fut-elle remise jusqu'au moment où on aurait réussi à rassembler sur son compte des notions détaillées[1]; et en définitive elle n'eut pas lieu[2]. Kaïp fut présenté deux fois pour cette dignité. Sa première présentation avait eu pour cause deux projets composés par le baron Igelstrom, qui s'était fermement décidé à introduire dans la Petite-Horde une nouvelle forme de gouvernement.

Dans l'un de ces projets, il proposait de partager la horde en trois parties, selon le nombre de ses races, qui sont celles de Sénirodsk, de Baïouline et d'Alimoul, et de donner un khan à chacune, en limitant l'autorité de ces nouveaux chefs, de manière à ce qu'ils ne portassent qu'un titre honorifique, et ne fussent, en effet, que les exécuteurs des ordres du chef suprême du gouvernement d'Orenbourg.

[1] Rescrit de l'impératrice au baron Igelstrom, du 25 novembre 1785.
[2] Rescrit semblable du 12 novembre 1786.

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L'autre projet consistait à abolir entièrement la dignité de khan dans la Petite-Horde, et à étendre peu à peu sur elle l'effet du code donné par Catherine pour l'administration des gouvernements.

Cette dernière pensée ayant été puisée dans un des ouvrages chéris de l'impératrice, et en même temps l'un des plus remarquables, fut particulièrement approuvée et confirmée à Saint-Pétersbourg.

On ne s'arrêta pas à réfléchir sur la possibilité ou l'impossibilité de mettre cette mesure à exécution, parce que l'administration d'Orenbourg, l'ayant proposée elle-même, devait avoir les moyens de l'accomplir.

Ayant reçu l'approbation de la cour, le baron Igelstrom commença à l'instant à introduire le nouvel ordre de choses.

Sa première démarche eut des conséquences qui s'accordaient parfaitement avec le résultat qu'il ambitionnait.

Il envoya par toute la horde, sans l'intermédiaire du khan, des déclarations solennelles, dans lesquelles, sans parler du khan ni des sultans, il engageait les anciens et le peuple à former une assemblée, pour s'entendre sur les moyens de maintenir l'ordre dans la horde, et de vivre dans l'obéissance due au gouvernement russe; il leur conseillait de renoncer au brigandage, aux incursions, d'attendre le pardon que leur mériterait leur repentir, ou de sévères punitions pour les crimes qui troublaient l'ordre public. Ces déclarations détruisirent presque entièrement les derniers restes de la faible puissance du khan. Beaucoup de Kirghiz, partisans du khan, l'abandonnèrent, se réunirent à ses ennemis, et tous ensemble formèrent une assemblée nationale, où il ne se trouva aucun sultan, et à laquelle Batyr-Syrym, dont nous avons parlé, présida deux fois en qualité de chef.

La confiance que le peuple montra à Syrym, dans cette circonstance, est très-commune, et s'accorde parfaitement avec les idées des Kirghiz sur la grandeur d'âme; mais, qui ne s'étonnera pas de la considération qu'obtint à Orenbourg cet

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homme qui, un an auparavant, avait été chef d'une troupe de brigands, à la tête de laquelle il avait attaqué les troupes et les forts russes?

Toutes les actions de Syrym prouvent que c'était un homme d'un esprit vaste, mais inquiet, remuant et vindicatif; d'ailleurs d'un caractère entreprenant, qui se trouve rarement chez un peuple à demi sauvage. Après s'être illustré parmi les bandits, il ne tarda pas à se distinguer au conseil réuni pour rétablir la tranquillité générale, lorsqu'il crut y voir pour lui des avantages nouveaux et brillants. Ennemi irréconciliable du khan, non pas tant à cause de ses différends particuliers avec Nourali que par l'envie que lui inspiraient les priviléges héréditaires qu'il tenait de sa naissance, Syrym chercha à persuader l'inutilité de la dignité de khan, et à suppléer en lui au manque d'aïeux illustres par le mérite personnel. L'assemblée nationale, sous son influence, prêta, sans la moindre opposition, serment de fidélité à l'impératrice de Russie, promit de cesser ses incursions, d'employer ses efforts à maintenir la paix dans la horde, et d'obéir à tous les ordres du gouvernement russe; mais elle demandait pour gage de la protection de la Russie que les descendants d'Aboulkhaïr, sans excepter Nourali lui-même, perdissent à jamais le droit d'être khans de la Petite-Horde.

Peut-on ne pas reconnaître dans cette demande l'ambitition de Syrym? Nourali et ses frères étaient de mauvais chefs par leur faiblesse, et non par leur cruauté; ils ne pouvaient donc s'être attiré la haine de toute la horde, au point de l'obliger à regarder leur éloignement du pouvoir comme indispensable à son repos. Le gouvernement fit alors même cette remarque; il ne dépendait plus de lui de changer le cours des affaires, parce que l'idée de l'abolition de la dignité de khan avait été adoptée longtemps auparavant. En outre les dispositions pacifiques de l'assemblée nationale, et la conduite rusée de Syrym, paraissaient favorables au rétablissement de la tranquillité dans la horde.

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En effet l'année 1786 se distingua de toutes les autres, et particulièrement des deux précédentes, par le calme qui régna pendant sa durée, et par l'augmentation des relations entre les Russes et les Kirghiz. Il est vrai qu'il y eut aussi quelques désordres provenant de l'abaissement dans lequel étaient tombés tous les sultans, et surtout les descendants d'Aboulkhaïr; cependant cela n'empêche pas de remarquer que ce fut en 1786 et 1787 qu'eurent lieu sur la ligne les plus grands échanges en bestiaux[1], et que, dans l'espace de ces deux années, on enleva sur la frontière moins de prisonniers que dans les treize années qui s'écoulèrent du commencement de 1782 à 1794[2]; de même, en 1786, jusqu'au moment où on déporta Nourali de la horde, après avoir fixé à Oufa le lieu de son exil, et jusqu'à la détention de son frère Aïtchouvak à Ouralsk, ses sujets délivrèrent un assez grand nombre de Russes de l'esclavage. Cette même année, quarante-cinq milles tentes hivernèrent en dedans des frontières russes, et repassèrent l'Oural au printemps, sans s'être permis la moindre infraction à la paix.

Ces premiers effets du nouveau système d'administration de la Petite-Horde ne pouvaient manquer d'être agréables,

[1] Voyez la table que nous avons placée à l'article statistique sur la quantité de bétail échangé par les Kirghiz avec les Russes depuis 1745 jusqu'en 1820.

[2] Nous plaçons ici, comme pièce justificative, la table suivante pour ces treize années.

Les Kirghiz firent prisonniers, sur la ligne qui s'étend du fort de Zvérinogolofskaïa jusqu'à Gourief, en 1782..... 34 hommes.

1783.....	21
1784.....	176
1785.....	175
1786.....	12
1787.....	2
1788.....	43
1789.....	53
1790.....	90
1791.....	34
1792.....	40
1793.....	60
1794.....	42

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et à l'impératrice qui désirait ardemment d'établir l'ordre chez les Kirghiz, et au chef suprême de la frontière, qui marchait au but qu'on lui avait marqué, d'après les conseils de sa souveraine, et qui voyait la possibilité de lui plaire en assurant la prospérité de tout un peuple. Rempli de ces pensées, le baron Igelstrom oublia non seulement l'ancienne conduite de Batyr-Syrym, mais il le prit sous sa protection spéciale, le choisit pour l'instrument de ses opérations, entretint avec lui une correspondance immédiate, et eut des conférences avec lui, comme s'il eût été le chargé d'affaires ou le représentant de toute l'assemblée nationale. Le khan informé de ces détails écrivit que Syrym était un fourbe qui le trompait; qu'il ne pensait aucunement à rétablir le bon ordre, mais qu'il songeait uniquement à ses propres intérêts; qu'il attribuait à l'assemblée entière ses propres opinions; que, dans son âme, il était l'ennemi juré de la Russie, etc. Le temps justifia ces accusations; mais venant de la bouche d'un souverain faible et humilié, et dans des circonstances qui démentaient formellement ces accusations, elles ne pouvaient paraître justes; aussi les laissa-t-on en oubli. Il est vrai que Nourali y joignait quelques marques non équivoques de son dévouement à la Russie : car il renvoya à cette époque quelques prisonniers russes qu'il avait délivrés à la horde; il proposa ses enfants en otage, et se remit lui-même à la disposition du gouvernement; mais il était trop tard. Ce n'était plus sa soumission personnelle dont on avait besoin; on voulait la force du pouvoir ou du génie, seule capable d'agir sur la horde.

Syrym avait déjà acquis cette force par son esprit, par son influence sur le peuple, et par la protection des autorités de la frontière; il promettait donc en apparence plus d'avantages que le khan, qui, pendant trente-sept ans, n'avait montré que de la faiblesse. Le sort de ce malheureux prince était digne de pitié; mais, d'après l'opinion formée sur son compte, et le système adopté, le baron Igelstrom ne trouvait plus possible de le garder à la horde; il demanda donc la permission de le

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faire venir en Russie, et l'ayant reçue[1], il mit d'autant moins de retard à en profiter, qu'il se présenta bientôt une occasion d'en faire usage.

Les partisans de Syrym, autant pour lui plaire que pour satisfaire leur propre avidité, ne se contentèrent pas de commettre envers lui toutes sortes d'insolences; ils finirent par attaquer les aouls et par piller tout ce qui s'y trouvait. Nourali, sans défense, eut recours à la puissance de la Russie, et demanda aux autorités de la frontière une garde armée; se voyant refusé, il se décida, afin de sauver sa vie, à se retirer pour un temps à Orenbourg; de cette ville, il fut transporté à Oufa, où il mourut au bout de quatre ans. Son frère Aïtchouvak fut détenu pendant ce temps là à Ouralsk.

Il est inutile de décrire les impressions que ces événements produisirent sur les enfants de Nourali et les autres descendants d'Aboulkhaïr. L'aîné, et le plus connu, par son esprit et sa valeur, était le sultan Erali, qui, comme nous l'avons vu, avait eu de fréquentes relations avec la Russie; mais, six ans auparavant, il avait fait la conquête des Karakalpaks, et vivait avec eux sur le Syr[2]. Il connaissait parfaitement le principal auteur des malheurs de ses frères; il savait ce qui leur avait fait perdre la protection de la Russie, dont Aboulkhaïr et sa race avaient joui plus d'un demi siècle. Jaloux de venger les griefs de sa famille, il résolut d'attaquer Syrym, et marcha contre lui avec une armée peu nombreuse, mais sur laquelle on pouvait compter. La fortune favorisa le sultan Erali dans cette expédition. Il fit prisonnier le représentant de l'assemblée nationale, titre que se donnait Syrym.

A cette même époque d'autres tribus de la Petite-Horde, qui n'étaient pas attachées à la famille d'Aboulkhaïr, mais qui ne voulaient pas non plus suivre les impulsions de Syrym ni de ses principaux complices, accoutumées d'ailleurs à avoir des khans,

[1] Par un rescrit de l'impératrice, du 3 juin 1786.

[2] Bektchourine, interprète d'Orenbourg, traversant le Syr en 1781, y trouva déjà le sultan Erali souverain des Karakalpaks.

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élevèrent plusieurs fois à cette dignité Kaïp, dont nous avons déjà parlé. Une troisième partie de la horde ne voulait pas reconnaître Kaïp; mais elle prétendait, comme ses sujets, que les Kirghiz-Kazaks devaient avoir un khan; que leurs aïeux l'avaient trouvé nécessaire, et qu'ils ne voulaient pas s'écarter d'un usage consacré par le temps. C'est pourquoi ils demandèrent ou le retour de Nourali, ou un autre khan à sa place. Pendant ce temps là, Syrym était toujours prisonnier d'Erali.

Les circonstances ébranlèrent la fermeté du chef d'Orenbourg, et le baron Igelstrom, dans la crainte de laisser les Kirghiz se livrer à de nouvelles dissensions, demanda la confirmation de Kaïp comme khan de toute la Petite-Horde. L'impératrice pensait tout différemment: ayant une fois pris la résolution d'introduire dans les steppes, au delà de l'Oural, une forme de gouvernement d'accord avec l'organisation des provinces de l'intérieur, elle ne voulait pas changer de plan sans une nécessité indispensable, et elle répondit, avec sa fermeté accoutumée, par un refus formel au baron Igelstrom, le 12 novembre 1786.

Sans examiner le bien ou le mal que pouvait produire l'autorité du khan chez les Kirghiz, nous nous bornerons à dire qu'après toutes les déclarations faites à la Petite-Horde, en 1785 et 1786, l'exil de Nourali en Russie, et beaucoup d'autres mesures prises pour introduire chez les Kirghiz une nouvelle forme de gouvernement, Catherine ne pouvait, sans faire tort à sa grandeur, renoncer à un plan à peine essayé, et par conséquent sa réponse était beaucoup plus conforme à la dignité de l'empire que la proposition du gouverneur d'Orenbourg.

Au reste, quand même l'impératrice eût consenti au rétablissement de la dignité de khan, elle n'aurait pas préféré Kaïp aux autres sultans qui avaient beaucoup plus de droits que lui. Plusieurs circonstances s'opposaient à l'accomplissement de ses vues ambitieuses: 1° on fit alors même rapport à Orenbourg, qu'habitant sur le Syr, après son expulsion de Khiva,

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il avait souvent pillé les caravanes, et avait témoigné une haine ouverte à la Russie [1]; 2° un second obstacle venait de la promesse donnée par l'impératrice Anne à Aboulkhaïr de ne choisir les khans que parmi ses successeurs; 3° Nourali avait dans son parti, non-seulement ses parents, mais encore les plus puissants princes de la Moyenne-Horde, parmi lesquels tenait le premier rang le sultan Khoudaï Mendi, aussi distingué par son esprit que par le grand nombre de ses partisans, et l'autorité qu'il s'était acquise sur eux.

Prenant beaucoup de part au sort de Nourali, et s'intéressant vivement pour lui auprès du gouvernement russe [2], Valikhan écrivait la même chose et défendait avec chaleur les descendants d'Aboulkhaïr, qu'il nommait le père de tous les khans kirghiz soumis à la Russie, et le premier auteur de la soumission de la Petite et de la Moyenne-Horde [3]; enfin, en 1787, une grande partie de l'assemblée nationale, par respect pour la mémoire d'Aboulkhaïr, regardé comme un saint par beaucoup de Kirghiz, témoigna le désir de revoir Nourali à la horde. Toutes ces circonstances parlaient en faveur de Nourali, mais ne promettaient pas la tranquillité parmi les Kirghiz pour l'avenir; aussi on n'en poursuivit pas moins l'exécution des dernières intentions du gouvernement russe, pour introduire dans la Petite-Horde une organisation conforme à celle des gouvernements de l'intérieur.

Cependant Batyr-Syrym recouvra sa liberté et commença à influencer de nouveau le peuple, d'accord avec les projets des autorités d'Orenbourg, qu'il seconda tant qu'elles ne furent pas contraires à ses vues. Sous l'apparence du dévouement à la Russie et de la reconnaissance pour l'autorité locale qui l'avait choisi pour son instrument, Syrym aida beaucoup le baron Igelstrom dans les réformes qu'il fit dans la Petite-Horde, en 1787, et que nous allons décrire.

[1] Voyez les rapports du baron Igelstrom, des 23 septembre et 15 octobre 1786.
[2] Voyez le rapport du baron Igelstrom, du 18 décembre 1786.
[3] Voyez un autre rapport du baron Igelstrom, du 29 septembre 1787.

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La plus importante est l'établissement de tribunaux sous le non de *rasprava*. On ouvrit deux de ces raspravas dans les races d'Alimoul et de Baïouline, à cause du nombre de ceux qui les composent; la race de Semirodsk n'en eut qu'une. Chaque rasprava était composée d'un président et de deux membres, qui étaient obligés de se réunir tous les jours, d'examiner, tous présents, les suppliques qu'on leur adressait, d'y donner leurs décisions, de faire satisfaction aux offensés et aux opprimés, et de laisser aux mécontents la faculté de demander appel au tribunal de la frontière, siégeant à Orenbourg; mais comme les membres de ces tribunaux ne savaient pas lire, toute la partie des écritures fut confiée à un mollah, ou secrétaire, qui se trouvait attaché à chaque tribunal avec un aide; son devoir était de marquer les papiers qui entraient, de les inscrire au journal, de composer les notes, les protocoles, de faire les interrogatoires, de tenir les registres, d'établir, d'inscrire les heures d'audience, de composer les rapports, les communications, les ordres : le tout selon les formes données par le gouvernement d'Orenbourg.

En outre, dans chacune des trois races de la Petite-Horde, on choisit un ancien principal et quelques-uns de seconde classe pour veiller à la conduite du peuple.

Batyr-Syrym, qui appartenait à la race de Baïouline, fut choisi pour l'un des trois principaux anciens.

Tous ceux qui furent élus pour remplir pendant les trois premières années les places que nous avons nommées, furent appelés à prêter serment de servir avec fidélité; ensuite ils furent confirmés [1] par l'impératrice, et on leur assigna des appointements considérables, tant en blé qu'en argent.

Après ce commencement, le baron Igelstrom, qui regardait, sur les assurances de Syrym, l'établissement de la tranquillité comme indubitable dans la Petite-Horde, se dis-

[1] La décision préliminaire de l'impératrice sur l'ouverture des raspravas fut donnée au baron Igelstrom par un rescrit du 3 juin 1786, et la confirmation des anciens nommés aux places, le 7 décembre 1787.

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posait déjà à bâtir, au milieu des steppes, des villes, des mosquées, des caravansérails et des écoles. Il en fit son rapport à l'impératrice, et il projetait de se conformer en tout à l'organisation des gouvernements de l'intérieur, et aux règlements publiés en Russie pour l'instruction publique.

Cet espoir flatteur et consolant ne dura pas longtemps : dès l'année suivante, 1788, il commença à s'affaiblir, et bientôt il s'évanouit entièrement. Le peuple, accoutumé dès longtemps aux agitations et aux brigandages, dégoûté de son inaction, renouvela ses anciennes dissensions, poussé d'un côté par les parents de Nourali, d'un autre, par Kaïp, et d'un troisième, par Batyr-Syrym. Les partisans de celui-ci étaient les plus nombreux et les plus remuants; les sultans ne pouvaient avoir aucun pouvoir sur eux, parce qu'ils n'en étaient plus respectés. Les anciens choisis pour surveiller la conduite du peuple, et les chefs des tribunaux, n'avaient aucune autorité, n'osaient commander, et suivaient le torrent qui les entraînait.

A ces circonstances intérieures s'en réunirent d'autres qui agissaient du dehors. Les Turcs, alors en guerre avec la Russie, cherchaient à exciter les Boukhares contre les Russes; les Boukhares soulevaient la Petite-Horde, et ce fut dans ce but qu'ils proposèrent d'abord à Erali des secours pour reprendre de vive force le khan Nourali; ensuite ils entrèrent en relation avec Syrym, et lui envoyèrent, ainsi qu'à ceux de sa race, un appel écrit conçu en ces termes :

« Aux braves guerriers, beys et anciens, Sarytaï-bey, Syrym-Batyr, Choucourali-bey, Sadyrbek, Barak-Batyr, Dajdane-Batyr, paix et bénédiction; et ensuite nos paroles. Gloire au Dieu très-haut! par sa sainte grâce, toutes nos affaires coulent heureusement; nous n'avons qu'une douleur. Il n'y a pas longtemps est venu vers nous un ambassadeur du souverain Turc, vicaire de Dieu, avec une lettre qui nous informe que, les infidèles Russes s'étaient rassemblés de tous côtés, et que, s'étant réunis à sept états chrétiens, ils s'étaient mis en marche.

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Et comme vous demeurez plus près des Russes que nous, et que, par conséquent, vous savez mieux les combattre, alors nous proposons à tous les serviteurs de Dieu, et aux sectateurs de Mahomet qui espèrent en la protection de notre prophète, de se réunir à l'armée turque, de biens et d'esprit, et d'aller frapper les infidèles; chose pour quoi on peut recevoir une grande récompense. Et si quelqu'un manque, dans cette guerre, de faire tout le mal possible aux infidèles, celui-là a à craindre de Dieu une grande colère, et qu'il n'espère pas en la protection de notre prophète; au reste, nous prions de donner foi aux paroles de l'envoyé.

« Nous apprenons que vous, Kazaks, vous n'avez pas vos propres sages en gens savants, c'est pourquoi vous ne pouvez aucunement exécuter les lois de notre prophète. Et comme le Seigneur Dieu a ordonné de connaître sa science et de prier conformément à sa science, de tenir le carême et de faire l'aumône de son bien, alors la connaissance des lettres pour lire les livres appartient au service de Dieu. Il se trouve aujourd'hui parmi nous une source de sagesse; car de tous les peuples, et savoir des Ouzbeks, des Tadjiks, des Arabes et des Tourkhmènes, il s'en trouve beaucoup qui étudient dans nos écoles; et de vous, peuple si nombreux, il ne se trouve pas un seul écolier. Dans le Koran, notre prophète a prescrit que tout fidèle, non-seulement le mari et la femme, mais encore les petits enfants, étudiassent la loi et craignissent Dieu, et que, quand ils seraient en état, ils s'avertissent les uns les autres; et c'est pourquoi nous vous conseillons d'envoyer ici, de chaque tribu, deux ou trois hommes pour y être instruits. S'ils n'écoutent pas vos conseils, alors prenez par force, de chaque tribu, deux ou trois hommes : ils recevront de nous leur subsistance, et lorsqu'ils auront fini leurs études et qu'ils seront habiles dans la loi, ils reviendront dans leurs maisons avec des principes de piété et avec l'habitude de la prière et du carême. Et si vous, peuple kazak, ayant le moyen d'exécuter notre proposition, la laissez sans exécution, alors

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vous deviendrez dans ce monde traîtres à Dieu, et au jour de la résurrection vous brûlerez dans le feu de l'enfer. Si nous ne vous proposions pas cette vérité, nous mériterions nous-mêmes, dans ce monde, le nom d'infidèles, et nous nous exposerions, pour le monde futur, au feu éternel de l'enfer.

« Au reste, nous sommes avec respect, l'an de l'hégire 1202 (1788 de la nativité de J. C.). »

A cette lettre était apposé le cachet en noir de l'atalyk boukhare (premier ministre de Shah-Mourate).

Syrym, malgré ses liaisons avec les autorités d'Orenbourg, répondit à l'atalyk que lui-même et ses partisans étaient prêts à obéir aux commandements de Dieu, mais qu'ils ne pouvaient commencer la guerre que quand les Boukhares et les autres peuples asiatiques seraient entrés en Russie.

Cette démarche vint à la connaissance du gouvernement russe; on commença à soupçonner Syrym, à découvrir sa duplicité, et on perdit en lui toute confiance. Lui, de son côté, ne voulait pas souffrir d'abaissement, et quoiqu'il parût encore quelque temps dévoué, cependant il ne se montrait plus aussi disposé à seconder les vues du gouvernement d'Orenbourg; cependant ses partisans pillaient déjà les Russes comme autrefois. Les incursions sur les frontières augmentaient de jour en jour; les dissensions prenaient à la horde beaucoup plus de force; les sultans et une partie du peuple demandaient un khan; les anciens, chargés de veiller à la conduite du peuple, de même que les membres des tribunaux, n'exécutaient rien, ne s'assemblaient jamais, ne prenaient pas connaissance des affaires, ne venaient à Orenbourg que pour recevoir leurs appointements, et n'avaient aucune influence sur la horde.

Dans cet état de choses, il n'y avait plus rien à faire que d'en revenir à l'ancienne administration, et de rétablir la dignité de khan. Il se présenta un heureux prétexte pour ce rétablissement, lorsque Nourali, à sa mort, ordonna, par ses dernières volontés à ses enfants, de rester fidèles à la Russie.

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Le seul désir du gouvernement russe de désigner un nouveau khan pour la Petite-Horde fut un coup de foudre pour Syrym, et arracha le masque dont il se couvrait. Voyant ses plus chères espérances anéanties, et ayant perdu toute son importance, il n'avait plus la volonté ni le besoin de se contraindre; c'est pourquoi il en revint à ses premières occupations et recommença ouvertement ses brigandages.

Ce fut en 1790 qu'il commença à donner les preuves les plus fortes de sa haine; mais avant de les décrire nous croyons de notre devoir de rappeler quelques règlements faits par l'impératrice Catherine pour le bien des hordes, à l'époque où l'établissement de la tranquillité y paraissait possible et prochain.

Le 13 août 1786, à l'occasion de la demande que fit Khoudaï Mendy, sultan de la Moyenne-Horde, d'une concession de terres, il fut ordonné aux autorités des frontières, non-seulement de lui en délivrer à lui, ainsi qu'à ses sujets, mais encore de distribuer en pur don, à chaque famille qui désirerait s'établir, des secours en argent.

Le 15 juillet 1788, il fut permis de donner des terres aux Kirghiz-Kazaks qui se transporteraient en Russie, sans demander pour cela aucune décision.

Le 28 février 1789 on confirma le personnel des écoles kirghizes sur la ligne d'Orenbourg, et on fixa les appointements des maîtres et les dépenses de nourriture des élèves aux frais du gouvernement. On ordonna, en outre, de donner à leurs pères, comme encouragement, des feuilles d'éloge, des présents, etc.

Le 30 avril 1789, le baron Igelstrom reçut ordre de composer pour les Kirghiz-Kazaks un projet de constitution, basé sur les usages populaires, sur les mœurs et les lois orales.

Quoique la Russie eût déjà reconnu l'indispensable nécessité de rétablir la dignité de khan dans la Petite-Horde, cependant on n'en avait pas encore élu lorsque Syrym rompit toute

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espèce de liaison avec le gouverneur d'Orenbourg, et se déclara le premier ennemi des Russes. Non content de soulever ses compatriotes et d'attaquer les habitants de la rive droite de l'Oural, il chercha des secours en Boukharie; et, en 1790, il envoya à cet effet des affidés dans ce pays. L'atalyk du khan répondit que le secours serait expédié, mais dans quelque temps; et en attendant il lui conseilla de continuer ses incursions sur la frontière russe. Un des envoyés qui avaient reçu à Boukhara cette réponse fut ensuite fait prisonnier par les Kazaks de l'Oural, et donna lui-même, sur son ambassade, les détails les plus certains.

En 1791, au mois de mars, Syrym espérant engager toute la Petite-Horde à une irruption en Russie, convoqua, à l'embouchure de l'Emba, une grande assemblée nationale, et fit distribuer partout des lettres pour soulever la nation. Cette entreprise n'eut pas un plein succès, parce que les sultans et surtout les descendants d'Aboulkhaïr, informés des intentions de l'impératrice de rétablir parmi eux la dignité de khan, cherchaient à plaire au gouvernement russe. Quant aux incursions partielles, les adhérents de Syrym les continuèrent presque sans interruption pendant sept ou huit ans.

Les principales eurent lieu après l'élection du sultan Erali à la dignité de khan, accomplie en 1791, d'après l'ordre de l'impératrice. Ayant appris la mort de Nourali, elle ordonna le 29 janvier de nommer Erali son successeur, et de lui envoyer la patente de khan de la Petite-Horde, sans attendre aucunes représentations. En exécutant la volonté de sa souveraine, le chef de la province d'Orenbourg avertit sur-le-champ le fils d'Aboulkhaïr de l'honneur qu'on lui faisait, et l'invita à se rendre à la fin de l'été sur la frontière pour en recevoir l'investiture solennelle. Erali s'approcha de l'Oural au temps désigné, avec ses partisans, et le 4 septembre il fut proclamé khan à quinze verstes de la forteresse d'Orsk.

Voici comment eut lieu son élection : au jour et à l'heure désignés, le lieutenant général Péoutling, chef suprême du

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pays frontière d'Orenbourg, escorté d'un corps de troupes, se rendit vers les Kirghiz-Kazaks assemblés, et ordonna avant tout de leur lire le diplôme impérial, dans lequel il était dit qu'Erali était désigné khan, tant à cause de son mérite personnel que parce qu'il était le plus ancien de la famille d'Aboulkaïr; ensuite on engagea le peuple à procéder à l'élection selon ses anciens usages.

Dans ce même moment parurent des députés de Batyr-Syrym, du sultan Aboulghazy-Kaïp, et de quelques anciens, qui déclarèrent qu'ils ne consentaient pas à l'élection d'Erali: on leur répondit qu'il était désigné par la volonté de l'impératrice. Le lendemain, après la proclamation du khan, c'est-à-dire le 5 septembre, on choisit six députés que l'on envoya à Saint-Pétersbourg pour demander qu'il fût confirmé.

Le 6 septembre on reçut une lettre du khan de Turkestan, Pirali, fils de Nourali, dans laquelle ce prince, qui, dès l'année 1784, avait sollicité de passer sous la suzeraineté de la Russie, renouvelait sa demande. Sa lettre fut envoyée à Saint-Pétersbourg, et le 31 octobre de la même année on donna un oukase pour le recevoir comme vassal de l'empire.

Cependant Syrym découvrit de plus en plus son désir de venger l'anéantissement de sa puissance et la perte de l'influence dont il jouissait à la horde, dans le temps où l'on regardait la dignité de khan comme inutile. A cette époque la considération de ses compatriotes, qu'il devait à sa première importance et à sa bravoure personnelle, n'était pas encore entièrement perdue. Il avait encore assez de moyens de faire du mal à la Russie et aux sultans qui lui étaient dévoués, surtout quand il eut réuni les restes de son parti aux sujets de Kaïp, qui était mort peu de temps avant, et qui avait légué à ses enfants toute la haine dont il avait hérité de son père et de son aïeul, pour la postérité d'Aboulkhaïr. Après la mort de Kaïp, les Kazaks qui avaient reconnu son autorité passèrent sous celle de ses fils, les sultans Aboulghazy et Bourkane[1], Syrym fit alliance

[1] Leur troisième frère, Chirgazy, était alors au service de Russie; il vécut long-

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avec eux et sut, par la supériorité de son esprit, les rendre les instruments de ses desseins.

Ne pouvant se passer de leurs secours, Syrym cessa d'inspirer au peuple du mépris pour la dignité de khan en général, comme il faisait auparavant; mais il publia partout que l'élection d'Erali était illégale, prétendant que le baron Igelstrom avait conclu avec la Petite-Horde une convention par laquelle il avait promis, au nom du gouvernement, d'éloigner à jamais les descendants d'Aboulkhair de la dignité de khan. Employant contre la Russie toutes les armes possibles, il n'oublia pas d'appeler à son secours le Koran, en expliquant qu'il y est défendu aux musulmans de se soumettre aux puissances chrétiennes. Ce fut dans le même but qu'en 1791 il chercha à engager les Kirghiz à cesser leurs échanges avec les Russes, et si cela était possible, de se retirer dans l'intérieur des steppes; il répandit le bruit qu'il attendait l'armée boukhare que lui avait promise le khan de ce pays; il envoya son fils, en 1793, demander un semblable secours à Khiva, et quoiqu'il eût reçu un refus formel, il se vanta cependant du succès de son ambassade; il adressa, en 1792, à Péoutling, chef de la viceroyauté d'Oufa, une lettre de la dernière insolence, dans laquelle il ne se contentait pas de l'insulter par les expressions les plus grossières, il y attaquait aussi l'impératrice; enfin, dans sa rage, il déclara solennellement la guerre à la Russie. Les conséquences de cette déclaration furent quelques nouvelles incursions de brigands, faites par Syrym sur Ilezkoïgorodok, le fort Kalmouk, et quelques autres places de la ligne d'Iletsk.

Le khan Erali ne put mettre son ennemi à la raison; c'est pourquoi il réclama, en 1792, un envoi de troupes à la horde pour punir les coupables. L'impératrice n'accorda pas cette demande; méprisant avec raison la méchanceté de Syrym, elle

temps à Pétersbourg, s'habitua à l'éclat de la cour de Catherine et semblait être devenu Européen; mais de retour à la horde, au commencement de ce siècle, il se montra le digne descendant de ses sanguinaires ancêtres. On ne sait rien de remarquable sur ses autres frères.

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ne voulait pas verser le sang des Kirghiz, d'autant plus que l'échec violent qu'ils avaient éprouvé en 1790, au milieu de leurs steppes, de la part des Kozaks de l'Oural, n'avait nullement répondu à ses intentions humaines ni à l'attente du ministère.

Au milieu des agitations qui troublaient à cette époque la Petite-Horde, nous devons remarquer la demande que fit Erali, qu'on lui bâtit une maison près du fort d'Orsk, et celle du sultan Ichim, de la construction d'une ville au milieu des steppes. Les circonstances ne permettaient pas alors de satisfaire à cette dernière, mais celle d'Erali eût été accordée, s'il ne fût pas mort au mois de juin 1794, après avoir gouverné la Petite-Horde pendant trois ans.

Ce khan ne put se distinguer en si peu de temps et dans des circonstances aussi épineuses; mais son esprit, réuni aux dispositions qu'il avait de seconder le gouvernement russe dans ses vues, pouvait le rendre vraiment utile à son peuple.

A la réception de la nouvelle de sa mort à Saint-Pétersbourg, l'impératrice ordonna de s'informer auprès des Kirghiz de celui qu'ils désiraient avoir pour khan, mais surtout de reconnaître leurs dispositions à l'égard du sultan Ichim, fils aîné de Nourali, connu depuis longtemps pour son attachement à la Russie, et qui, autant pas ses qualités personnelles que par la considération du peuple, méritait d'hériter d'un rang qui avait appartenu à son père, à son aïeul et à ses ancêtres les plus reculés.

Les circonstances contribuèrent à donner plus de force à ses droits; la Petite-Horde s'était divisée en deux parties : la première, sous le nom du sultan Aboulghazi, obéissait à Syrym, son allié et son rival; Ichim gouvernait la seconde. La Russie ne pouvait compter sur la première, car ayant déjà eu beaucoup de mal à en souffrir, elle ne pouvait encore en attendre que des actes d'hostilités; la seconde partie comprenait les sultans et les anciens les plus attachés à la Russie; on ne pouvait donc l'empêcher de la préférer, ni se dispenser de donner des priviléges à son chef.

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Il faut cependant remarquer que même cette partie de la horde ne voulait pas choisir Ichim pour khan, sans conditions; elle demandait qu'il devînt souverain indépendant (autocrate); qu'il ne reconnût pas la suzeraineté de la Russie, et qu'à cet effet il se retirât dans le fond des steppes, vers le Syr-Daria. Ichim, habitué à fonder toutes ses espérances sur la protection des souverains russes, avertit lui-même l'autorité d'Orenbourg des demandes de son peuple, ajoutant que non-seulement les partisans de Syrym l'empêchaient de rechercher et de poursuivre les bandits, mais qu'en outre ils exigeaient de lui le koune, ou le payement de deux mille moutons, pour avoir, peu de temps auparavant, envoyé à Orenbourg deux Kirghiz connus par leurs brigandages. Cette sincérité d'Ichim et la promesse qu'il fit de ne pas s'éloigner des frontières russes portèrent le gouvernement à employer tous ses efforts pour le faire élire khan. A la mi-septembre 1795, ses partisans s'assemblèrent, d'après une invitation, près d'Orenbourg, et le 17 il fut élu et proclamé khan. Ils y jurèrent alors sur le Koran de vivre en paix entre eux, et de ne pas inquiéter les frontières russes.

L'élévation d'Ichim ne diminua rien de son attachement pour la puissance qui lui avait donné un nouveau titre. Devenu khan, il ne cessa de satisfaire, autant que possible, aux désirs du gouvernement russe, contre les vœux de son peuple, ce qui lui suscita beaucoup d'ennemis. Pour détourner les dangers que lui attirait la sévérité avec laquelle il recherchait les crimes, ainsi que les intrigues de Syrym et de ses partisans, l'impératrice Catherine se décida à lui envoyer un détachement de troupes pour le garder et pour l'aider en même temps à faire exécuter les sentences contre les coupables.

En outre on décida d'établir près de lui un divan ou conseil du khan, pour le seconder dans l'administration de la Petite-Horde. Les membres de ce divan, choisis par le peuple, parmi les sultans les plus distingués et les anciens, devaient exécuter les volontés du khan, l'assister, faire des représentations et ha-

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biter avec lui dans des maisons qu'on ordonna de leur construire dans les steppes sur le territoire de Taïssougane.

Ces projets ne purent s'exécuter parce que, au mois de novembre 1797, Syrym-Batyr attaqua Ichim près du poste fortifié de Krasnoïar, et l'ayant fait périr cruellement, il pilla tout ce qui lui appartenait.

Ce crime de Syrym épuisa la patience du gouvernement, mais où et comment le punir, à moins d'attirer le coupable en Russie? Sans doute on pouvait envoyer des troupes contre lui; la difficulté des recherches, l'entretien des troupes au delà des frontières, la perte des hommes par la faim et la soif, la destruction même des partisans de Syrym, ne promettaient pas encore le succès des poursuites qu'on entreprendrait : nous n'avons donc pas lieu de nous étonner que ce fameux brigand ait évité le châtiment de toutes ses attaques contre la Russie.

Au reste tous ceux des Kirghiz qui suivirent son exemple et pillèrent alors les frontières ne restèrent pas sans punition. Pendant l'hiver de 1797 à 1798, un fort détachement des Kozaks de l'Oural passa ce fleuve, et non-seulement battit les pillards, mais en échange des haras qu'ils avaient enlevés en Russie, il leur enleva plusieurs milliers de chevaux, qui furent distribués à ceux qui avaient eu des pertes à souffrir. Peu après ils furent attaqués par les Bachkirs, qui leur enlevèrent cinq mille chevaux.

On conçoit que les Kirghiz ne laissèrent pas ces deux pertes sans vengeance. Il en résulta de nouvelles incursions, de nouvelles représailles, et de nouvelles insultes de part et d'autre. Pour faire cesser ces désordres on établit sur les frontières des commissions composées de députés des peuples Bachkirs, Kirghiz, Kalmouks, ainsi que des Kozaks de l'Oural et d'Orenbourg. Ces commissions devaient examiner les plaintes qui leur viendraient de tous côtés, et y faire satisfaction autant que possible, et tâcher d'étouffer à jamais les demandes injustes ou impossibles à satisfaire.

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Ces commissions ne remplirent pas l'objet de leur réunion, et même ne se mirent presque pas en devoir de satisfaire aux obligations qu'on leur avait imposées, car personne ne parut au tribunal.

A cette époque, beaucoup de Kirghiz de différentes hordes demandèrent à s'établir pour toujours en Russie. On répondit à leurs demandes par un oukaze du 30 septembre 1797, par suite duquel douze mille tentes de la Moyenne-Horde seule se sont établies en divers lieux jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Le gouvernement de la Petite-Horde, après la mort d'Ichim, fut confié à un conseil composé du sultan Aïtchouvak, fils d'Aboulkhaïr, comme président, et de six conseillers, chaque tribu en ayant donné deux. Ils furent tous choisis par le baron Igelstrom qui, à cette époque, commandait pour la seconde fois dans le pays frontière d'Orenbourg, et avait de nouveau donné au gouvernement l'idée de la possibilité de maintenir les Kirghiz sans l'intermédiaire d'un khan. Ayant reçu de l'empereur Paul la confirmation de ses demandes, il fixa la rivière Khobda pour résidence perpétuelle du conseil, et l'ouvrit dans cet endroit par le mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, envoyé d'Orenbourg en 1797. Les conseillers prêtèrent serment de fidélité, et jurèrent de remplir leur devoir avec zèle, et le mufti resta lui-même quelque temps avec eux pour observer leur conduite. Sa surveillance fut bientôt inutile, parce que les nomades ne voulaient pas avoir de conseil, ne s'adressaient pas à lui dans leurs affaires, et demandaient un khan.

Pour se conformer à leurs désirs, on ordonna, cette même année de procéder à l'élection du successeur d'Ichim. La plus grande partie de la horde voulait élire le sultan Karataï, fils de Nourali; mais son dévouement à la Russie était douteux. Le sultan Aïtchouvak, fils d'Aboulkhaïr, oncle de Karataï, et qui avait présidé ce conseil, inspirait plus de confiance au gouvernement et avait beaucoup plus de droits à cette dignité. Au mois d'octobre 1797, les Kirghiz rassemblés près de la

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frontière le proclamèrent, et l'année suivante, l'empereur Paul le confirma chef de toute la Petite-Horde. Le conseil formé pour gouverner la Petite-Horde après la mort d'Ichim reçut l'ordre de rester constamment auprès du khan Aïtchouvak, et fut nommé conseil du khan.

On voit par les archives d'Orenbourg qu'Aïtchouvak se distingua souvent, non-seulement par son attachement à la Russie, mais encore par son influence sur les Kirghiz lorsqu'ils étaient gouvernés par Nourali; son élévation semblait donc promettre des avantages. Cependant la suite ne justifia pas cet espoir. Accablé d'années, le khan ne pouvait agir comme auparavant, et n'était qu'un chef très-faible. Les dissensions intestines, les Bouroutes, le pillage des caravanes, les incursions sur la frontière russe, surtout contre les Bachkirs; les vengeances qui s'en suivirent, les recherches et les punitions mirent la Petite-Horde dans un désordre affreux. Les commissions formées de députés de différents peuples, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, ne purent agir, et on prit le parti de les dissoudre. Le khan n'avait assez de puissance ni pour punir les coupables, ni pour protéger les opprimés. Le désordre et l'anarchie, qui plus ou moins avaient toujours régné chez les Kirghiz, augmentaient de jour en jour; enfin les troubles s'étendirent partout.

Ces circonstances produisirent des suites très-importantes. Beaucoup de Kirghiz-Kazaks qui vivaient en nomades près de l'Oural s'éloignèrent dans le fond des steppes, et refusèrent obéissance aux descendants d'Aboulkhaïr. Les uns se fondirent avec quelques races de la Moyenne-Horde, et se choisirent des habitations beaucoup plus à l'orient que les premières. D'autres se retirèrent à l'embouchure du Syr, et ayant ruiné les Karakalpaks, ils se choisirent pour khan le sultan Aboulgazi Kaïp.

Une troisième division attaqua les Turkomans, et les ayant forcés de concéder une portion de leurs terres, ils occupèrent une grande partie de l'isthme qui sépare la mer d'Aral de la mer Caspienne. Aïtchouvak lui-même et quelques sultans avec

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lui furent obligés, pour sauver leur vie, de passer l'Oural et de rester en Russie jusqu'à ce que cette fermentation générale fût calmée.

Le sultan Boukeï, fils de Nourali, qui occupait la place de président dans le conseil du khan, fit de même mais en suivant une marche différente. Habitant près des frontières du gouvernement d'Astrakhan, et sachant qu'après le départ des Kalmouks il y était resté beaucoup de terres entièrement désertes et propres au pâturage, il se décida, en 1799, à quitter pour toujours les steppes au delà de l'Oural, et à passer sur le territoire nommé Ryn-Peski. Dans cette résolution, et dans l'espoir de devenir bientôt khan indépendant, Boukeï s'adressa au général Knorring, gouverneur général de Géorgie et d'Astrakhan, en le priant de lui faire accorder la permission d'occuper les terres qu'il avait choisies entre l'Oural et le Volga et la liberté d'y transporter des Kirghiz-Kazaks dans ses aouls, en lui assignant cent Kozaks avec leurs officiers pour maintenir le bon ordre.

On ne pouvait négliger une proposition si avantageuse et si utile. Le gouverneur Knorring la porta à la connaissance de l'empereur Paul qui, par un oukaze du 11 mars 1801, ordonna de la mettre à exécution.

Sans perdre de temps Boukeï se prépara, dès l'automne de cette même année, à se transporter en Russie. Les Kirghiz qui le suivirent appartenaient pour la plupart à la race de Baïouline; il y en avait peu de celle d'Alimoul, et presque personne de celle de Semirodsk. Tous ensemble formèrent environ dix mille tentes. Ayant occupé le Ryn-Peski, ils devinrent promptement une preuve sensible et frappante des effets d'une vie paisible. Pendant que leurs compatriotes d'au delà de l'Oural, ruinés et épuisés par leurs dissensions, venaient vendre leurs enfants dans les villages russes, les sujets de Boukeï restèrent non-seulement tranquilles, mais s'enrichirent encore au point que leurs troupeaux et leurs haras se décuplèrent presque dans l'espace de sept à huit ans. Il semblait qu'un

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exemple aussi attrayant pour tout peuple nomade aurait dû inspirer aux Kirghiz le désir de l'imiter, mais leur amour pour leur sauvage liberté et pour leur patrie eut plus de force que tous les exemples.

Il est temps d'en revenir à l'histoire de la Moyenne-Horde, que nous avons interrompue au moment où Vali, fils d'Ablaï, devint khan. Notre silence sur cette partie du peuple kazak a pour cause, 1° la liaison non interrompue des événements qui ont eu lieu dans la Petite-Horde dans les vingt dernières années du siècle dernier; 2° la tranquillité monotone de la Moyenne-Horde pendant cette époque; 3° parce que cette même tranquillité rendit fort peu remarquables les relations de la horde avec la Russie, aussi bien que les événements qui eurent lieu dans son sein.

L'exposé de ces raisons fera naître sans doute à tout lecteur le désir de savoir pourquoi la Moyenne-Horde a joui et jouit encore aujourd'hui de plus de tranquillité que la Petite, quoique toutes les deux ne fassent qu'un seul et même peuple.

Deux circonstances, selon nous, produisirent cette différence : la situation des terres occupées par les deux hordes et la différence de mœurs provenant en partie de cette position géographique, et en partie d'autres causes. Nous allons nous expliquer avec plus de détails.

La Petite-Horde n'a ses compatriotes pour voisins qu'à l'orient; mais au sud elle est souvent attaquée par les Khiviens. Au nord elle a les Bachkirs, ses ennemis irréconciliables, et à l'occident elle avait autrefois beaucoup à souffrir des Kozaks de l'Oural. De cette manière, ayant à soutenir des attaques violentes de tous côtés, elle ne put longtemps rester en paix, et s'habitua aux troubles et aux incursions sur les terres voisines. Les khans cependant se sont toujours distingués par leur faiblesse. La Moyenne-Horde, au contraire, occupe des contrées que borne à l'occident la Petite-Horde; à l'orient, ils ont de même leurs compatriotes de la Grande-Horde, et les établissements de la frontière de la Chine; au nord, la ligne de

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Sibérie dont les habitants sont très-tranquilles; au midi, de nouveau la Grande-Horde ou les sujets du khanat actuel de Kokan, y compris ceux de Tachkent, de Turkestan, etc., très-peu habitués à la guerre, et peu portés à faire des incursions sur les peuples kazaks. Avec ce voisinage, la Moyenne-Horde n'est exposée qu'aux attaques des Bachkirs auxquels elle confine du côté du fort de Troïtsk, et au sud à celles des Bouroutes; mais l'étendue sur laquelle ces peuples pourraient lui nuire est si petite, comparée à celle de ses terres, qu'on peut ne pas convenir des avantages de sa position géographique, comparée à celle de la Petite-Horde, et en conclure pourtant qu'elle est beaucoup moins troublée que celle-ci au dehors.

Après avoir éclairci notre première pensée, nous regardons comme très-facile d'expliquer aussi la seconde. Car, il n'y a pas de doute qu'un peuple, qui a moins souvent à se défendre contre des attaques extérieures, et qui est moins souvent poussé à la vengeance, acquiert des mœurs plus douces que celui qui est toujours aux prises avec ses ennemis. Remarquons, en outre, que les khans et les sultans de la Moyenne-Horde ont toujours eu plus de pouvoir et d'influence sur leurs sujets que ceux de la Petite-Horde. Sous ce rapport la longue administration d'Ablaï, d'abord comme sultan, puis comme khan, fut d'une utilité particulière.

Les Kirghiz qui obéissaient à Ablaï, s'étant habitués sous lui à la tranquillité et à l'obéissance qu'on peut attendre d'un peuple à demi-sauvage, restèrent tranquilles sous son fils Vali, quoique ce khan n'eût pas le mérite de son père pour se concilier le respect général, et que, d'un autre côté, il affectât de ne jamais rechercher la protection de la Russie; qu'il ne fît aucune attention aux demandes des autorités des frontières de Sibérie; qu'il eût refusé de rendre les Turkomans qui avaient fui avec les Kalmouks du gouvernement d'Astrakhan, et avaient ensuite été retenus par Ablaï, et qu'enfin il persécutât les anciens qui étaient dévoués à la Russie. En 1789 un grand nombre de ceux qu'on regardait comme

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ses sujets passèrent en Russie avec Tougoume, sultan de la Grande-Horde, pour s'y établir à perpétuité, et ils reçurent pour leur établissement des terres aux environs du fort d'Oust-Kamenogorsk.

En 1793 le lieutenant général Strandman, commandant de la ligne de Sibérie, envoya dans la steppe des Kirghiz un corps de troupes qui délivra les Turkomans prisonniers; Vali fut si affecté de cette perte qu'il s'en plaignit à l'impératrice. Il reçut pour toute satisfaction la permission de venir à Saint-Pétersbourg pour expliquer tous ses besoins et ses demandes, mais il n'en profita pas, parce qu'il craignait de quitter la horde. Enfin après la mort de son frère Tchinghiz, il déclara que toutes ses plaintes venaient des conseils de son frère; il se réconcilia avec les autorités locales et promit de les aider en tout.

Cette démarche cependant n'était pas une preuve d'un dévouement parfait à la Russie. Il voulait, à l'imitation de son père, maintenir ses relations avec la Chine; dans cette intention, pendant l'hiver de 1794 à 1795 il envoya son fils au bogdo-khan pour lui témoigner sa soumission, et il continua d'opprimer les chefs de tribu, excepté ceux qui étaient attachés à la Russie. La conséquence de cette conduite fut qu'au mois de janvier 1795, deux sultans, dix-neuf anciens, quarante-trois mille trois cent soixante de leurs sujets et soixante-dix-neuf mille différents autres Kirghiz donnèrent à l'impératrice une supplique pour les délivrer de la puissance de Vali, et pour les recevoir sous la domination immédiate du gouvernement russe.

L'exécution de cette demande était trop pénible et ne promettait aucun avantage à la Russie. Dans l'intervalle Vali montra du repentir et fit espérer de le voir se réconcilier avec les mécontents; c'est pourquoi les choses restèrent dans leur premier état.

Quant à cette partie de la horde qui borde la ligne de Verkhné-Ouralsk, et avait, comme nous l'avons dit, les Bachkirs pour voisins, elle donna, en 1795, la preuve la plus con-

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vaincante de la vérité de nos réflexions sur les causes qui rendent la Moyenne-Horde plus tranquille que la petite. A l'époque où les tribus et les sections de Kirghiz-Kazaks qui l'avoisinent faisaient paisiblement le commerce d'échange avec les Russes sur la ligne de Sibérie, elle fit quelques incursions dans les districts de Tchéliabinsk et de Verkhné-Ouralsk, y ruina quelques villages, fit beaucoup de prisonniers, et enleva un assez grand nombre de haras, pour se venger des vols et des offenses commis contre elle par les Bachkirs. Enfin elle se décida à se retirer dans le fond de ses steppes, et ne consentit à se rapprocher des frontières russes que sur l'invitation du général Viazmitinof, chef suprême du pays d'Orenbourg.

En 1798 on ordonna d'établir, à l'exemple de la Petite-Horde et à la demande du khan Vali, dans le fort de Pétropavlofsk, un tribunal pour le jugement des procès et des différends entre les Kirghiz-Kazaks de la Moyenne-Horde, et les habitants de la frontière de Sibérie. En 1800 ce tribunal, composé des députés des deux peuples, fut organisé; mais les membres kirghiz furent quelques années sans y paraître; c'est pourquoi il ne fut ouvert qu'en 1806.

Nous mettons fin ici à la description détaillée des hordes Kirghiz-Kazaks. Après avoir exposé tout ce qui s'est passé chez ces peuples jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, nous ne parlerons pas des événements du dix-neuvième. Le temps qui s'est écoulé depuis son commencement est encore trop près de nous, et les jugements que nous pourrions porter sur cette période pourraient paraître ou partiaux, ou déplacés, ou douteux.

Cependant, nous regardons comme nécessaire, pour marquer la transition du passé au présent, d'indiquer rapidement l'ordre dans lequel les khans de la Moyenne-Horde et de la Petite-Horde kirghizes se sont succédés.

Vali, qui avait succédé à son père en 1781, régna jusqu'à sa mort arrivée en 1818. Cependant, dans ses dernières années il ne fut pas seul khan de la Moyenne-Horde; car à cause de

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ses démêlés avec plusieurs chefs de tribus, et d'après les demandes de plusieurs Kirghiz, l'empereur Alexandre désigna, en 1816, pour cette horde un second khan, Boukeï, fils de Barak, et qui mourut en 1818.

Avec lui s'éteignit le titre de khan dans la Moyenne-Horde; aujourd'hui elle est partagée en districts et gouvernée par un réglement particulier que nous placerons à la fin de cet ouvrage.

Aïtchouvak gouverna la Petite-Horde jusqu'en 1805; il abdiqua de lui-même à cette époque pour cause de vieillesse et de maladies.

Son successeur fut son fils Djantioura, qui fut assassiné par ses cousins, fils du khan Nourali et leurs complices.

Après sa mort, la Petite-Horde fut plus de deux ans sans avoir de khan; en 1812, on éleva à cette dignité son frère Chirghazy, qui vit encore, mais ne gouverne plus la Petite-Horde, car elle est aussi partagée par le gouvernement, en trois districts, dont les chefs sont indépendants du khan.

En même temps que Chirghazy, c'est-à-dire en 1812, on nomma le sultan Boukeï, fils de Nourali, khan de ceux des Kirghiz-Kazaks, qui étaient venus avec lui de la rive gauche de l'Oural dans le gouvernement d'Astrakhan, et qui avaient dès lors reçu le nom de Horde de Boukeï.

Boukeï mourut en 1815, laissant plusieurs fils, dont l'aîné Djanghir fut nommé khan en 1824. Il gouverne encore aujourd'hui les Kirghiz-Kazaks qui habitent le gouvernement d'Astrakhan.

Ici finit la liste de khans Khirghiz-Kazaks reconnus et confirmés par le gouvernement russe. Nous ne plaçons point parmi eux ni Barak, ni Batyr, ni Kaïp, ni son fils Aboulghazy, qui, comme nous l'avons dit en son endroit, ne furent élus que par un petit nombre de leurs partisans. Le dernier, malgré son titre, était, d'après des témoins oculaires[1], presque réduit

[1] Voyez les Mémoires du docteur Bolchoï, fait prisonnier par les Kirghiz en 1803.

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à la mendicité. Son pouvoir et son influence sur le peuple étaient si faibles après Batyr-Syrym, que nous n'en aurions pas même parlé si lui-même, ses frères et ses enfants, parmi lesquels on doit distinguer surtout le sultan Arounghazi, n'avaient continué à se distinguer par leur haine héréditaire pour la race d'Aboulkhaïr. Nous avons suivi la marche constante de cette haine mutuelle entre les deux familles pendant un siècle entier. Nos lecteurs savent que, dès le commencement du siècle dernier, elle existait déjà entre Aboulkhaïr et Kaïp.

Elle passa d'eux à leurs enfants, à leurs petits-enfants, et arrière-petits-enfants, entre lesquels elle dure encore aujourd'hui, et qui la transmettront soigneusement à leur postérité, peut-être encore pour un siècle ou même davantage.

Les principaux descendants de Kaïp sont désignés dans la table généalogique que nous avons composée pour eux, ainsi que pour les descendants d'Aboulkhaïr, comme complément des tables de Tevkélef, dont nous avons parlé en temps convenable.

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TROISIÈME PARTIE.

NOTIONS STATISTIQUES SUR LES KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

POPULATION.

Lorsqu'on parle d'un peuple peu connu, les premières questions qu'il semble naturel d'adresser sont ordinairement : Quel pays habite-t-il? quelle est sa population?

La réponse à la première se trouve ici dans la description que nous donnons de la contrée qu'occupent les Kirghiz-Kazaks, dont nous fixons en même temps les frontières; la solution de la seconde nous paraît impossible. Si beaucoup de pays civilisés de l'Europe ne peuvent connaître exactement le nombre de leurs habitants, comment y parvenir lorsqu'il s'agit de nomades à demi-sauvages, qui n'ont aucun principe d'administration, qui se transportent continuellement d'un lieu à un autre et chez qui le seul mot de dénombrement peut suffire pour occasionner une révolte?

Nourali, khan de la Petite-Horde, voulut connaître le nombre exact des Kazaks soumis à son obéissance, et il chargea de cette opération ses fils qui gouvernaient les différentes tribus de ce peuple : mais plusieurs obstacles l'arrêtèrent dès les premiers pas; il n'atteignit pas son but, et ne fit qu'exciter des murmures et des soupçons graves.

Une grande partie des Kirghiz-Kazaks qui, en 1801 et 1802, s'étaient établis à perpétuité, sous les ordres du sultan Bou-

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kéï, dans les sites les plus favorables du gouvernement d'Astrakhan, repassèrent l'Oural en 1820, parce que le bruit se répandit parmi eux qu'on voulait en faire le dénombrement et les établir à poste fixe.

Qu'on joigne à ce trait du caractère national la vaste étendue des steppes occupées par les hordes kazakes, la division de ces hordes en plusieurs parties, et l'on sera pleinement convaincu qu'un dénombrement exact de ce peuple est de toute impossibilité.

Il faut donc se contenter des notions, sans doute bien incertaines, qu'ils ont eux-mêmes transmises aux Russes, et qui sont loin de reposer sur des données suffisantes. Il en résulterait que les trois hordes se composent d'à peu près 400,000 tentes ou familles; que, sur ce nombre, la grande en a environ 75,000, la Moyenne 165,000, et la Petite 160,000[1].

Le nombre d'individus habitant sous chaque tente n'est pas toujours égal; mais on est fondé à croire qu'on ne s'écarterait pas de la vérité en le portant à cinq ou six, terme moyen. Il suit de ce calcul que la Grande-Horde aurait de 375,000 à 450,000 âmes; la Moyenne, près d'un million; la Petite, environ 900,000; et les trois ensemble, de 2,000,000 à 2,400,000 âmes des deux sexes.

CHAPITRE II.

DIVISION DU PEUPLE.

Quelle que soit la différence d'origine attribuée aux tribus qui composent la nation des Kirghiz, elles se sont toutes fondues en un seul peuple qui habite une même contrée, et qui

[1] La Petite-Horde a fait, depuis le commencement du XIVe siècle, des pertes considérables en hommes, tant par suite de dissentions intestines que par suite de mésintelligences avec ses voisins.

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jadis fut soumis à un chef unique. La langue, la religion, les habitudes, les mœurs, partout uniformes, en sont la preuve.

Les traditions le confirment; elles ajoutent, de plus, qu'à la mort d'un de leurs khans qui régnait sur toute la nation, ses trois fils la partagèrent entre eux, et que, d'après l'ordre de naissance de leurs chefs respectifs, ces trois parties adoptèrent les dénominations de Grande[1], Moyenne et Petite-Horde; que la différence de population entre ces parties a eu pour cause la guerre et ses succès divers, et qu'en s'augmentant progressivement, chacune d'elles se subdivisa en plusieurs races qui prirent les noms de leurs chefs, ou qui conservèrent ceux de leurs antiques aïeux, tels que les Naïmanes, les Kiptchaks, etc. Les races se subdivisèrent à leur tour en tribus; celles-ci en sections, les sections en branches et les branches en parties. Il est presque impossible d'énumérer toutes ces subdivisions. Les travaux indispensables[2] pour une entreprise de cette nature exigeraient trop de patience, et surtout un long séjour parmi les Kirghiz, non-seulement dans chaque tribu ou section, mais encore dans chaque partie de section.

Nous nous bornerons donc à énumérer les *races* et les tribus, en commençant par la Petite-Horde, comme la plus voisine de l'Europe. Nous nous baserons sur les Mémoires de Tevkélef, écrits depuis près d'un siècle. (Voyez la partie historique.) Les renseignements renfermés dans ces Mémoires, autant par leur exactitude que par les circonstances dans lesquelles ils ont été écrits, méritent la plus grande confiance, d'après l'opinion des Kirghiz-Kazaks eux-mêmes.

PETITE-HORDE.

La Petite-Horde se composait, à son origine, de la puissante race d'Altchine et de sept petites tribus qui, pendant les

[1] Les autres hordes regardent la Grande comme la plus ancienne.

[2] Quel zèle et quel amour pour la généalogie ne faudrait-il pas avoir, pour se déterminer à vérifier et compulser les rapports des Kirghiz! L'un dit que sa tribu se divise en cinq ou six sections; un autre affirme qu'elle se divise en douze; un troi-

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guerres civiles et les représailles (baranta[1]), n'étant pas assez fortes pour résister à la race d'Altchine, supérieure en nombre, furent réunies par le célèbre Tiavka, khan des Kazaks, en une seule race connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de race des Sept Tribus (Sémirodsk). L'ancien nom d'Altchine se retrouve encore dans la correspondance du khan Aboulkhaïr avec le gouvernement russe, dans la première moitié du dernier siècle. Cette race se composait de deux souches nommées Alimouly, ce qui veut dire les fils d'Alim, et Baïouly, c'est-à-dire les fils riches. Par la suite, les nouvelles sous-divisions qui eurent lieu dans cette horde firent tomber en oubli le nom générique; mais les noms des deux souches auxquelles celui de la race appartenait également, subsistèrent : c'est pourquoi la Petite-Horde se divise aujourd'hui en trois parties principales, savoir :

I. La race des Alimouly;

II. La race des Baïouly;

III. La race des Djétir-ouroug ou des Sept Tribus (Sémirodsk).

I. La race des Alimouly est composée de six tribus dont voici les noms : 1° Kara-Sakal; 2° Kara-Kissiòk; 3° Kitiè; 4° Dört-Kara; 5° Tchouïnekeï; 6° Tchikly.

II. La race des Baïouly se compose des douze tribus suivantes :

1° Adaï; 2° Djapas ou Yapas; 3° Alatcha; 4° Baïbakty; 5° Maskar; 6° Berstch; 7° Tazlar; 8° Issentemir; 9° Tcherkès; 10° Tana; 11° Kizyl-Kourt; 12° Chikhlar.

III. La race des Sept Tribus se compose des tribus qui se nomment :

1° Tabyn; 2° Tama; 3° Kerdery; 4° Djagal-Baïouly; 5° Kéreït; 6° Tilinou; 7° Ramadane[2].

sième confond les sections de sa tribu avec celles des tribus voisines; un quatrième enfin, plus sincère que tous les autres, avoue franchement son ignorance.

[1] On donne, chez les Kirghiz, le nom de baranta aux incursions qu'ils font les uns sur les autres, le plus souvent par représailles ou par suite de vengeances héréditaires.

[2] Quelques sections de la Moyenne-Horde campent avec la Petite; et de même,

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HORDE-MOYENNE.

La Horde-Moyenne se divise en quatre races :

I. La race d'Arghyne;

II. La race des Naïmanes;

III. La race de Kiptchak;

IV. La race d'Ouvak-Ghireï.

Celle-ci, de même que la race des Sept Tribus réunies, fut formée par le même khan Tiavka, de trois tribus qui seront indiquées plus bas.

I. Les tribus de la race d'Arghyne sont :

Kara-Kissièk, Karavoul-Kissièk, Tchardjitim, Djandjar, Tchaktchak, Dôrt-Avoul, Atygaï, Altaï, Tébitch, Tabakly, Bortchi, Karpak, Bassantiene, Aghych-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziougane et Koukchal.

II. Tribus de la race des Naïmanes :

Ak-Boura [1], Boulatchi, Kara-Ghireï, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dôrt-Avoul, Kouk-Djarly, Irghiniékly; Semis-Baganaly [2] et Sadyr.

III. Les tribus de la race de Kiptchak sont :

Tori-Aïghyr, Touïoutchka, Kytabak, Boultoun, Karabalyk, Koundeliène, Tana-Bouga, Ouzoun, Kouk-Borone.

IV. La race d'Ouvak-Ghireï est composée des tribus d'Ouvak, de Ghireï ou Kireï, et de Tarakly.

GRANDE-HORDE.

La Grande-Horde se composait, dans l'origine, des races de Ouïsiun ou Ousiune, Toulataï et Sargam. Par la suite, la race de Konkrat ou Kounrat se détacha de la Moyenne, et se réunit à la Grande.

Des premières races sont issues les tribus suivantes :

Botboï, Tchimir, Djanis ou Yanych, Sik-Am, Abdaï-Sou

des sections de la Petite se sont confondues avec la Moyenne. Cette circonstance ne détruit pas la généalogie de la nation.

[1] *Ak-Boura* signifie le *loup blanc*.

[2] *Semis-Baganaly* veut dire *qui ont des agneaux gras*.

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vane, Sary-Souly, Tchanytch-Kily, Kanly ou Kankly, Djalaïr, etc.

II. La race de Konkhrat a formé les tribus suivantes : Baïlar-Djandjar, Ouras-Gheldy, Kouldjegatch, Botchman, Tok-Boulat, Iaman-Baï, Koura-Kousia, Etimlièr, Kouyouch-Kansyz.

Chacune de ces tribus se divise en sections : une section se compose de parties; ces dernières ont encore leurs sous-divisions, et toutes ont des noms différents. Par exemple, la tribu de Maskar, de la race de Baïouly (de la Petite-Horde), a deux sections, savoir : Koutlou-Gadam et Massak. La section de Koutlou-Gadam est composée de deux parties qui se nomment Kourman et Baba-Nasar. La partie de Kourman a trois sous-divisions, qui sont : Atamkan, Oumièr et Koudaïgoul; la partie de Baba-Nazar a deux sous-divisions : Abdou-Chokour et Djidik.

Quel volume ne ferait-on pas de la nomenclature de toutes ces sous-divisions pour les trois hordes? Sans fatiguer le lecteur d'une pareille énumération, nous nous contenterons de dire que l'accroissement de la population, chez les Kirghiz, fait naître continuellement de nouvelles sous-divisions, et que les noms primitifs des races finissent par se perdre. De cette manière, les Baïouly et les Alimouly ont cessé de porter leur nom générique d'Altchine; de là vient aussi qu'il y a des Kirghiz qui ignorent à quelle race ils appartiennent et ne connaissent que le nom de leur tribu et de leur section.

On peut en conclure que, dans cent ans, la plus grande partie des noms des branches kirghizes que nous avons citées ne subsisteront plus que dans les archives russes et dans la mémoire de quelques vieillards.

Au reste, ces sous-divisions ne regardent que le bas peuple; la haute classe a une autre généalogie. Voilà pourquoi les Kirghiz se divisent eux-mêmes en deux ordres, en *Kost blanc* et en *Kost noir*. Le *Kost blanc* ne se compose que des khans et de leurs descendants, qui ont le titre de sultans.

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Les sélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe les khodjas ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane[1]. On appelle *kost noir* non-seulement le bas peuple, mais aussi les anciens et les autres chefs qui n'ont pas de dignité héréditaire.

D'après cette distinction, l'on dit : *Voilà un sultan de pur kost blanc*, parce qu'il descend d'un khan, tant par la ligne masculine que par la ligne féminine; et *Celui-ci est de kost blanc mêlé*, parce que sa mère est une femme du commun.

Ainsi on retrouve chez les Kirghiz les distinctions héréditaires auxquelles on attache tant de prix en Europe; des sauvages savent comme nous tirer vanité des services rendus par d'autres, et s'attribuer des priviléges comme récompense du mérite de leurs aïeux.

Nous ne rangeons pas dans une classe particulière les Télengoutes ou serviteurs des khans[2], ni les kouls ou esclaves. Les premiers sont pris parmi le peuple et jouissent des mêmes droits; les seconds sont considérés comme biens meubles ou marchandises, et ne sont pas Kirghiz. Ce sont des prisonniers russes, persans, kalmouks, etc.

CHAPITRE III.

PRINCIPAUX CAMPEMENTS DES KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS.

Quoique les races et tribus des Kirghiz, sans cesse errant d'un lieu à un autre, ne puissent, par cela même, avoir de

[1] M. Timkofsky, dans son Voyage à Péking, donne à peu près la même signification au mot *khodja*. Klaproth, dans les notes qui accompagnent la traduction française de cet ouvrage combat l'opinion de M. Timkofsky; quant à moi, je répète ce que j'ai entendu dire nombre de fois de la bouche des Kirghiz.

[2] Les Télengoutes sont d'origine mongole; ils ont été soumis par les Kirghiz et ont adopté la langue de leurs maîtres. Voyez, à ce sujet, la note de Klaproth dans son Magasin asiatique, tome I, page 19.

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demeures fixes, ni, à proprement parler, posséder des terres, cependant, afin d'éviter les querelles, chacune reste, autant que possible, dans les mêmes lieux de campement, surtout pendant l'hiver. Des motifs de la plus haute importance peuvent seuls les faire contrevenir à cet usage.

Leurs campements actuels sont à peu près dans les lieux suivants :

PETITE-HORDE.

La race d'Alimouly hiverne toujours sur le fleuve Syr, le Kouvan, et sur le lit desséché du Iany-Daria, ainsi que dans les sables de Kara-Koum, Bourzouk, et à l'embouchure de l'Emba. Une petite partie seulement campe sur l'Ilek, l'Or et l'Oural, depuis le fort de Krasnogorsk jusqu'à celui de Verkhné-Ozernaïa. Leurs campements d'été sont sur les rivières de Témir, Emba, Saghyz, Ouïl, Ilek, Khobda, Or et Irghiz, dans la chaîne des monts Mougodjar et les sables de Kara-Koum.

Les tribus de Baïouly sont : Adaï, Tcherkès, Tana, Baïbakty, Chikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kourt, Issen-Témir, une partie de celle de Djappas, et la plus grande partie de celles d'Alatcha, Tazlar et Berstch; toutes errent dans la contrée vis-à-vis la ligne de l'Oural inférieur, et passent l'été entre l'Oural et l'Emba, dans le voisinage des lacs de Karakoul et des rivières de Kouldaghaïty, Bouldourty, Oulenty, Djousaly, Tchoungourlaou, Ankaty, Ouïlou, jusqu'à la Khobda. Ils campent l'hiver sur la mer Caspienne, aux embouchures de l'Oural et de l'Emba, sur les golfes vis-à-vis Gourief, et quelques parties de la tribu d'Adaï à Mankychlak. Le reste des tribus de Tazlar, Alatcha et Bertsch, sont sur le Syr, le Kouvan, et dans les sables de Kara-Koum. La plus grande partie des Yappas campent, en été, sur la Tobol et la Tourgaï, vis-à-vis Troïtsk, et, en hiver, sur le Syr et le Kouvan.

En outre plusieurs parties de toutes les tribus de la race de Baïouly (la tribu de Yappas exceptée) passèrent, en 1801 et 1802, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, sous la con-

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duite du sultan Boukeï, dans le gouvernement d'Astrakhan. Ils campent dans le canton nommé Ryn-Peski et y forment la horde connue sous le nom de horde de Boukeï.

La tribu de Djagal-Baïly, de la race des Sept Tribus hiverne aux environs de l'Irghiz, de l'Or, du Koumak, du Sougoundouk et des monts Karatcha; elle passe l'été près de la frontière russe, depuis le fort de Verkhné-Ozernaïa jusqu'à Verkhné-Ouralsk, et s'étend au sud jusqu'à l'Irghiz.

Les campements d'hiver des tribus de Kerder et de Tama sont sur le fleuve Oural, depuis Orenboug jusqu'à Ouralsk, et ceux d'été, sur les rivières Donghouz, Khobda, Kanlys et Ilek.

La plus grande partie de la tribu de Tabyne campe dans les environs des deux précédentes; une autre partie campe sur la Tobol, la Tourgaï, le Syr, le Kouvan et l'Emba.

Le reste parcourt, avec la Horde-Moyenne, les bords de l'Issel, Tsou, et les sables connus sous le nom d'Aremétei.

La tribu de Kéréït hiverne sur le Syr, et se rapproche en été de l'Irghiz, des monts Karatcha et de Troïtsk.

Les tribus de Tiliéf, ou Tiliéou et Ramadan, hivernent sur le Syr et le Kouvan, près de celle des Kéréits. En été, elles passent sur la Tourgaï et dans les environs du lac Ourkatch-Kandykli.

HORDE-MOYENNE.

La tribu d'Arghyne parcourt les environs des montagnes d'Ouloug, Boyan-Ola, Iréimén, Kizyl, Kouyoutcha, Mouktcha, et les cantons de Ourtch-Bourlyk, Kyltchakty, Outch-Koundan, Biktchenteï, et les bords de la Tourgaï, de la Noura, de la Tobol, de l'Irtych, du Sary-Sou, de l'Ichim, de l'Issel, de l'Oubagan, de l'Oulkoïak, de l'Ayati, les sables de Kara-Toussoun, et les environs des lacs Kizyl, Kourjan, Tiba et Bich-Koun.

La plus grande partie de la tribu des Naïmanes occupe les montagnes de Tarbagataï, les parties supérieures de l'Irtych, et quelques autres lieux vers les frontières orientales de l'em-

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pire chinois. Le reste occupe les parties supérieures de l'Ichim, une partie des bords de la Tourgaï, du Kara-Ouzièk, du Syr, du Kouvan, du Lap-Sou, du Kouk-Sou, les environs du lac Ak, et des monts Ouloug, de Kitchi, etc.

La race des Kiptchak campe sur les bords de l'Issel, de la Tourgaï, du Tchakièk, de l'Oubagan, de la Tobol, de l'Ayat, du Mouyunli, de l'Ouya, vis-à-vis les forts de Troïtsk, Stepnoï et Oust-Ouïskoï et dans les sables de Kara-Koum, ainsi que dans les cantons d'Aman-Karagaï, Ebelcï, Yedis et Tirièkly.

Les campements de la race d'Ouvak-Ghireï sont sur les rivières Oubagan, Ichim, Ouya, Tagouzac, Irtych, Issel, Sary-Sou, et Tsouï ou Tchouï, ainsi que dans les sables d'Itch-Koungour, les environs du lac Ketchoubaï-Tcharkar, et vis-à-vis la partie de la ligne comprise entre les forts Stepnoï et Verkho-Ouralsk, ainsi que vis-à-vis les forts de Zvèrinogolovskoï et Presnogorkovskoï.

GRANDE-HORDE.

Les tribus dont nous avons parlé campent sur les rivières de Tchouï ou Tsouï, de Tala-Sou, d'Ilè, de Kouk-Sou, de Karatal, de Tchirtchik, du Syr, de Sara-Sou, aux environs des lacs de Kara, Ala, Al-Sou, Anamas, et des villes de Kouldja, Kachkar, Koukan, Tachkent, Turkestan, dans le voisinage des monts Kara-Taou, Tarbagataï, Tchinghiz-Tsazan, et dans le canton nommé les Sept-Rivières, ainsi que dans d'autres endroits aux environs de la frontière de la Chine, dans l'ancien pays des Zungars. Quelques tribus habitent les villes de Tachkent, Turkestan et les villages voisins.

Une partie de la race de Kounkrat parcourt ces mêmes contrées; une autre campe avec les Naïmanes.

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CHAPITRE IV.

MANIÈRE DE VIVRE.

La manière de vivre des Kirghiz est une image fidèle de celle des patriarches. L'aspect d'un peuple entier de pasteurs, qui ne vit pour ainsi dire que pour ses troupeaux; les habitations ou aouls qui disparaissent d'un lieu pour se montrer à l'instant dans un autre; la simplicité de ce genre de vie si voisin de la nature: tout offre au romancier et au poëte un spectacle intéressant. Leur imagination riante revoit dans les Kirghiz les heureux et insouciants pasteurs de l'Arcadie, ou les tranquilles contemporains d'Abraham; ils peuvent se faire illusion sur le bonheur d'un peuple étranger aux vices qui règnent dans les villes et chercher dans ces contrées des sujets d'églogues et d'idylles. Mais le voyageur, plus réfléchi, ne voit dans les Kirghiz que des demi-sauvages, comme les Scythes d'Hérodote, les Mongols de Tchinghiz, les Bédouins actuels, les Kourdes, les peuplades des bords de l'Enisséï, les Hottentots et autres races non civilisées de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. En effet les hordes des Kirghiz-Kazaks se rapprochent de ces peuples, autant par leurs mœurs que par les nombreux troupeaux dont ils tirent leur unique subsistance, et qu'ils suivent de place en place avec leurs maisons mobiles. L'habitation du Kirghiz est une kibitka ou iourte, c'est-à-dire une tente demi-sphérique, composée d'un treillis de bois recouvert de feutre, et munie à sa partie supérieure d'une grande ouverture ronde, qui s'ouvre et se ferme à volonté. Elle sert de fenêtre, et tient lieu de cheminée quand on fait du feu dans la tente. Ces tentes, qui sont en tout semblables à celles des Kalmouks, ont de quatre à huit archines [1] de hauteur, et de

[1] L'archine fait un peu plus de deux pieds de France.

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huit à quinze archines de diamètre. On attache à des pieux fixés en terre le mur de treillis au moyen de cordes de crin. Les portes sont en bois et garnies d'ornements en petits os, qui y sont incrustés; quelquefois un simple feutre tient lieu de porte. Les cordons, qui servent à lier et à maintenir le treillis, sont généralement en laine, et chez les riches, en soie. Les parois intérieures sont couvertes, en été, d'espèces de rideaux tressés avec de la paille et des fils de diverses couleurs. Pendant les grandes chaleurs on relève les feutres du bas: ces rideaux laissent pénétrer l'air frais et défendent l'intérieur de la tente de la poussière et des ardeurs du soleil. Les tentes des gens du commun sont de feutre gris; celles des grands et des riches, de feutre blanc; et quelques sultans, des plus puissants de la Moyenne et de la Grande-Horde, ont les leur couvertes de drap rouge, et doublées intérieurement en étoffes de soie. Les plus pauvres, au contraire, remplacent les feutres par des nattes d'écorces d'arbres, des feuilles, et quelquefois même ils emploient le roseau et le gazon.

Le fond de la tente, vis-à-vis la porte, est occupé par des coffres couverts de tapis; ils servent à serrer les robes, les pelisses et les autres vêtements. On suspend aux parois les fusils, les sabres, les arcs, les flèches, les selles, les harnois, les poudrières, etc. ainsi que les essuie-mains, les théyères, les cruches, les toursouks (espèces de sacs de cuir), et souvent aussi des morceaux de viande de cheval fumée. La terre, qui sert de plancher, est couverte de tapis ou de feutres. On range sur ces tapis les grands vases, les chaudrons, les chevêts de bois sur lesquels on place les oreillers, et des caisses d'un genre particulier, qui sont ornées de différentes manières. Elles servent à placer les sacs qui contiennent le koumys.

Un Kirghiz enlève et replace sa tente dans une demi-heure, et il la transporte sans cesse, à dos de chameau, dans les lieux où il trouve, pour ses troupeaux, un bon pâturage et de l'eau. Il dépend donc de ses troupeaux et de ses haras, plus que de toute autre chose.

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

Nous donnerons par la suite une description détaillée de l'état de leurs troupeaux; mais nous devons dire ici que ce genre d'industrie détermine toutes leurs obligations et leurs relations sociales; de sorte que, de quelque côté qu'on envisage un Kirghiz, on ne voit en lui qu'un pasteur armé; et l'habitude et le goût de la vie pastorale sont la source de toutes ses actions, tant morales que physiques.

Les voyages continuels des Kirghiz et le changement de place ne les fatiguent pas; ils y trouvent, au contraire, une source de plaisir, et se considèrent comme heureux de ne pas être attachés à la terre. Pendant l'été, la vie nomade est en effet très-agréable; mais elle est insupportable pendant l'hiver. Pendant cette saison, les Kirghiz, entourés de tous côtés de monceaux de neige, ne sortent presque pas de leurs tentes : là accroupis autour du feu [1], ils souffrent presque également du chaud et du froid.

La violence du vent fait entrer dans la tente d'énormes flocons de neige par la porte et par l'ouverture supérieure, et quelquefois la tempête renverse l'édifice de feutre avec tous ses habitants. Les enfants, à demi-nus, sortent de dessous les feutres ou les peaux de mouton dont ils sont ordinairement enveloppés ; ils se jettent sur la cendre chaude, se brûlent les pieds et les mains, et poussent des vagissements qui percent le cœur.

Afin de se garantir des malheurs et des désagréments que l'hiver leur fait éprouver, les Kirghiz choisissent, pour leur hivernage, le milieu de quelque bosquet, les roseaux, les collines, ou les sables de la partie méridionale des steppes.

Nous avons dit plus haut que leurs campements, tant d'hiver que d'été, ne peuvent être exactement déterminés, et ne sont pas toujours occupés par les mêmes habitants. Cependant ils sont assez constants dans le choix des premiers, parce que tous les lieux ne présentent pas également les con-

[1] Là où le bois manque, on emploie pour chauffage la fiente des bestiaux.

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

ditions nécessaires pour un campement d'hiver, et que la profondeur de la neige ne permet pas de changer de place.

Quelques Kirghiz, surtout ceux qui sont le plus près des frontières russes, font d'ailleurs, en automne, des provisions de foin, creusent des trous en terre pour y retirer leur bétail, et construisent, quand les localités le permettent, des haies en clayonnage pour se garantir du vent, surtout de celui du nord.

Les souffrances que leur causent les gelées et les tempêtes leur font célébrer avec transport le retour du printemps. Ils passent la plus grande partie des jours d'été à dormir et à boire du koumys; ils mangent fort peu de viande. La nuit ils se réunissent pour jouir ensemble des plaisirs de la table, et se raconter des histoires, ou entendre des musiciens qui jouent de la tchibyzga ou de la balalaïka.

Mais l'automne est pour eux le meilleur temps de l'année; c'est à cette époque qu'ils entreprennent leurs plus longs voyages [1]; ils ont, pendant cette saison, leurs principales fêtes; c'est aussi celle qu'ils choisissent pour exercer les barantas [2], que favorisent à cette époque l'obscurité des nuits et la vigueur des chevaux qui, s'étant refaits dans de bons pâturages pendant une saison entière, n'en sont que mieux disposés pour des courses longues et rapides.

Rarement les Kirghiz campent en grand nombre dans un même endroit; car leurs troupeaux seraient trop à l'étroit; mais ils forment des sociétés de quelques familles, unies par les liens du sang, ou par des avantages réciproques. Ces sociétés passent en corps d'un lieu à l'autre, et ne se séparent pas sans de graves raisons. Ces villages mobiles se nomment aouls; le nombre des tentes qui les composent dépend des circonstances.

Quelques Kirghiz habitent Khiva, la Boukharie, les posses-

[1] Nous ferons remarquer en passant que la superstition empêche les Kirghiz d'entreprendre de longs voyages au déclin de la lune.

[2] Voyez, sur les barantas, la note 1 du chapitre II, page 302.

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

sions chinoises, Tachkent, Kokan, et ils ont, dans ces lieux, des maisons, des terres et des jardins [1], mais le nombre en est fort restreint.

CHAPITRE V.

DE LA POSSIBILITÉ DE FAIRE ADOPTER DES HABITUDES STABLES AUX KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS.

La division du territoire dont nous avons parlé, au sujet du campement de chaque tribu, en rappelant jusqu'à un certain point l'idée de la propriété territoriale, pourrait faire croire à la possibilité d'établir à poste fixe chaque tribu ou chaque race sur la terre qu'elle occupe; mais cette idée s'évanouit quand on vient à considérer la nature du pays et les dispositions morales de ses habitants.

Le soin des troupeaux et leur propagation sont, comme nous l'avons dit, l'occupation favorite et chérie des Kirghiz-Kazaks, en même temps que la source de toutes leurs richesses. Pour soutenir cette branche d'industrie dans l'état florissant où elle est actuellement, de vastes pâturages sont indispensables, et, vu l'inclination des peuples nomades pour le brigandage, ces pâturages ne peuvent avoir de limites constantes, et en outre ils se divisent en deux classes, en pâturages d'été et pâturages d'hiver. Une plaine découverte, unie et abondante

[1] On dit que dans les dernières années du XVIIIe siècle, Karaboulat, riche Kirghiz de la tribu de Durt-Kara, de la Petite-Horde, bâtit, sur le bord du Syr, un petit fort en terre glaise. Il construisit dans l'intérieur une petite mosquée, aussi en glaise, et habitait tout auprès sous sa tente, au milieu d'un grand nombre de ses parents et de ses affidés qui campaient avec lui. Ce fort, qui s'écroula bientôt, fut nommé Kara-Boulat-Tame, c'est à dire mur de Karaboulat. Les caravanes visitaient cet endroit pour y acheter des vivres, et payaient un léger droit au seigneur pour avoir le passage libre à travers ses pâturages. Il y avait aussi dans le voisinage du fort quelques terres labourées.

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en pâture, est excellente pour le bétail pendant l'été; mais pendant l'hiver, il faut, surtout pour les brebis, des collines resserrées qui puissent les mettre à l'abri des vents et des tempêtes; des sables qui absorbent l'eau, et sur lesquels par conséquent, la neige dure moins longtemps; des roseaux et des bruyères, qui fournissent une nourriture abondante aux chameaux et un bon chauffage aux bergers.

Voilà pourquoi chaque tribu a ses pâturages d'hiver et d'été; les premiers sont la plupart au sud. Ainsi, le Baganaly et le Naïmane, qui passent l'été sur l'Ichim ou la Tourgaï, se retirent en hiver sur le Kouvan-Daria, et le Djappas quitte, au mois de novembre, le marché d'échange de Troïtsk pour se rendre vers les bords du Syr; on peut en dire autant de beaucoup d'autres. On voit donc par là que les Kirghiz doivent, ou avoir deux campements différents selon les saisons ou diminuer le nombre de leurs bestiaux. Dans ce dernier cas ils feront du tort, non-seulement à eux-mêmes, mais encore à leurs voisins, dont les relations commerciales avec eux n'ont pour but que l'échange du bétail.

On ne peut, d'un autre côté, supposer que tous les Kirghiz puissent s'adonner à l'agriculture; car, indépendamment de leur aversion pour ce genre de vie, ils ont trop peu de terres labourables, comme on a pu le voir par la partie géographique de cet ouvrage. Au reste, en supposant même que ces nomades s'adonnent à la culture des terres, les produits qu'ils en tireront compenseront-ils la diminution des troupeaux? Tous les peuples qui avoisinent les steppes des Kirghiz ont besoin de bétail, et ils produisent assez de grain pour qu'il soit toujours à meilleur marché chez eux que celui qu'on pourrait amener de loin. Si donc ni les Russes, ni les Chinois, ni les habitants du Kokan, ni les Boukhares, ni les Khiviens, ne payent au Kirghiz le prix de ses peines, comme agriculteur, qu'auront-ils à lui donner en échange pour ceux des produits de leurs manufactures, dont il ne peut se passer, et qu'il paye aujourd'hui en bétail.

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Joignons à ce tableau celui des révolutions physiques auxquelles est sujette la surface de la steppe des Kirghiz. Le Dimas et le Bascatis qui, selon Ptolémée, arrosaient ces contrées, n'existent plus; on ne trouve plus le Kenderlik, marqué dans le Grand-Tracé; le Kizil-Daria, dont il est si souvent question dans Aboulghazi-Baïadour-Khan, et qu'on voit encore sur les anciennes cartes, a entièrement disparu; le Iany-Daria, né pour ainsi dire de nos jours, a déjà cessé de couler; les lacs Aksakal-Barby ont beaucoup diminué; les hauteurs de Sari-Boulak et de Kouk-Tirnak qui, selon les vieillards kirghiz, étaient baignées par la mer d'Aral, en sont aujourd'hui à huit heures de marche; beaucoup de petits lacs et de puits se sont entièrement desséchés. Enfin l'on voit, dans des endroits entièrement dépourvus d'eau, de vastes ruines qui annoncent l'existence antérieure d'une population nombreuse. Ces phénomènes ne sont rien pour un peuple nomade, parce qu'il change de place à chaque instant; mais ils sont destructeurs pour un peuple sédentaire.

Rappelons maintenant le préjugé enraciné, mais malheureusement bien fondé, répandu chez les Kirghiz, qu'ils perdront leur liberté[1] aussitôt qu'ils quitteront leurs tentes pour habiter des maisons. Examinons ensuite les rapports moraux des tribus et des races. Une vengeance exercée par un particulier contre un autre, la part qu'y prennent leurs familles, leurs aouls, leurs sections et quelquefois leurs tribus, les représailles perpétuelles qui en résultent, obligent quelquefois des centaines de familles de s'éloigner de leurs habitations, et de se retirer à jamais beaucoup plus loin, pour éviter les persécutions de leurs ennemis.

C'est ainsi que la nation entière des Karakalpaks, qui, sous les ordres de ses propres khans, vivait indépendante sur les

[1] Le gouvernement russe construisit souvent à ses frais des maisons pour les sultans kirghiz (comme pour Ablaï et d'autres), et employa tous les moyens de persuasion pour engager quelqu'un d'eux à s'y fixer, au moins pour donner l'exemple. Tous ces soins furent inutiles.

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak

bords du Syr, perdit son existence civile dans les dernières années du XVIIIe siècle, et fut forcée de se disperser par suite des attaques fréquentes des Kirghiz, et des vengeances qu'ils exerçaient pour laver d'anciennes injures.

En 1740 une grande partie de la Horde-Moyenne occupait, avec son khan, Aboul-Mahmet, les rives orientales de la Khobda; Aboulkhaïr habitait plus souvent les bords du Syr ou du Kouvan; c'est pourquoi il écrivait, en 1742, à Néplouief, à Orenbourg : « Je suis avec la Petite-Horde sur le Syr, et la Moyenne est près de vous, général. » Aujourd'hui c'est le contraire; aucune des tribus de la Moyenne-Horde ne s'approche d'Orenbourg. De même plusieurs aouls de la race d'Alimouly, par suite de dissensions intestines, pendant lesquelles leurs ennemis furent soutenus par le khan de Khiva, vinrent, en 1821, prendre leurs campements d'hiver sur l'Ilek, tandis qu'auparavant ils les avaient toujours sur le Syr. A la même époque quelques aouls, qui campaient habituellement près des frontières russes, se retirèrent vers le pays de Khiva. Tout ceci nous porte à conclure que le genre de vie actuel des Kirghiz, et la nature du pays qu'ils occupent, ne leur permettent pas de former d'établissements permanents; que, pour leur propre avantage, ainsi que pour celui des états voisins, et surtout de la Russie, il est à désirer qu'ils ne changent pas leur condition de riches pasteurs contre celle de pauvres agriculteurs, puisque leurs steppes semblent pour ainsi dire formées pour des peuples nomades. Ce n'est point en établissant des villages qu'on peut faire régner dans leurs tribus le bon ordre et la tranquillité; on ne parviendra à leur faire apprécier les heureuses conséquences de la paix, qu'en les formant à l'obéissance, et surtout en observant à leur égard les règles d'une sévère équité.

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DESCRIPTION

Des Hordes & des Steppes

Kirghiz-Kazak.

Atlas.

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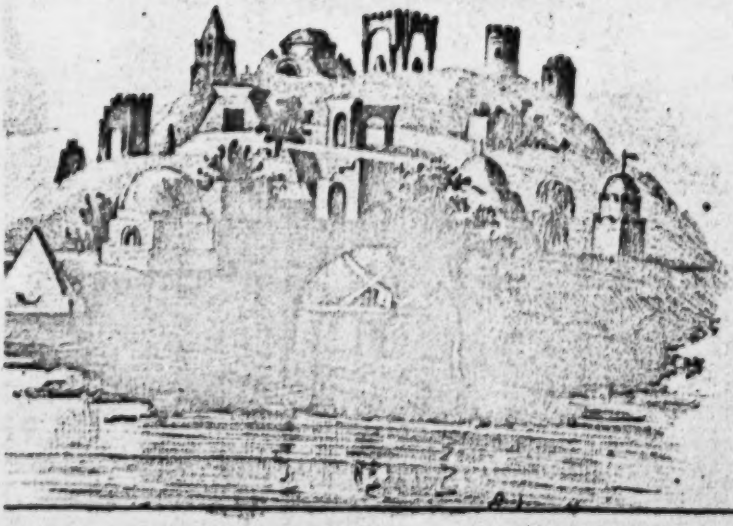

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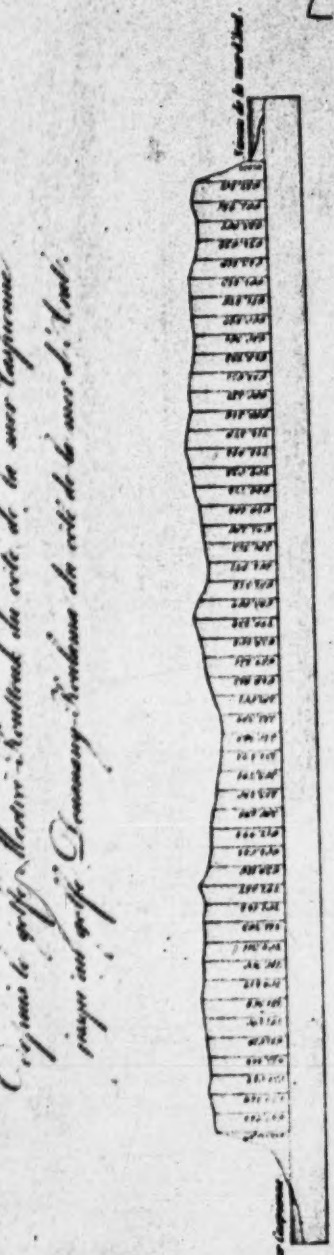
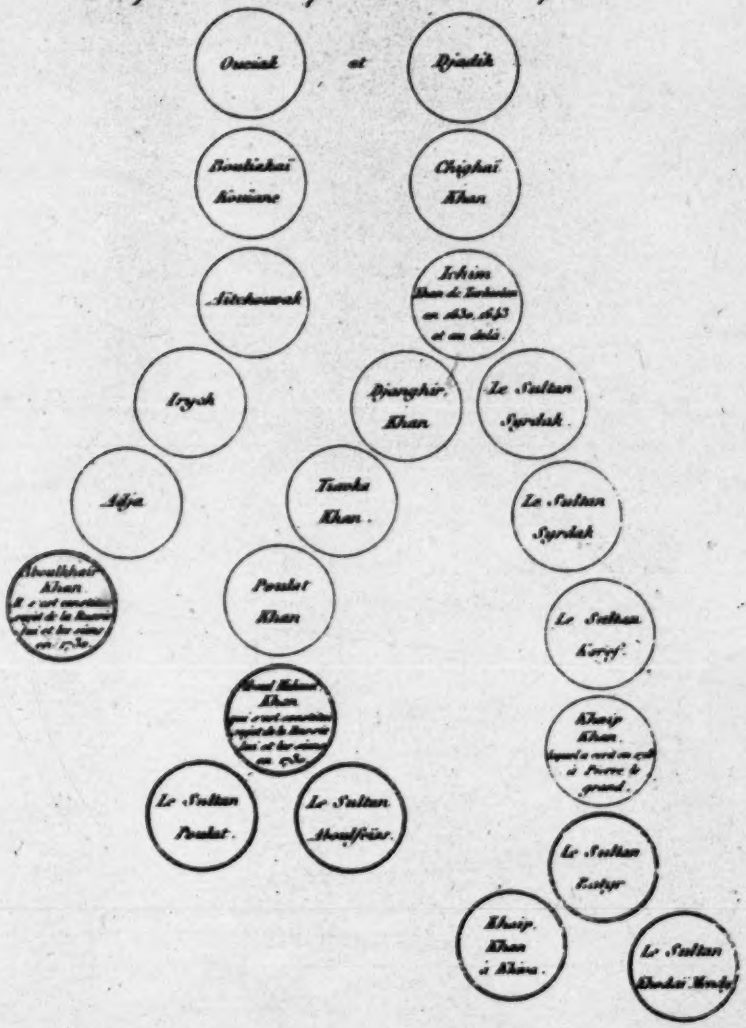

Profil de l'Ural-Aout
Ce jour le golfe Mertvy-Kouliouk du côté de la mer Caspienne
vis-à-vis du golfe Tchaganay-Kouliouk du côté de la mer d'Aral.

TABLE PREMIERE

GENEALOGIE DE LA PREMIERE ET PRINCIPALE BRANCHE DES KHANS KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS.

Les plus anciens chefs de nous sont deux frères



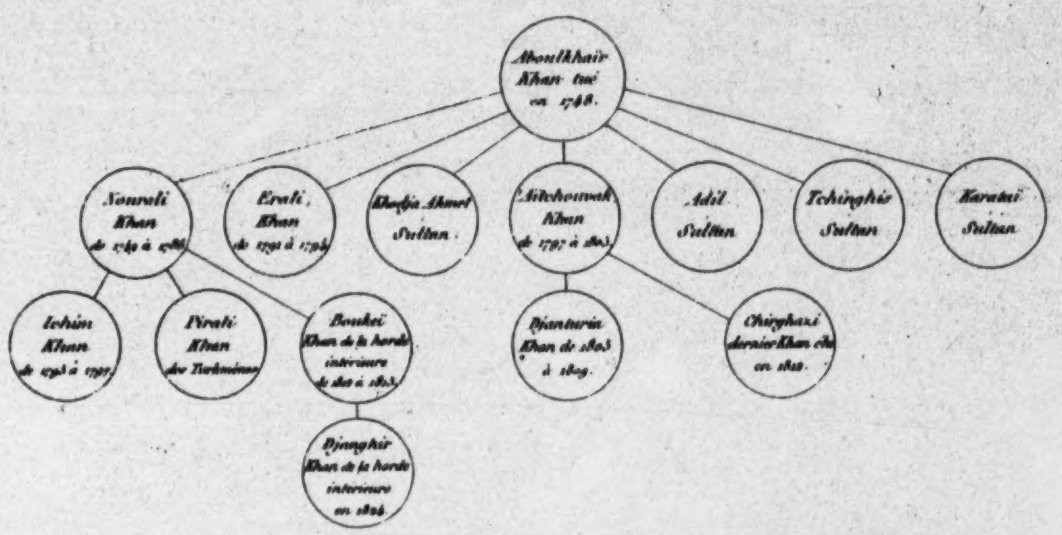
Nota: Les médaillons à double bord sont pour les Khans et Sultans qui vivaient encore en 1848, époque à laquelle ces tables ont été dressées.

[End plate II]

[End plate III]

Complément à la première Table dressée en 1824.

POSTÉRITÉ DU KHAN ABOULKHAIR.



Nota: Tous ces Khans ont gouverné la Moyenne Horde. Il n'a été fait ici mention en fait de Sultans que des Sultans fils d'Aboulkhair: quant à ses petits-fils, il sont tellement nombreux que la liste de leurs noms fatiguerait inutilement l'attention du lecteur.

KIRGHIZ-KAZAK

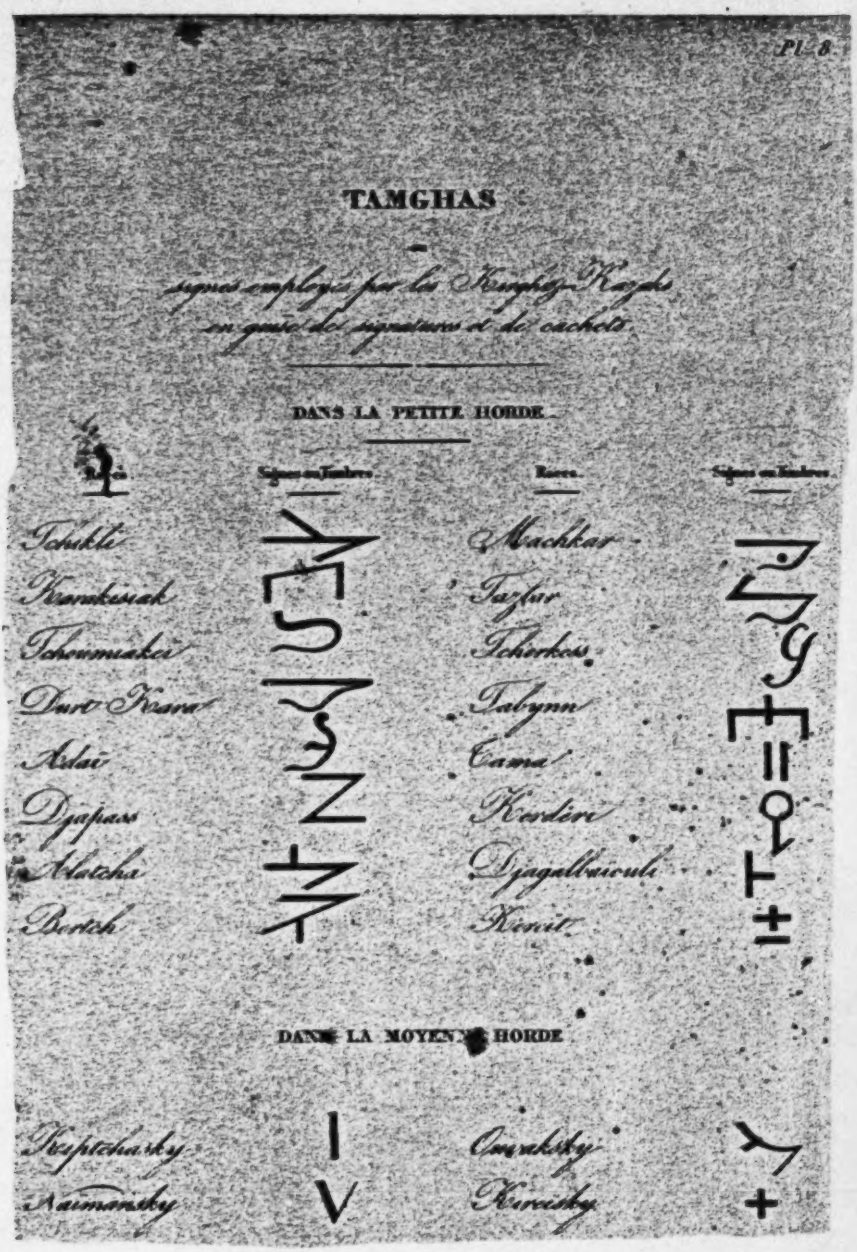
[End plate IV]

FEMME KIRGHIZE-KAZAK

[End plate V]

FILLE KIRGHIZE-KAZAK

[End plate VI]



Pl. 8.

TAMGHAS

signes employés par les Kirghiz-Kazak
en guise de signatures et de cachets.

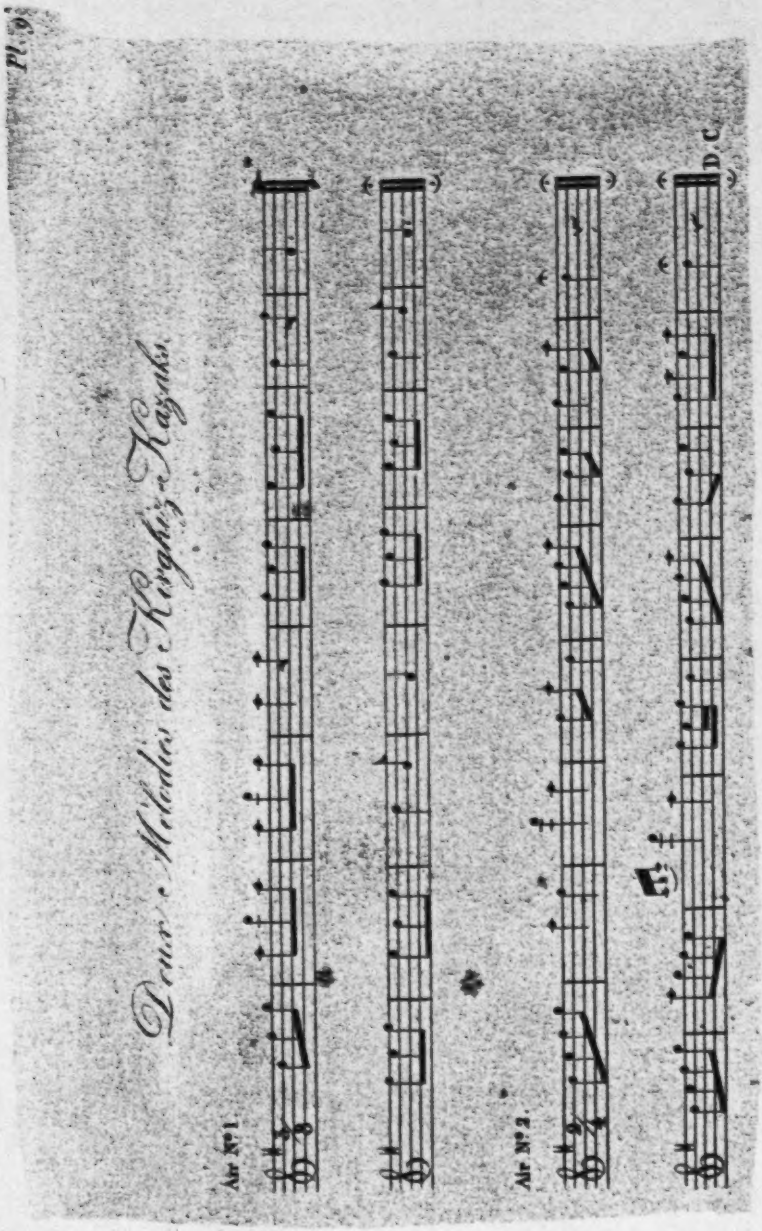
DANS LA PETITE HORDE

Noms.	Signes en Tamghas	Noms.	Signes en Tamghas
Tchubli		Machkar	
Karakessak		Tazfur	
Tchoumuaker		Tchorkas	
Duro Kara		Tabynn	
Aldaï		Cama	
Djapass		Kerdari	
Alatcha		Djagallaurulu	
Bertch		Kenit	

DANS LA MOYENNE HORDE

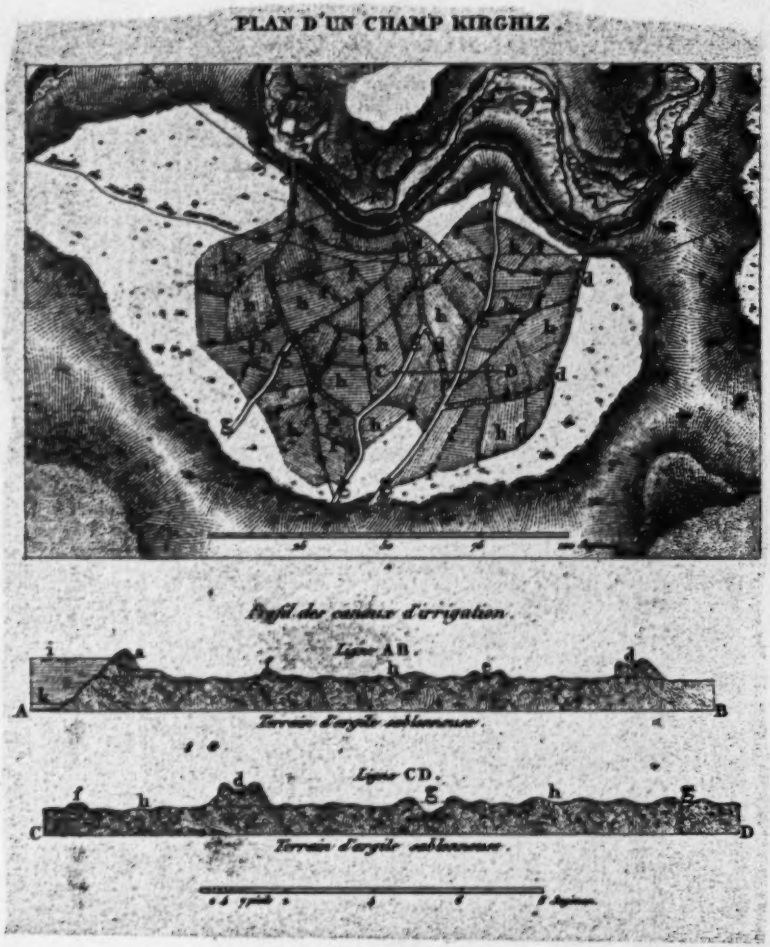
Tleuptchariky		Oserakiky	
Naimaniky		Kirciky	

[End plate VII]



[End plate VIII]

Pl. 10.



[End plate IX]

5: Levchine G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 (Foreign text) RQ2 Kazak RQ2

A	B	C	D	E
F	G	H	I	J

Chart showing the position of the pages of the "Carte du Pays Occupe par les Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kaissaks et du Turkestan."
(End map of foreign text)

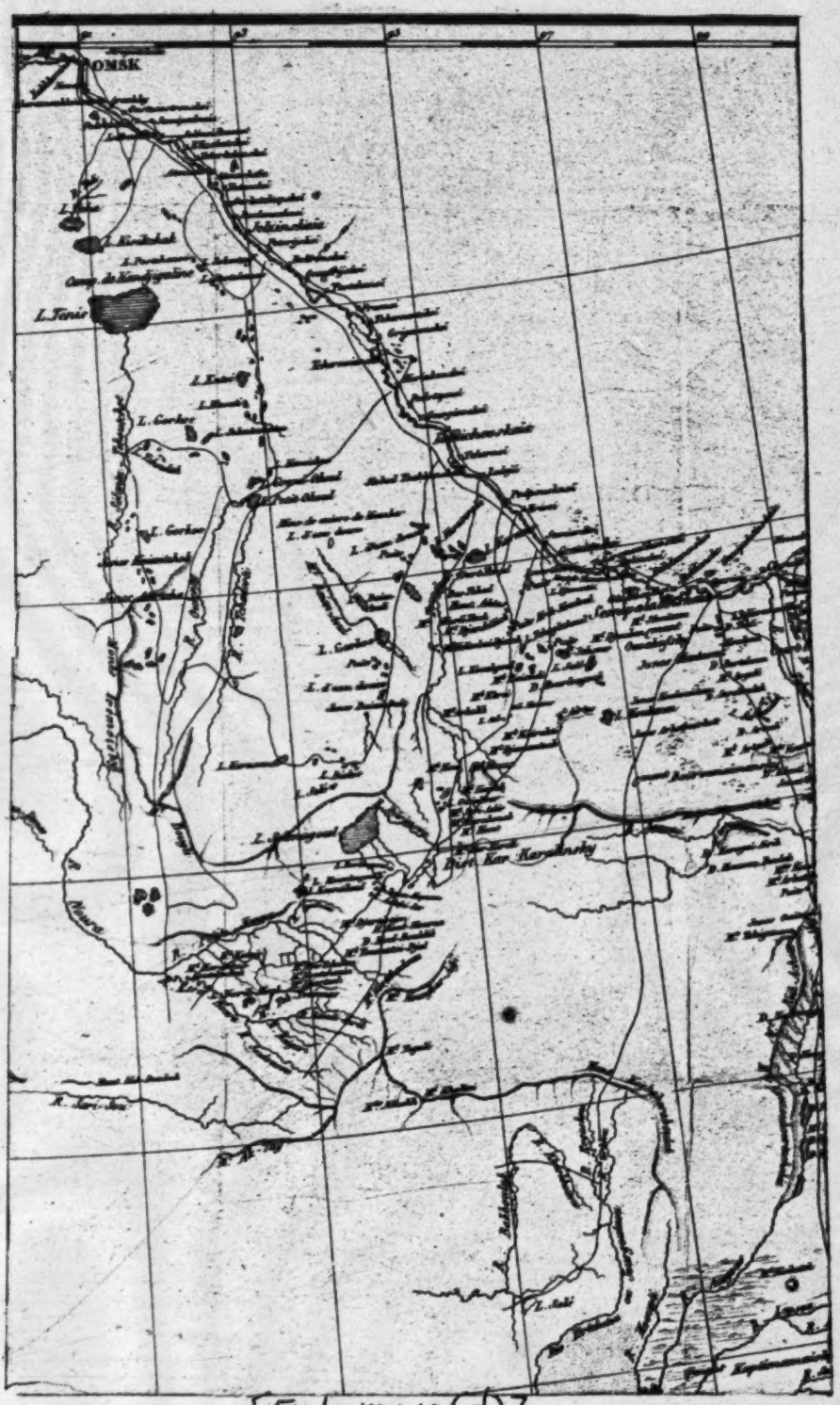
Abréviations employées.
D. District.
P. Poste.
T. Tombeau.
Comb. Campement.
Cim. Cimetière.
Rem. Ruines.
Bouderinsk
Sakharnaia
Kalmyk
Koch-Ouralskaia
Koulaghina
Tapolsk
Saratchikof
Presquile Bazatchy
Golfe Karabi
Ilmen
Ouralsk
Fort Alexandrovsk
Fort Nicolaiev
Fort Pétrov

Verkhni-Ouralsk
Kazilska
Tanalytska
L. Akmolal-Barki
Rozakiorer
M E R

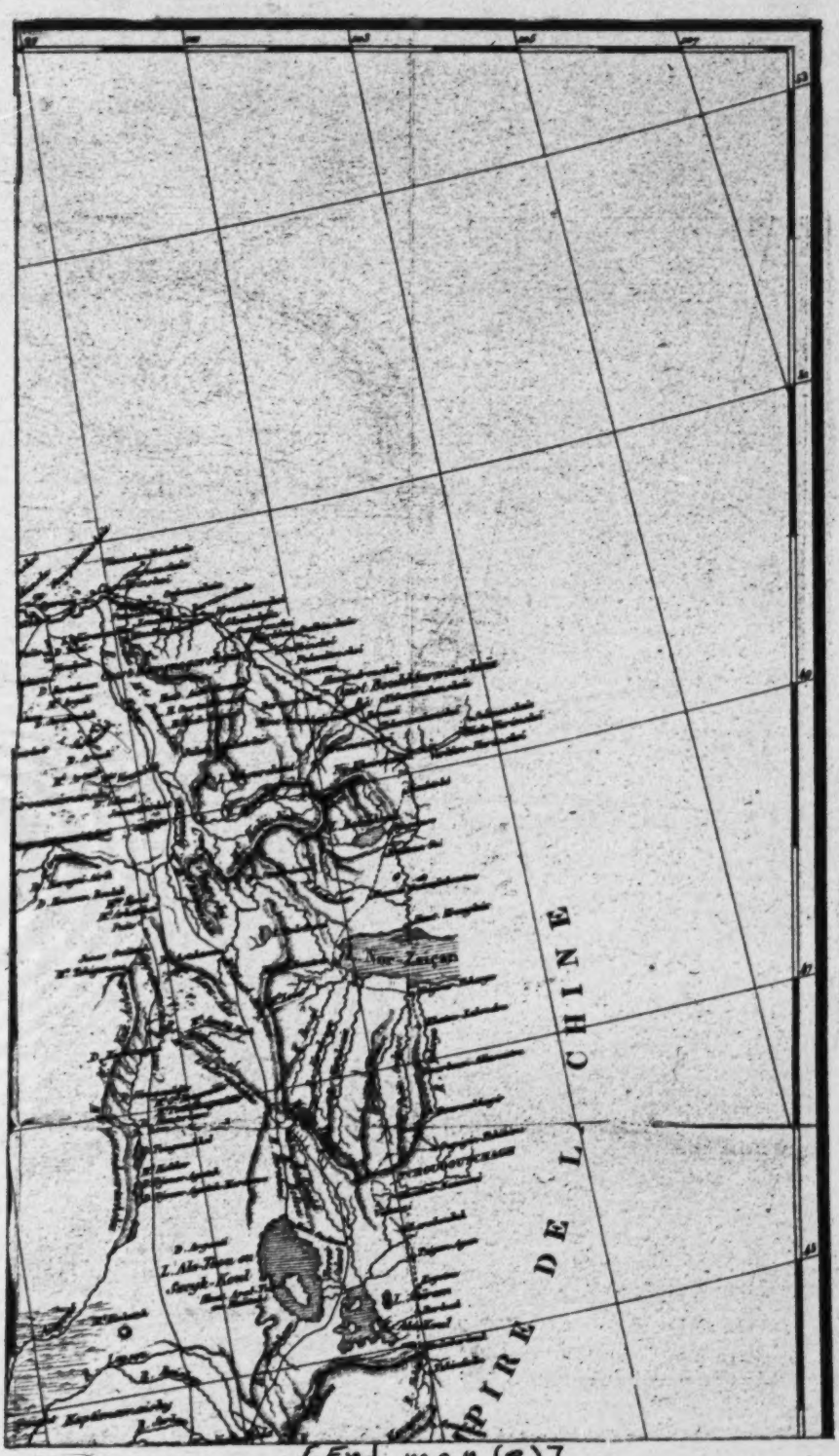
[End map (b)]

Longitude du Méridien de l'Ile de Fer.
L. Tchaghi
L. Tarare
L. Tenis
L. Bolae
L. Khouzkhadjine
Rozalieres
L. Dongbiz
Steppe Bétpak

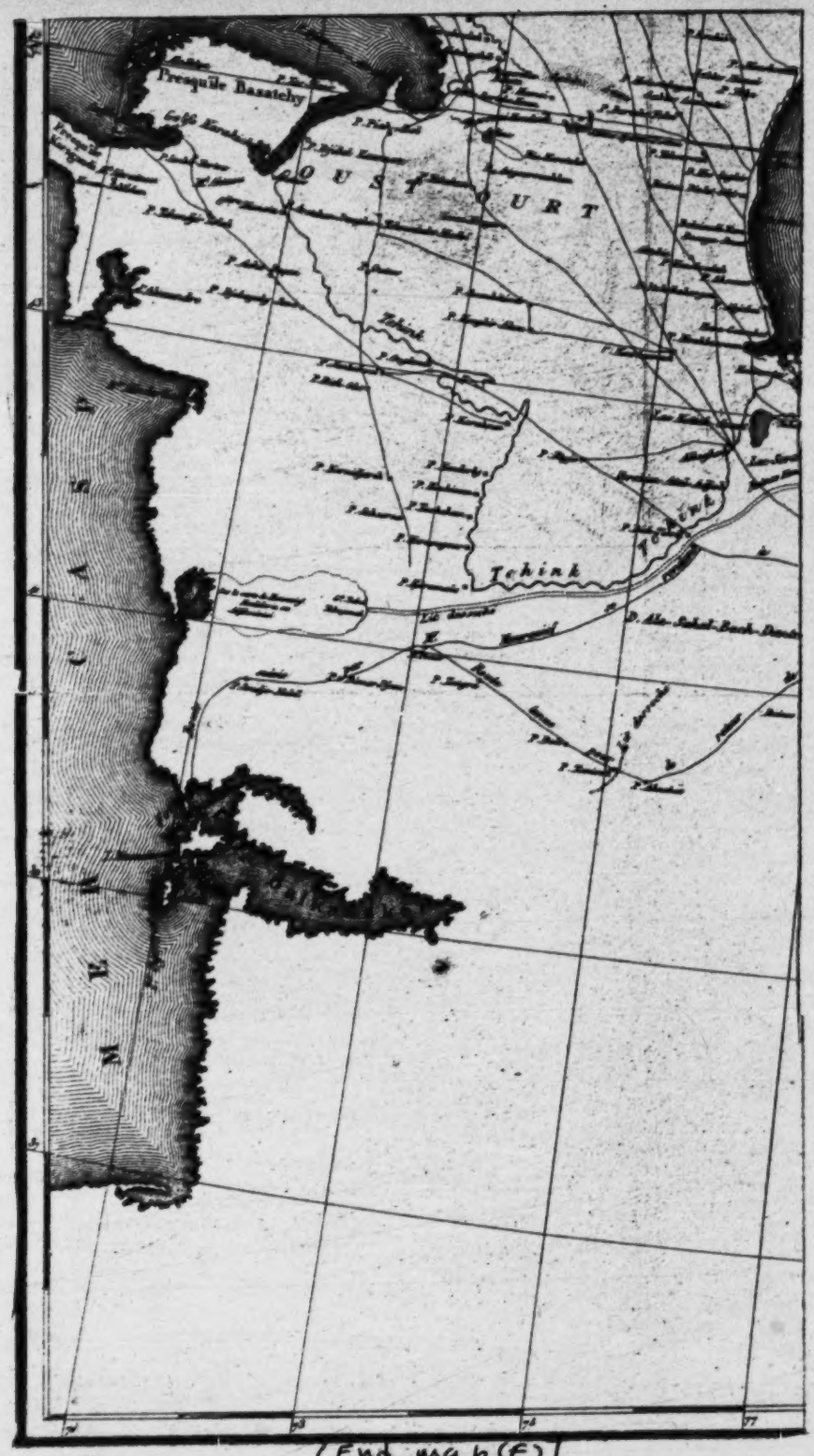
[End map (c)]



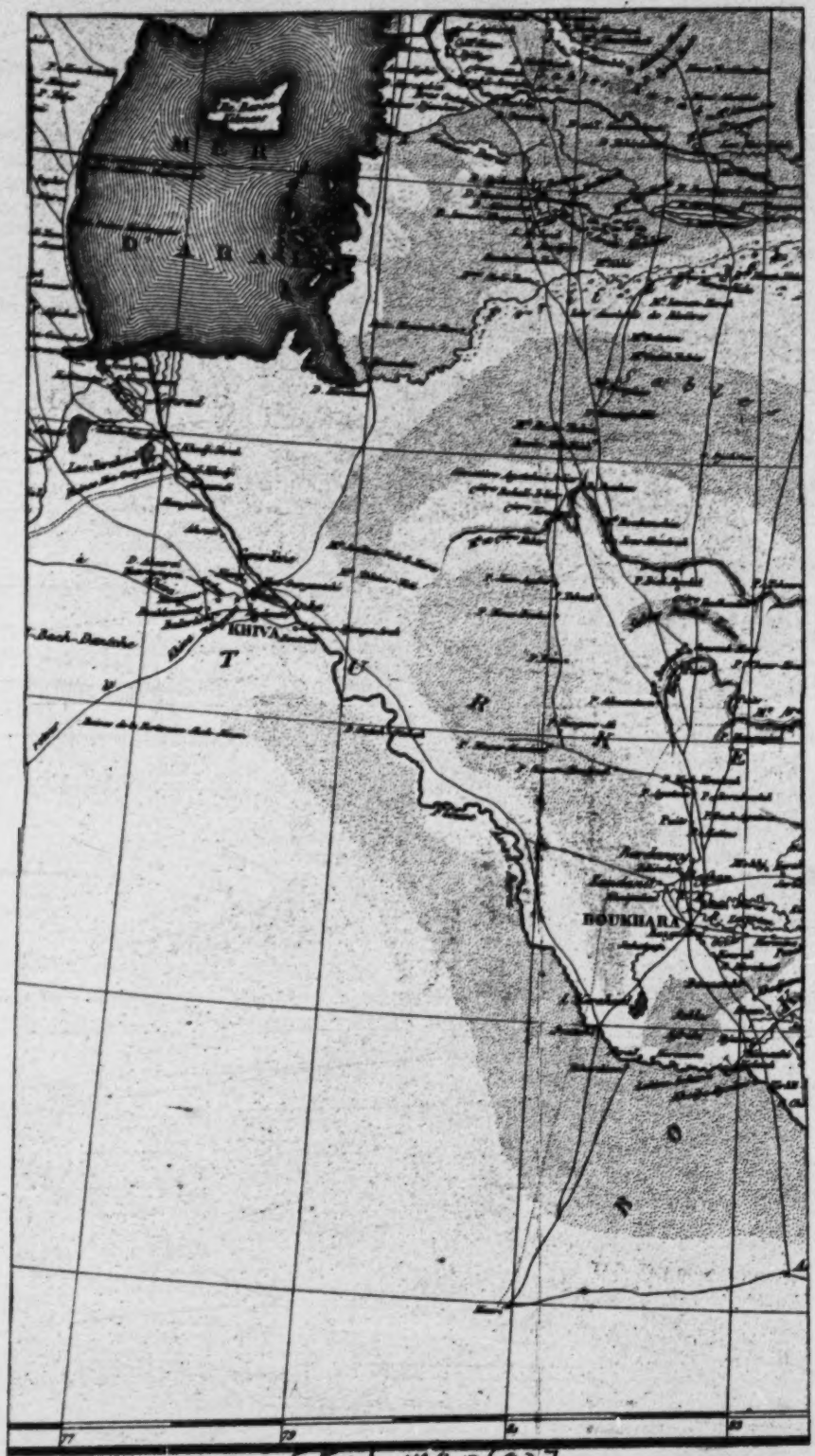
[End map (d)]



[End map (e)]



[End map (F)]

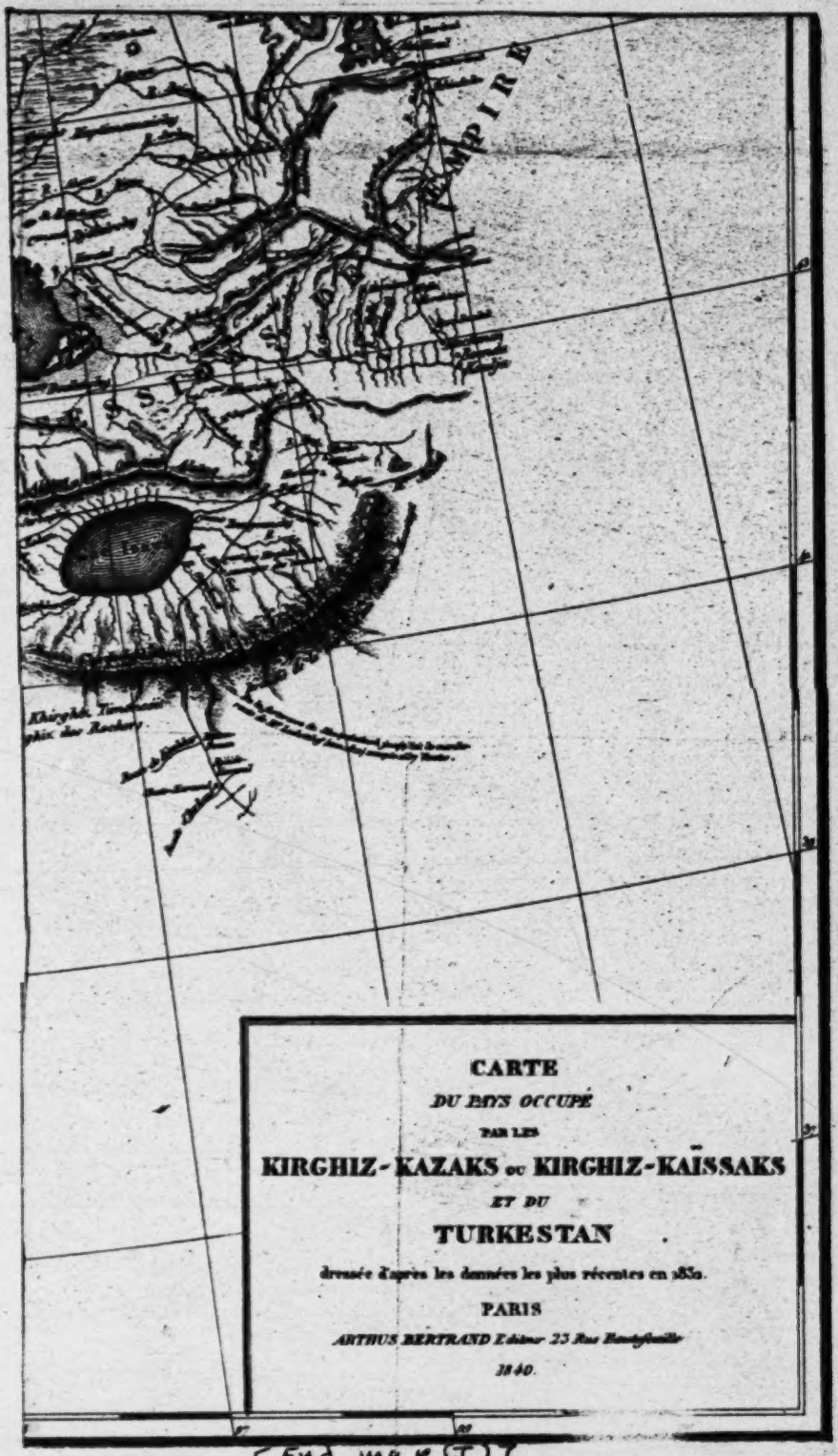


[End map (g)]

Steppe Boupak
TURKESTAN
TACHKENT
KOKAN
SAMARKAND
CHERSABES
Ankoi
BALK
BADACHKHAN

[End map(h)]

[End map(i)]


CARTE
DU PAYS OCCUPÉ
PAR LES
KIRGHIZ-KAZAKS ou KIRGHIZ-KAÏSSAKS
ET DU
TURKESTAN
dressée d'après les données les plus récentes en 1839.
PARIS
ARTHUS BERTRAND Éditeur 23 Rue Hautefeuille
1840.

[End map (J)]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

7: Sedel'nikov et al. U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

000

The Kirghiz Krai
/Kirgizskii Krai/

by A. N. Sedel'nikov et al.

St. Petersburg: 1903
Rossiia. Polnoe Geograficheskoe Opisanie Nashego Otechestva
/Russia, a Complete Geographical Description of Our Fatherland/
V. P. Semenov, Editor.
Vol. 18, Chs. 4 and 5, pp. 138-222

Translated from the Russian by Barbara and Laurence Krader

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title page/

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --1 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

/138/

Part II . Population

000 Ch. IV. The Historical Fate of the Kirghiz Krai and Its Cultural Highpoints

By A. N. Sedel'nikov, A. N. Bukeikhanov, and S. D. Chadov

The peoples inhabiting the Kirghiz krai in ancient times. -- "Chud'." -- The Tatars. -- The Bashkir. -- The Kalmyk. -- The Dzungarians. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/. -- The conquest and two types of colonization of the krai -- voluntary and state. -- The peasant colonization of the 1880's and 1890's. - "Belovod'e." -- The development of education in the krai. -- Elementary and intermediate school education. -- Books and publishing activity in the krai.

P.T
172
Ka
[642]

Traces of the sojourn of primitive man in the Kirghiz krai /which in 1920 became the Kirghiz Autonomous SSR, and in 1936 the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic/ have been found in a few places. They consist of various stone implements -- axes, hammers, arrowheads, and spearheads -- and a small number of crude metal articles. A few dwelling sites and burial sites have also been discovered at the foot of the Altai Mountains and on the banks of the Irtysh River. These monuments indicate that the people who left them were still in their infancy and had only started on the path toward culture. Some scholars regard this people as a Finnish tribe.

Monuments indicating the presence of a more powerful tribe on a higher cultural level in the Kirghiz krai have a far wider range of distribution here. These are monuments which the contemporary population ascribes to the legendary "Chud'" people. It seems that scholars have been unable to agree up until the most recent times as to what kind of people left such a

/138 cont./

172 multitude of monuments over an enormous area, not only in the Kirghiz krai, but throughout all of southern Siberia. These same monuments even spread over into southern Russia and farther west into the borders of Austria and Germany.

Some scholars support Herodotus, who in his description of Scythia (5th century B.C.), mentions that the Argippaei lived at the foot of mountains (Urals), the Issedones east of them, the Arimaspi and Grippi (Griffins) above them, guarding gold. According to Herodotus, the Greeks obtained gold from the latter, through the mediation of the Issedones. Herodotus himself, however, had little faith in the existence of the peoples mentioned above and cited them from the words of others. Later historians, too, have not acknowledged them, although /139/ they have not denied the existence in these places of a people who became the ancestors of the present Kalmyk. Many archeologists and ethnographers, however, cannot agree with this last, since the written records that have come down to us (from the 14th and 16th centuries A.D.) speak of the "Chud'" graves as completely strange and unknown to the Kalmyk of that time, and because the objects found in the Chud' burial sites and other monuments that have come down to us indicate the high culture of the "Chud'" in comparison not only with the Kalmyk and other indigenous Mongol tribes whom the Russians found in the Kirghiz krai in the 16th and 17th centuries, but also in comparison with the modern ones. It is difficult to accept the idea that the Kalmyk (or another Mongol tribe), having reached a rather high cultural level so long ago, would not only have failed to advance a step further over more than ten centuries, but would have even regressed considerably. Some archeologists see in the "Chud'" monuments traces of the residence of Aryan tribes here, basing this on the similarity of objects found in the south Russian and Siberian kurgans, and also in the closeness of the skull forms. /Illustration appears here./

From everything we know up to now of the kurgan tribe

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --3 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

/139 cont./

172 /"Chud'"/, it is possible to be certain only that this people lived here over an extended period of time, passing through several cultural stages -- the Bronze and Copper Ages --reaching the Iron age. They lived in fortified towns, had a quite highly developed industry and art, worked out written signs with which they recorded their historical events, and, finally, had their own religion with definite customs.

Kamennaya baba
/"stone figure of an old woman"/
(From a photograph by Ryzhkov, from the album of the Western Siberian Section of the Russian Geographical Society.)

Let us pause to go somewhat more deeply into the monuments of this ancient people. Remains of the cities of the kurgan tribe have come down to us, as we stated above. These were small structures of clay, wood (framework), and stone. Such "gorodishche" /sites of ancient towns/ with their ruins have been discovered in many places -- on the banks of the Irtysh River near Pavlodar and Ust-Kamenogorsk, in the suburbs of Karkaralinsk, on the upper courses of the Ishim, Tobol, and Or rivers, and on the banks of the Ilek and Ural rivers. Copper and bronze weapons have been found in them, and various clay and bronze vessels (cups and urns), the latter vessels always being adorned with various designs. Some of the ruined town sites were in the form of fortresses and were located on inaccessible spots (for example, in the neighborhood of Karkaralinsk). Others were located on the banks of rivers and lakes and contained wooden and earthen structures. Pieces of harness were found in the

RQ2 Kazak
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3
Kazakhstan RQ1

P.T. 172 /139 cont./

ruined town sites (bits and stirrups with bronze and copper incisions, etc.), and tools for working the fields. The metallurgy was particularly well developed, however. "Chud' mines" are scattered in masses along the southern mountainous strip of the region. It can be said without exaggeration that the modern mining industry developed from the Chud' mines. The first mining industrialists /140/ began to mine copper and silver in these mines, and only in recent times have they engaged in mining deposits which had never been touched before. The "Chud' Mines" have been found primarily in the Karkaralinsk uyezd, where even at present the mining industry is most highly developed. Many such mines are also known in the northwestern Altai. Thus, not far from the confluence of the Shul'ba with the Irtysh river, five ancient hearths have been found with copper ore and slag preserved in them. The well-known Zyryanov mine in the Altai is also based on the "Chud' mines." Traces of ancient mines have been found in the Mugodzhar Hills and on the upper course of the Ural River. Copper ore was found primarily in these mines, and only rarely silver (although iron ore was also discovered in many mines, evidently the smelting of metal was still unknown to this people).

Ka P.T. [316]

Many monuments of the religious cult have also survived. The kurgans and burial sites provide rich material in this respect. Both indicate that the people here no longer had a crude fetishism, but pantheism and a concept of life beyond the grave. The people took pains in the burial of the dead and adorned the interior and exterior of the graves, covering them with stone or wood. They dressed the dead in their best garments and added gold and silver objects for adornment -- necklaces, rings, bracelets -- and also placed the favorite possessions of the dead with them -- cups, plates, pots, etc. The graves (kurgans) were made for one or a few individuals, and the majority are such, or else for many bodies (the so-called mogil'nik /burying ground/). Meanwhile one may suppose, judging by the adornment of the graves and the objects found therein, that the rich ones served as resting places for eminent and honored persons.

P.T. 172 /140 cont./

Quite often the kurgans and burying grounds were adorned by stone statues ("baby" /old women/) and stone slabs with inscriptions. Copper altars were found in some graves, and vessels containing ashes. Evidently the dead were once cremated. Temples served as places of religious worship, and here images of gods were found in the forms of men and women, bulls, geese, snakes, and other animals. Letters were known to these people, and they recorded the events of their lives by means of them, at first having recourse to hieroglyphics and later using letters. These "pisyantsi" /writings/ were made most often on stones, chiseled out or painted. The form of the signs recalls ancient Greek and Indic (Zend) letters. The writing was done horizontally.

The people who lived here at the time of the Russian conquest of the krai had no clear ideas about the "Chud'." To them the "Chud'" were a mysterious people, just as they are to us at the present time. The population was acquainted with the monuments, however. It was from the indigenous population here that the Russians found out that the graves were "Chud'" graves, and that various valuable objects were buried in them. Both the indigenous people and the Russians in the early times were particularly active in examining such graves, and they stole everything valuable from them.

H.T. 175

According to Chinese sources, a certain Usun' or Uysyun people, whose physical type distinguished them from other Asiatic peoples (light-colored hair, blue eyes), appeared within the borders of the region 200 years before the birth of Christ. Like all the subsequent peoples, the Usun' moved across the valley of the Ili River and the Ala-Kul, which are rightfully called the /141/ "historical gates" of peoples, and went to /illustration appears here/ Balkhash. They lived here almost up to the beginning of our era, at which time, split by internecine wars and under pressure from new peoples to the south, they moved farther north and northwest into the steppe, where they mixed with the wandering Turkic tribes. Their name

[Text continues on p. 7]

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --6 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

/141/

172

Kamennaya baba /"stone figure of an old woman"/. (From a photograph by Ryzhkov, from the album of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.)

Kamennaya baba /"stone figure of an old woman"/. (From a photograph by Ryzhkov, from the album of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.)

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --T U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. /141 cont./
175 completely disappeared from the scene of history after 119 A.D. In 177 A.D. the tribes living in the Kirghiz krai were forced westward by Huns entering from the Chinese dominions. The Huns moved across the southern steppes to the west and completely destroyed the Yuechi tribe, related to the Usun', who were in their path. In the 5th century A.D. the Huns who remained in the region under discussion (most of them had already gone into the southern Russian and Hungarian steppes) fell under the domination of the Mongols moving in from the southeast. Most of them were soon scattered and destroyed by the nearest Mongol hordes from the Uigur tribe, descending from the Altai (in the 7th century). During this period (5th to 7th centuries), after the powerful and conquering Hunnian wave, there came an almost unbroken movement of various Turkic tribes from the east, especially from the Altai. At this time the Pecheneg came to the southern steppes, but were soon forced out by the Turks into the modern Ural oblast and beyond to the Volga. In the 9th century they were already well-known to the Russian princes as a wild steppe (nomadic) people /illustration appears here/ and a troublesome neighbor. In the 11th century another Turkic tribe, the Polovtsi, appeared along the same path. They pressed the Pecheneg and the Turks and also moved westward. They, like the others, had a nomadic economy, and when they reached the Russian boundaries they also engaged in raids on the nearest Russian towns and villages.

K
H.T. New Turkic tribes appeared on the historical scene at
175 approximately the same time, known by the general name of Kirghz-Kazak (Kaisak). In view of the fact that this people played and is now playing a great role in the history of our region, we will give a more detailed description here both of their history and of their way of life and their mores (in the following chapters).

H.T. Our outline concerns a brief history of the Kirghiz /Kazak/
[631] living on the borders of our krai, i.e., the four steppe oblasts:
K
[101] Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Ural. According to the
000

162 [101] /141 cont./ According to the data of the governor's reports for the 1890's, /142/ there are 1,875,000 of them, of both sexes, constituting 58% of all the Kirghiz-Kazak, including those living in China, in the Bukhara and Khiva dominions (1). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and

1. The population of the steppe oblasts calls itself "Kazak." Many fantastic explanations exist for this word. The colonel Kolchi-Kadyr was ill, dying of thirst, and left to the mercy of fate, and he prayed to heaven to send him a speedy death. But the heavens took pity upon him, and one of the good spirits, a peri, descended in the form of a white goose kaz-ak. The goose flew away for water, gave the sufferer a drink, and remained to live with him. The offspring of this marriage received the name Kazak. The word "Kirgliz" which has come into use also signifying "Kazak" was originally completely unknown to the latter, and they first began to hear the word primarily from Russians. In the older horde of the Kaisak there is a "Kyrgyz" clan. This is one of the most ancient Turkic tribes. The Kyrgyz were known of old for their attacks on cities, villages, and caravans, and their name became hated by their neighbors. The later "Kazak" began to be called Kirghiz as a consequence of their raids on their neighbors. This word has come into general use, gradually forcing out the real name used by the people--Kazak.

101 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts consist chiefly of certain Turkic tribes: the Kerei /or Kerey/, Naiman /or Nayman/, Alchin, /or Kipchak/, Alchin, and Argyn.

/142 cont./

101
175

Alchin, and Argyn. According to the scanty historical evidence about them, these Turkic tribes have long been wandering in the various corners of the continent of Asia. The Kerei lived intermittently with the Mongols on the Kerulen and Onon rivers in the homeland of Genghis Khan and fell prey to his first conquests. In the 12th century the Naiman were wandering southwest of the Kerei between the Orkhon and Irtysh rivers. The Kypchak and the Alchin wandered in the northwestern half of the present steppe oblasts. The Mongols of Genghis Khan, going from eastern Siberia into Central Asia, and then the hordes of Batu, also departing from eastern Siberia, beginning at the upper course of the Irtysh river (where Batu designated the point of assembly) and moving thence through the present Steppe krai to the mouth of the Volga, produced an intermingling of all the nomadic tribes they encountered on their way. Because of the common way of life of the Mongols and the Turkic tribes, the latter mixed with the former. After this mixture, produced by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Batu, it appeared that the Naiman and Argyn, about whom there had been no earlier information, entered the ulus /subtribe/ of Chagatay /Dzhagatai/, the second son of Genghis Khan, and in the 14th century were wandering from the Imil' River southwest to Kara-Tal and west to the Nura River. The Kerei appeared on the Black Irtysh, while the Kypchak and Alchin entered the ulus of Djuchi /Dzhuchi/, the elder son of Genghis Khan, and constituted the nucleus of the Golden or Kypchak Horde of Batu. After the period of Batu the historical fate of the tribes mentioned was closely linked with the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi. Although nominally under the power of the Genghisides, the nomadic tribes retained their tribal way of life and their nomadism. A biy acted as judge in civil and criminal cases, a man who stood out among the people for his eloquence, his knowledge of the juridical folk customs, his impartiality, and the justice of his decisions. Clashes between clans over pasture land took place very often

/142 cont. /

101
195

on the steppe because of the particular mobility which is inevitable in a livestock-herding economy. The struggle between between the clans gave rise to resourceful and daring leaders, who bore the title of batyr? Frequently the biy and the batyr' were combined in one and the same person. The skillful magistrate and wise judge in peacetime was transformed into a scout when he departed for war in defense of the clan. /143/ into a leader of troops, a soldier, and, after the war, into a diplomat. The nomads with their superb horsemen and unusual mobility represented an immense military power in their time, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Every clan, governed by its biy and commanded by its batyr', entered alliances and broke off from them freely, acknowledging over themselves only that superior power which corresponded to the interests of the clan or its leader. The customary struggle for power and appanages among the Genghisides was settled with the constant interference of the most powerful Turkic tribes, which played an active role in the breaking up of the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi.

In the middle of the 15th century, Turkic tribes which later entered the steppe oblasts under the name of Kirghiz / /Kazak/ entered the historical scene in the form of an independent political power on the ruins of those uluses mentioned above. /Illustration appears here. /

Taking advantage of the weakness of power of the Uzbek khan Abulkhair (1), the Djuchide-sultans Girei /or Girey/ and

1. From the time of their khan Uzbek, who died in 1342, the Golden Horde began to bear his name.

Djany-Bek /Dzhany-Bek/ broke off from him with their adherents and found refuge in the western part of his ulus on the river Chu, thanks to the hatred for Abulkhair of the Chagatayde khan of Mogolistan, Isa-Bug. Here they founded an alliance of nomads which later received the name of "Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak)."

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

764
614

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 619 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again 631 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 63 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later,

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

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175 /145 cont./
648 but these attempts were unsuccessful.

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175 In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the
648 past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai
669 Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents. /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people
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[533] prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

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175 With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

K.K. /146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people
175 who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk
101 appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove
648 the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented
619 an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning
KK of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the
175 eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628
619 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural
648

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

KK 175 619 648 /146 cont./

rivers and beyond to the Volga (1630). War broke out among the other tribes for priority, which was won by the Dzungarians, and indeed the former alliance began to be called Dzungaria after them. United by valiant commanders, Dzungaria became a dangerous neighbor, not only for the eastern Mongol, Altai, and Baraba tribes, but also for China. The latter suffered much from the attacks of the Dzungarians in its western provinces, until after several campaigns the many soldiers of the Chinese army inflicted a decisive defeat (in 1696) upon the armies of the Dzungarian kontayshi

K 361 133

Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter camp in the steppe.

KK 175 619 648

(prince), the famous Galdan-Tsyren.

This somewhat weakened the power of Dzungaria, but the return of the Torgout, who wandered back from the Volga, again strengthened its influence on the surrounding tribes. This influence was so strong that the Baraba Tatars, who were nominally subject to the Russians, nevertheless acknowledged the power of the Dzungarians and paid duty to them and not to the Russians. Finally the Russians, too, were obliged to clash with them, and at first to give way. In 1714 the Russian government sent Buchholz to set up a series of fortresses along the Irtysh river (by which it was proposed to link the gold deposits of Yarkand with Siberia). The latter established a fortress near the settlement of Yamyshev (where the main trading between the Russians, Dzungarians, Bukhariotes, and Tashkentians was concentrated). The

KK 175 648 KK [439]

K.K. /146 cont./
175 Dzungarians however, would not permit the Russians to estab-
648 lish themselves there. In spite of the fact that Buchholz was accompanied by a considerable detachment (3,000 men), they besieged him and forced him to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om and to renounce his aim. Only five years later, with the consent of the Dzungarians, the Russians did succeed in founding several fortresses along the Irtysh (Omsk, Staro-Semipalatinsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk).

K As we have seen, in 1723 the Dzungarians defeated a
175 part of the Elder and Middle Hordes of the Kirghiz /Kazak/
648 (wandering west of them). The Younger Horde and the part of
167 the Middle Horde that remained independent moved northwest
KK to the Siberian border of the Russians and to the Bashkir. Mean-
175 while the khans Abulkhair and Semeke swore allegiance to the
648 Russians in order to protect themselves better from the Dzungarians.

KK It was during this period that the kingdom of Dzungaria reached its
175 greatest power and might, extending from the Altai across the
631 southern part of the present Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and
648 Turgai oblasts to the Aral Sea, and southward to the foothills of the Tien Shan. In 1739 the Dzungarians attacked the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and drove them to the Ural (Yaik) River, in the course of which many Bashkir who were subject to the Russians were killed. The Russian government, however, decided not to punish the Dzungarians for the attack, for it still recognized them as a powerful enemy. These Dzungarian kontayshi considered themselves so powerful that they paid no heed to good relations with their strong neighbors -- China and Russia. Only after /147/ clan dissensions once again arose in Dzungaria did its power fall, this time finally, and the Chinese and Russians did not fail to take advantage of it. In 1751 the kontaysha Amursana was seeking to rule Dzungaria. Since he had no hope of achieving his aim by his own power, he turned to the Chinese government for help. The latter, expecting to gain an advantage from the war which was beginning, sent an army to Amursana, which did indeed help him to gain rule. Instead of acknowledging

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK 175 631 648 /147 cont./

himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

KK [167]

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

K 175 648 [619] [167]

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

P.T. 172

Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

RQ2 Kazak
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3
Historical Turkestan RL2

P.T. 172 /147 cont./

monuments of the most ancient inhabitants of the region--the legendary "Chud'." Several memorials were also left behind by the Mongols, Kirghiz /Kazak/, Kalmyk, Dzungarians, Chinese, and other peoples who lived in or passed through the region. Such are the various graves (among which the grave of Alacha-khan, on the upper course of the Sary-Su River, deserves mention), the stone sculptured figures ("old women"), the figures and inscriptions cut in the stones and cliffs, the traces of fortresses and canals in the mountain valleys, the ruins of monasteries (the illustrious Ablaiki Buddhist monastery near Ust-Kamenogorsk), and many other small memorials, such as weapons, vessels, and household appurtenances. Written history and the memorials tell us that most of these peoples led a nomadic type of life, for which reason the exchange of one people for another and one culture for another took place rapidly and easily.

H.T. 175 167 648

From the second half of the 16th century, a new people began to push their way in here from the north--the Slavs. Their culture was higher than that of /148/ the masters of the Kirghiz krai of that time, and the latter were obliged to yield the rule in their own region to the newcomers. We will now turn to an examination of the movement of the Russians here and their colonization of the region.

Two stages can be distinguished in the Russian colonization of the region: the appearance of free /vol'nye/ colonizers here, and the movement of government troops which followed in their tracks. The free colonization came about through the appearance of peasants, criminals, adherents of religious sects, and various rabble, who fled here from the difficult conditions of the life of that time or in order to make an easy living from the defenseless indigenous people. The southern Urals and the northeastern part of our region were particularly favored places in this regard. Thousands of such nameless people collected here in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. This is where the idea developed of "looking over the land sectors," which was accompanied by

7: Sedel'nikov et al.--19 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2

/148 cont./

175 moving forward into the interior of the unknown countries.
167 One can derive some idea of the strength and power of this
648 movement from the fact that over a period of some 100-150 years (1560-1750) a wave of nameless fugitives /vol'nitsa/ traversed all of Siberia from the Urals to Kamchatka and from Berezov to the Altai. One of the lateral waves went into the Kirghiz krai from the north, along the Irtysh river and the Baraba Steppe, and another went from the southern Urals along the Ural river and its tributaries. The latter movement began earlier, but the colonization along the Irtysh was accomplished more quickly because it was stronger. The Irtysh krai and the Altai had greater value in the eyes of the colonizers because of their natural wealth, and more people came here. The Russian government recognized this also and afterwards sent its chief military forces here. We shall see below how the government colonization (and conquest) followed the footsteps of the free movement and legalized it, so to speak. In some cases the government had only to recognize a certain sector of land as theirs because it had already been seized by the fugitives.

In the following account we shall describe the conquest and colonization of the eastern part of the region (the present Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts) and that of the western part (the Ural and Tuggai oblasts) separately.

It is difficult to say exactly in what year Russians appeared in the Ishim-Irtysh region. There is no doubt that both in northern Siberia and here the conquest of the region was preceded by partial penetration by various kinds of hunters for fur-bearing animals, and also simply to plunder the indigenous people. These isolated preliminary skirmishers of the Russian colonization were a kind of mob of fugitives, who were not united by any sort of definite aim (except plunder) and could not serve as a firm bulwark of colonization, in spite of the fact that at first they probably did not encounter united resistance from the natives of the area. When the rule of Kuchum spread over the Ishim-Irtysh steppes in the second half of the 16th century, these fugitives were obliged to

/148 cont./

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shift their scene of action for a time to northern Siberia. Nevertheless the road to the wealthy region was indicated and was used by the Siberian military commanders.

In the beginning of the 1580's the first bands of service people appeared on the Irtysh, following Yermak, and they already had a definite goal -- to continue the work begun by Yermak, namely, to place the indigenous peoples "under the hand of the great emperor" and to conquer the region. /149/ The Russian forces who came here were again obliged to meet with Kuchum, who, after a whole series of defeats from Yermak, "fled into the Kalmyk border of Ishim, Nor-Ishim, Om, and Kamyshlov," as expressed by the Siberian chronicler Remezov, i.e., into the modern Ishim-Irtysh steppe. He was no longer the former terrible Siberian emperor, however, and the Russians were not obliged to wage a serious open battle with him. Evidently the previous defeats had considerably shaken the prestige of his rule and killed the hope of the natives under his rule for a successful outcome of the battle. For this reason they were probably unwilling to answer his calls to open battle with the Russians. Perhaps it was also because they were few and had been taught by bitter experience, and since they were without firearms, they did not wish to try their luck in open warfare. One way or another, during the six years Kuchum spent here, the Russians waged a small war and could not move ahead, although they did not have a single serious contest with the followers of Kuchum. The latter "lived in hiding and did much damage to the Russians and the tribute gatherers." /Illustration appears here./ In the following years Kuchum appeared on the right bank of the Irtysh above the place where Omsk is now. Here Kuchum gave the Russian forces no peace, sometimes attacking the native tribute gatherers of the Russians, sometimes raiding the caravans of Bukhariote merchants on their way to the Russians.

The Russian military commanders also had difficulties because they had no points of support. The necessity for these

7: Sedel'nikov et al.--21 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. /149 cont./

175 was soon recognized by the Russian government, and in 1594
167 they commanded the building of the town of Tara (Tobolsk
648 guberniya) on the border of the Kuchum kingdom of that time. The town served its purpose. The Russians finally forced the Tartars out and administered several serious defeats to Kuchum. The latter fled south to the Kalmyk (according to some reports, to the Nogai), where he perished. By the beginning of the 17th century only memories remained of the former Siberian tsar and his empire.

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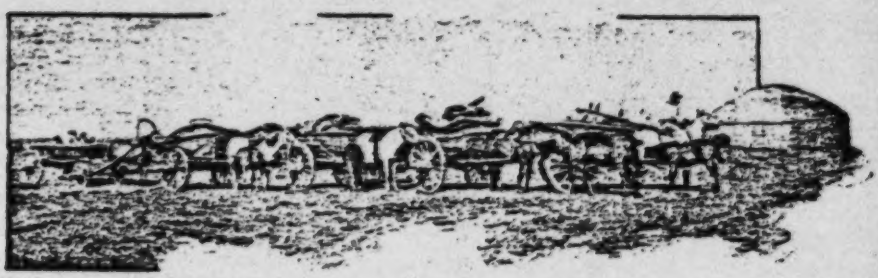

Migration of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

H.T. It is difficult to believe that the conquest of the area was
175 due exclusively to the daring and strength of the Kazak /Cossacks/
631 and service men. There is no doubt that disintegration had already
648 begun in the Tatar empire itself. This empire, which consisted of a whole series of volosts subordinated because of yassak /tribute in furs/ to the clans of Kuchum, was not in itself any kind of whole and solid thing, since it had no deep internal bond. This was /150/ particularly noticeable after the first defeats of Kuchum by Yermak, when the Yassak natives almost all failed to move voluntarily after the retreating followers of Kuchum. Here, too, we saw the same thing. Even the Tatars themselves did not stand fast around Kuchum in order to make a concerted attack on the Muscovite commanders. They either agreed to pay the yassak to the Russians, or else fled from

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Nogai RF6
Kalmyk AH5

H.T. 175 631 648

/150 cont./

them and from Kuchum. The more pressure the Tsarist commanders put on Kuchum, the more difficult it was for him to hold the Tatars under his subjection and to gather trustworthy soldiers around him. At Ormen, for example, Kuchum had only about 500 men, and after the defeat there in 1598 he could not gather together half the number. Only recognition of the rule of the Russians, submission, or flight from his dominions remained. He chose the latter and died a violent death.

Thus 1598 may be considered the year of submission for the last dominions of the Kuchum empire (the modern Ishim-Irtysh steppes or the northern half of the Akmolinsk oblast).

H.T. N 175 648

The Russians did not succeed in profiting from their victories, however. In place of the followers of Kuchum, they had to defend the conquered land against the Nogai, to whom the sons of Kuchum, Alei /or Aley/ and Kanai /or Kanay/, had fled and whom they aroused against the Russians. The Nogai lacked the necessary forces for open battle and engaged in raiding the nearest Russian outposts and the yassak Tatars. It was difficult to punish them or to do battle with them, for when the Russian troops appeared they quickly disappeared into the steppes on the upper course of the Tobol, Ishim, and Turgai. At this same time a more dangerous enemy appeared in the south -- the Kalmyk (Dzungarians) -- who forced the Tatars and Nogai out of the southern steppes along the Irtysh to the east and west and came as far north as the Om, where they also met the Russians. In spite of protests from the Russian commanders, places along the Om, Kamyshlov, and Irtysh were captured by the Kalmyk. The Russians managed to equip their commands and to build temporary outposts to defend the border strip, but this was of no great help. The hordes /illustration appears here/ /151/ of Kalmyk were too strong to be held back by a small handful of Russians. Only the internal squabbles among the Kalmyk which began soon after that helped the Russians to hold the places they had occupied. There was still another reason that forced the Russians to hold fast to these places. The entire Irtysh

H.T. KK. 175 648

7: Sedel'nikov et al. -- 23 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak
Kalmyk AH5
Historical Turkestan RL2

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/151 cont. /the entire Irtysh population obtained salt from the Yamyshev and other salt lakes, which lay in the region not yet conquered, and it was necessary for the Russians to strive to conquer them at any cost, or at least to ensure access to them. Consequently the frequent trips of the Russians created something in the nature of a court of exchange here, to which men of Bukhara, the Tatars and the Kalmyk began to journey. This also increased the importance of these places for the Russians. With the appearance of the Kalmyk, the trips for salt were no longer always uneventful. Sometimes the Kalmyk would not let the Russians pass and did not give them salt. It became necessary to take it by force or to depart empty-handed.

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With the opening of the alabaster deposits here in 1624 (it was taken for mica at first), /map appears here/ the Russians began to strive still harder to hold the valley of the Irtysh in their hands. They were unable to carry this out for a long time, however. In 1713 the Siberian Governor General, Prince Gagarin, reported to Peter I on the importance of building a series of fortresses along the Irtysh. In 1715 Brigadier Buchholz was sent with 3,000 men to

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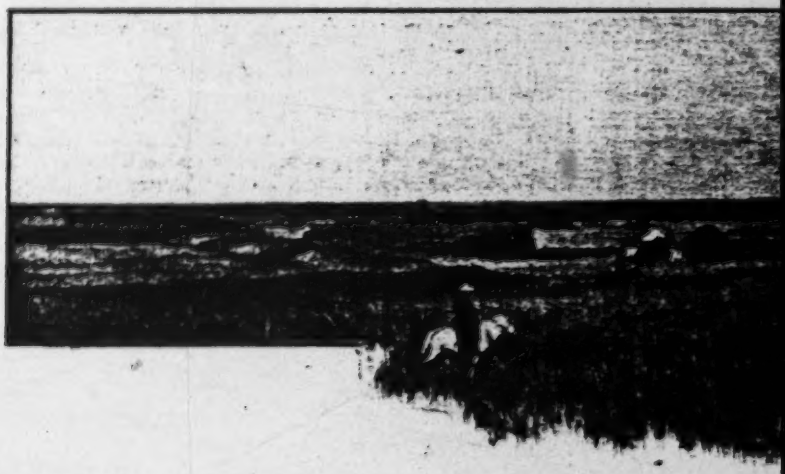

Ruins of the Kutmurun fortress (Petropavlovsk uyezd).

7: Sedel'nikov et al.--24 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Kalmyk AHS

H.T. /151 cont./
175 carry out this project. He had already established a fortress
648 on Lake Yamyshev when he was besieged by Dzungarians and
712 obliged to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om, where,
KK on the high left bank of the river, the Omsk fortress was established.
175 In the subsequent years the efforts of the Russians to take possession
648 of the Irtysh were successful. The Dzungarians permitted the building of a fortress at Lake Yamyshev and the fortress of Semipalatinsk (1718) -- now Staro-Semipalatinsk. In 1720 Likharev, with 440

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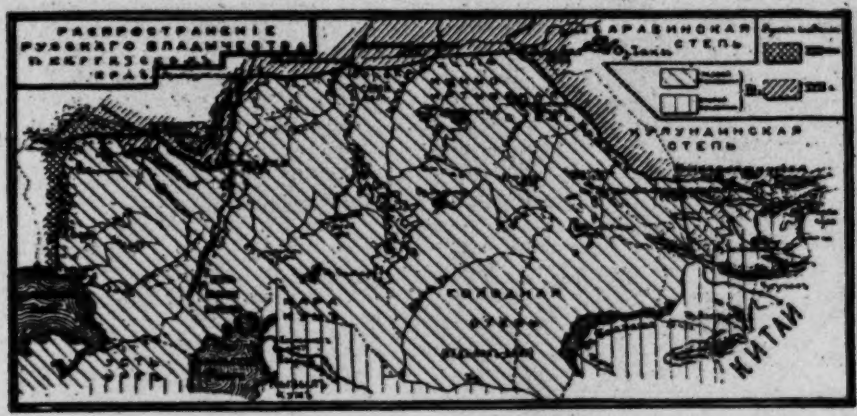

Spread of Russian rule in the Kirghiz krai /note boxes labeled 17th, 18th, and 19th (centuries) in the upper righthand corner/.

H.T.
175 men and artillery, sailed to Lake Zaisan and beyond it on the Black
648 Irtysh. On the return trip he founded the Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress.
712 From this time on, the entire length of the Irtysh became more ac-
KK cessible, although the caravans from Bukhara and other places still
175 traveled with a guard. In order to strengthen Russian rule, /152/
648 it was ordered that exiles be assigned to the Yamyshev fortress as permanent residents and that trade relations be carried on with Dzungaria, Tibet, and China. The strengthening of Dzungaria in the 1730's and 1740's prevented a firm consolidation of the Russians here, forcing them to abandon their aggressive movement temporarily

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Kalmyk AH5

H-T. 175 648 712 KK 175 648

/152 cont./

and to give their primary attention to fortifying the boundaries. In 1745 the government sent in five regiments of infantry and cavalry for the defense of the frontiers, and it was ordered that a series of new fortresses be built. From this time on an intensive colonization of the region with military people began, and a gradual expansion of the Russian frontiers started to the south and into the interior of the steppes.

In 1752 General Kinderman built the fortress of Petropavlovsk and a line of redoubts from the Omsk fortress to the Orenburg fortified line. (There were two hexagonal fortresses, nine quadrangular fortresses, 33 redoubts, and 42 signal towers, manned by 3,642 men). The sites for the fortresses were chosen unfortunately (but at the shortest intervals) -- near a chain of salt lakes -- as a result of which the entire line began to be called Gor'kaya /bitter/. After the Chinese victories over the Dzungarians, the Russians wanted to occupy the entire Irtysh to the Zaisan, but the latter lake had already been captured by the Chinese, so the Russians brought their fortresses only to Bukhtarma (in 1760). The Chinese built a series of their own fortresses along the Narym River to the southern spurs of the Kalba mountain range, in order to bar the movement of the Russians to the south. Having clashed with the Chinese, the Russian government began to devote attention to the interior Kirghiz steppes, the population of which had in part submitted to Russian domination and in part had gone over to the Chinese.

H-T. 175 648

At the end of the 18th century (as we saw earlier) a considerable part of the nomads of the Kirghiz krai had recognized Russian rule and were wandering within Russian boundaries. At the beginning of the 19th century the government was anxious to fortify the conquered region. In the towns (Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk) it tried to form a local sedentary population. For this same purpose a local Kazak /Cossack/ army of the line was formed in 1808 and was alloted land, wages, and provisions. In the 1820's the Kazak /Cossack/ army seized the best (mountainous) section of the modern Kokchetav uyezd and came to the site of

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T /152 cont./
175 modern Akmolinsk, Bayan-Aul, Kokchetav, and Karkaralinsk.
648 In addition to the Kazak /Cossacks/, Russian industrial people
[167] came to the steppe and opened gold, silver, and copper mines
H.T there. In 1837 patrols were established between Kokchetav and
K Akmolinsk, and in the same year the government raised the
175 question of transferring the southern boundaries to the river Chu,
648 but were restrained from this step by the danger of increasing the fermentation among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, which had been evoked by the rebellion of Kenesary (1). When peace had been

H.T.
[169]

1. From 1847 to 1856, Little Russian /Ukrainian/ Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants of the Orenburg and Samara guberniyas were resettled in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds, constituting over 8,000 persons. Meanwhile all the peasant villages along the Gor'kaya line and along the Irtysh (up to 14,000 persons) were made Kazak /Cossacks/ and attached to the land.

established, the Russian government at last held in its power the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes who wandered on the boundaries of the modern Akmolinsk oblast and the western part of the
H.T. Semipalatinsk oblast. Meanwhile further Russian conquests had
175 been going on in Semirechye. Finally in 1860 the Peking peace
648 treaty was made with China, according to which the Russian
439 /153/ border ran south from the Narym valley to Lake Zaisan (the Chakil'mes mountain) and across Tarbagatai to the Tien Shan. This increase in territory was already called for by trade considerations. By this time the Russian merchants had made millions of exchanges with the Chinese and the Mongols, buying tea and raw materials from them and selling manufactured goods.

The commercial dealings took place through the Zaisan

/153 cont./

175 krai, where the two main trade routes -- the Chuguchak and
648 the Zaisan routes -- were located. It was necessary to have
[439] them under one's own rule in order to trade without risk. In
[167] addition (as we will see below), many voluntary peasant migrants who did not recognize Chinese rule had settled here. It was also more advantageous for the Russian government to keep a guard here against raids from the Dungan and other border peoples whose internecine wars brought trouble and discord to the southern peoples under the rule of the Russians. The troubles in western China at the end of the 1870's compelled Russia to take part in pacifying them and then to demand for herself, as compensation for the expenditures, an expansion of her boundaries into China. A treaty was concluded in Petersburg in 1881, according to which Russia received a strip of land from the Kiytyn Mountains (in the southern Altai) along the Ak-Kaba river and the Alkabek to the Black Irtysh. This border is still our national frontier with China.

175 From this time on the question of peasant colonization of
167 the region arose. There was no longer a need for an exclusively
648 military population. It was necessary to see about creating a peaceful cultural element in the region, which would have a salutary influence on the vanquished nomads. Before discussing the question of the peasant colonization of the eastern part of the Kirghiz krai, however, we will say a few words about the conquest of its western part, i.e., the territory of the Ural and Turgai oblasts.

In all probability the movement of unknown Russians into this territory had already begun by the end of the 15th century. During the reign of Ivan the Terrible, the "thievish people" from the Don were already well known here. They had come by the Volga to the Caspian Sea and then traveled along the shore to the mouth of the Yaik (Ural), where they stopped and erected a small fortified village on one of the forks of the river. The region could not have corresponded better to the desires of the fugitives. It was richly endowed by nature (fish, salt, and wild animals) and almost uninhabited. Hence it was easy to go out into the sea,

/153 cont./

175 167 648 when necessary, and to rob the trade caravans of Persian and other merchants. There was no need to fear the attacks of enemies or punishments from the Muscovite Tsar, for the place was too far away both from Persia and from Moscow. At first the fugitives organized their activity in such a way that in the summer they were engaged in plundering, and in winter they lived at the mouth of the Ural. Rumors about the free life were soon carried up the Volga and the Don, bringing a greater stream of new fugitives. It became crowded, however, for all of them to live at the river mouth; it was necessary to move up the river. In the middle and upper course of the Yaik the fugitives were obliged to clash with Tatars, Bashkir, and Kalmyk. The frequent conflicts with them inspired the group to attempt to legalize their position in order to act further in the name of the Tsar of Moscow and to receive support from him. Those who were sent with a petition received from Mikhail Fedorovich recognition of the group as persons in service, and they were officially /154/ granted the entire course of the Yaik from the upper course to the mouth. From this time on the movement of various kinds of fugitives increased still more. People came here as though to a new homeland, fleeing from feudal oppression, from religious persecution, from punishment for crimes. Also regular fishermen came here, although rarely. One of the first of such businessmen, Guryev, even founded (in 1640) a special small town in the mouth of the Yaik, and it bears his name up to this very day.

175 648 The accumulation of fugitives and various kinds of restless people in this far away territory, while it contributed to the strengthening of Russian sovereignty here, nevertheless created many worries for the government. The fugitives provided favorable ground for every kind of agitation, and this was also taken advantage of by the enemies of the Muscovite government. In the interregnum period the "Yaik" Kazak /Cossacks/ gave poor service to their Muscovite commanders and later gave refuge to Zarutskiy and Marina Mniszek. The

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Bashkir RF3

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fermentation did not cease in subsequent years. The fugitives did not wish to recognize the full power of Moscow over them, and elements which were embittered for some reason against Moscow used this to reach their goals and agitated the population. It was here among this group that Pugachev had the idea of "jolting" Moscow, and it was carried out, finding considerable sympathy among the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/ and the Bashkir. When the government realized the extent of the danger this represented for the state, it did not hesitate to use severe measures in order to render it harmless, if not to subdue it.

After the punishment of the followers of Pugachev, limitations on the autonomy of the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/ were introduced. Namely, strict regulations of the service were introduced, and even the very name of the group was changed. Instead of the "Yaik" Kazak /Cossacks/, they began to be called the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/ (from the year 1775), and the river Yaik was called the Ural River. The severe measures showed their effect, although the internal fermentation did not cease until the 19th century. From the middle of this century the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/ have rendered great service in the conquest of the Kirghiz steppes across the Urals and in the campaigns in Central Asia. They acted as the same sort of advanced posts of the Russian movement into the interior of the Kirghiz krai as the Irtysh service people and the local fugitives had been in the east.

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The conquest of the modern Turgai oblast had the same character. Its small northwestern sector was populated by Bashkir and the southeastern part by Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Younger and Middle hordes. The former, i.e., the Bashkir, became a troublesome neighbor for the Russians when the fanatic Moslems appeared in their midst (after the defeat of the realm of Kazan), so much so that, with the agitations of the Yaik fugitives, they could not fail to be dangerous to the government. Without meeting open resistance, the Russians began to occupy locations on the courses of the right tributaries of the Ural and the Tobol, and fortresses were also constructed there. The building of the latter aroused excitement among the Bashkir, which later turned into an uprising.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --30 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2
Bashkir RF3

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H.T.
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/154 cont./

All the uprisings, however, ended in the defeat of the Bashkir and the strengthening of Russian rule. In 1731-32, the Middle and Younger Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes wandered to the border of Bashkiria and submitted to Russian sovereignty. This made it necessary to strengthen the position of Russian rule on the border, in part to defend the Kirghiz /Kazak/ from the Dzungarians, in part to support peaceful relations between the Bashkir and the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The latter, however, was not successful. /155/ There was frequent commotion, contributed to on the one hand by Moslem propaganda, pretenders, and fugitives confusing the population, and, on the other hand, by the provocative form of activity of agents of the Russian government. When the Russian administration gave away the Bashkir land along the Ilek to the nomad Kirghiz /Kazak/, a great uprising resulted (1735-40), which ended in a terrible massacre of the Bashkir.

H.T.
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Neplyuyev, one of the first commanders of this border, rendered great service to his government in stabilizing the rule. He founded modern Orenburg and extended out from it three lines of fortifications which cut across the region and had a restraining effect on the population. One of these lines, the Nizhne-Yaitskaya Distantsiya /Lower Yaik Range/, extended along the right bank of the Ural (Yaik) to the Caspian Sea. Here nine fortresses were set up, and 19 outposts, whose defense was the responsibility of the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/. In order to increase the Russian population, Neplyuyev arranged that the nameless fugitives might be permitted to settle freely around the advance posts and other parts of the region. The importance of this group of fugitives became especially marked after the administrative colonization (with Russians and Tatars) failed to lead to positive results. In order to attach the Kazak /Cossacks/ (fugitives) to these places, wages were established for all the service men and the right to exclusive use of the abundance of fish in the Ural River. As a consequence service people joined them from the Kama settlements, as well as part of the garrison population from the Orenburg army. These people constituted the first legal Russian population on the Ural border.

/155 cont./

000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

648 167 241 427 For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

K [427] [648] [175]

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

K [427] [648] [175]

H.T. [361]

H.T /156 cont./ In the course of time
167 and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose
175 between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant
648 renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant
241 landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administra-
427 tion. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the
K formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them.
427 There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first offi-
648 cial decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the
175 Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz
175 krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report
167 for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding
648 Governor Generals of Western Siberia.
241 "The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report,
K "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized
648 has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been
177 virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Mean-
[241] while, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the
H.T. census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along
175 the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they
648 have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and
177 adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

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In raising the question of the need of settling the Kirghiz krai witha purely agricultural element -- peasants -- Governor General Kaznakov set forth broad tasks for the new colonization and noted their basic principles quite specifically. "The only means," he said, "which can soften the manners and raise the level of prosperity of the semi-primitive people is the careful installation of a sedentary population in the interior of the steppes, without crowding the nomad population, also frequent communication between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population, and the visible example of a more comfortable life."

This view of the colonization of the Kirghiz krai was supported by the central government. It was therefore decided to organize Russian settlements in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands, which were to be located primarily around post and commercial roads, since this would provide certain conveniences for the transfer of commercial shipments. Meanwhile the development of grain cultivation at the points of the new /157/ settlements was expected to make bread cheaper and to ensure the subsistence of the nomads. A special commission was formed under the main administration of Western Siberia to carry out all these preliminary plans, and it was required to work out a statute on the procedure for colonization of the steppe.

After this it turned to work on the organization of sectors for the migrants. First, preliminary surveys were made to find suitable places to which sedentary settlements might be brought into the steppe, and then the necessary mapping work was begun. Although all this preparatory work lasted four years (with the participation of uyezd chiefs in specially designated commissions, where they had to appear as defenders of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ interests, it failed to a great extent to justify the hopes placed in it, because there was no solid basis for the choice of sites suitable for the sectors. The requisite detailed natural history and statistical data were lacking, and as a result the calculations required often had to be made too roughly and approximately.

000 The element needed to populate the sectors laid out was

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --34 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

Historical Turkestan RL2

/157 cont./ The element needed to populate the sectors laid out was

175 already in the oblast. These were the immigrants who had
167 settled in the steppe one way or another. Therefore settlements
311 were already founded in 1879 in two sectors in the Kokchetav
648 uyezd, including up to 164 census persons (with 30 dessiatine
[162] /one dessiatine = 2.7 acres/ set aside for each person). Nine more sectors were settled in 1880-1881 (435 persons of male sex), also in the Kokchetav uyezd. From 1882 on it was decided to reduce the norm of the allotment to 15 dessiatine, since this amount of land, according to the calculations of the central agents, was considered adequate for the needs of a peasant family. In 1882-1884,
[162] seven marked-out sectors were settled in the Atbasar uyezd (with 210 male persons of male sex). Thus, of the 30 sectors which were prepared, 12 sectors remained unsettled, i.e., 40%. These sectors have apparently remained empty to the present day because they cannot be used for farming.

Those who moved into the sectors were given the following privileges at the time of settlement: 1) the right to choose their sector; 2) exemption from the payment of taxes and natural obligations, except for military duty, for ten years, if the immigrants would provide themselves with buildings and clear their allotment in the course of two years; 3) on the initial acquisition, a) 100 roots free and 20 rubles apiece, not returnable, for each household, and b) 20 rubles apiece for agricultural tools and the acquisition of livestock -- also not returnable.

In spite of all these privileges, the new settlers had many difficult experiences. On most of the sectors occupied by the immigrants, the soil turned out to be very poor in quality and nothing would grow, and the woods and meadows were always allotted in too small an amount, while some sectors lacked drinking water. The new settlers also suffered from lack of knowledge of the local climatic conditions. Their grain either perished from being too dry or from frost, or else from the scourge of the steppes -- the kobylka (grasshopper). To complete the misfortune the new settlers
[164] had to live through three /158/ years in a row without a harvest, and when they reached the end of their means, they began to go out in whole families to the mines and factories of the neighboring uyezds to seek work.

/158 cont./

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uyezds to seek work. At the same time the immigrants requested subsidies every year, not only for seeding the fields, but also for provisions, so that in four years -- from 1880 to 1884 -- they were issued up to 26,000 rubles, or approximately 30 rubles apiece to each census person. And about the middle of 1884 it came out that the settlers in ten villages, i.e., about 55.5% of all those settled by peasants, found themselves in such a hopeless situation after three years of vain attempts to organize themselves that the administration was obliged to transfer them to new sectors, and even with this some of the families returned home. Even the best of the peasant settlements had a desolate look, as Liventsov, the Governor of Akmolinsk, learned for himself on a survey. In all the settlements he saw many tightly boarded up houses and almost no domestic animals or stores of grain anywhere.

The arbitrary colonization was going along with greater success during this same period, but it was encountering difficulty with its so-called "legalization."

The failures of the government colonization at the beginning of the 1880's forced the local government to take measures to stop the influx of immigrants during the second half of the decade. In practice, however, it turned out to be impossible to stop the elemental movement of immigrants into the Kirghiz steppes -- "to Ishim" -- a region which had long been glorified for its farming lands, the best in the entire Akmolinsk oblast, its excellent ploughland, the meadows overflowing with water, an adequate quantity of woods, and more than enough fish and game in the staritsa (former river beds) and the lakes. The number of immigrants increased progressively every year, as can be seen in the table below, based on materials collected by officials of the immigrant division of Western Siberia during the territorial organization for the new peasant settlers in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds in 1891.

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Years	Number of Families	Number of Persons (approximately)
1860-1875	30	150
1876-1878	287	1,700
1879-1881	304	1,800
1882-1884	373	2,200
1885-1887	418	2,500
1888-1890	2,140	12,000 (1)

1. This figure is probably an underestimation.

This table does not include the immigrants of the entire Akmolinsk oblast, and the new settlers in the Atbasar and Akmolinsk uyezds are omitted (during this period -- 1860 to 1890 -- 10 settlements were formed in the Atbasar uyezd and one in the Akmolinsk uyezd).

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At the end of the 1880's immigrant villages appeared and were firmly established in the Semipalatinsk oblast. The colonization here, however, was completed far more slowly, and this, too, was not without /159/ complications. There were only five peasant settlements in the Semipalatinsk uyezd before 1887 (the Aleksandrov volost), which were formed in 1871 from the abandoned Kazak /Cossack/ station of Kanonirskaya and four Kazak /Cossack/ colonist settlements, keeping the former territorial allotment (i.e., 30 dessiatine per person). In 1887 Governor General G.A. Kolpakovskiy, who attached great importance to the sedentary populating of the borderlands contiguous with China, sent a special commission into the eastern part of the Semipalatinsk oblast, located in the Altai Mountains, to look over the land in the valley of Lake Marka-Kul and the Kara-Kaba River, which had been ceded to Russia by China in 1881, and to choose places for the construction of Russian settlements. After the commission, independent immigrants immediately appeared in the oblast from the Tomsk

175 /159 cont./
167 guberniya, where a false rumor was quickly circulated among
[361] the peasant population about the free distribution of land along the frontier.

In the 1890's a more intensive influx of immigrants into the Akmolinsk oblast began, so much so that at first the administration did not know what to do with them and where to put them. Thus in the summer of 1890, over 17,000 immigrants who were not attached to any place gathered in the oblast (over 14,000 in the Kokchetav uyezd, 1,728 in the Atbasar uyezd, and 1,200 persons of both sexes in the Petropavlovsk uyezd). The immigrants literally flooded all the Kazak /Cossack/ and peasant settlements, but since everything was already crowded everywhere, they wandered aimlessly in large groups from settlement to settlement, vainly seeking shelter. The uyezd authorities, seeing no way of establishing all these unfortunates and fearing mass discontent and the outbreak of various epidemics, used every means to drive the immigrants out of the oblast, especially since it was difficult to convince the ignorant backward peasants that it was impossible to settle wherever they wished, in spite of the abundance of land. The exaggerated rumors and letters of their countrymen who had moved here, telling about the plentiful life in the new location, and, on the other hand, the bad harvests and in general the bad economic situation in the homeland especially aroused the peasantry to move to the Kirghiz krai in spite of every kind of preventive measure. /Illustration appears here./

[361] In 1890, 11 new settlements were already formed in the
[162] Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds, in which up to 8,500 males had settled (about 17,000 persons of both sexes).

175 In the settling of 11,000 immigrants, /160/ an extremely
167 difficult task fell to the official in charge. In the course of
423 two or three months he had to establish thousands of peasant families from 30 different guberniyas, most of them already bankrupt. The work was hasty. There was no time to pay any attention to where it would be more advantageous to put this or

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --38 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2

/160 cont./

175 that family. It was demanded only that huge crowds of people
167 who were longing to find some sort of shelter be distributed as
423 soon as possible. The distribution was made in a simplified manner. Various sectors of land were given to the entire mass of immigrants present, gathered in this or that place, sectors which the immigrants had not known before.

As a result of the hastiness of the distribution of immigrants among the sectors of land, the settlements turned out to be composed of immigrants from the most varied localities (in some places there were representatives from more than 20 guberniyas). [578] Sometimes even related families were unable to register for the same sector, which later gave rise to long disputes, causing the new settlers many losses. In the settlements themselves the accidental character of their establishment soon made itself felt, and the diversity among the new settlers hindered a peaceful course of life.

In 1891, by petition of the Governor General of the steppe, part of the Western Siberian immigrant division was commandeered for the territorial arrangement of the immigrants in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts. This part allotted 33,000 dessiatine of land under 24 settlements, which were not yet built, in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds (for 10,940 persons of male sex), and 89,100 acres of land under four sectors in the

342 Adobe hut in a newly formed settlement on
493 the land of Kayran-Kul, Petropavlovsk uyezd.
/From a photograph by E. A. Yarzhenovskiy.)

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --39 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2

/160 cont. /

175 Semipalatinsk oblast occupied by independent immigrants
167 (Tyus-Kain, Balakty-Bulak, and Chanagaty settlements in the
423 Altai, and one other, apparently occupied later).

Although entrance to the Kirghiz Steppe was officially
175 closed from the spring of 1891, the influx of immigrants into
167 the Akmolinsk oblast nevertheless continued without a break
731 under the influence of the year of bad crops which was then seizing Russia. An extremely bad harvest year also struck the Akmolinsk oblast. In the winter those immigrants who had not succeeded in establishing themselves and being enrolled in the immigrant sectors in the oblast left the peasant and Kazak /Cossack/ settlements, where they had temporarily settled because of hunger, and went to the towns. There were up to 6,000 immigrants in Omsk, up to 800 persons gathered in Petropavlovsk, and about 600 in Akmolinsk and Atbasar. With the coming of spring they all dispersed again in various directions. Part of them went into the Altai okrug and beyond into Siberia, a part returned to Russia, but the majority again split up in various settlements and stations in the oblast.

175 After the huge influx of immigrants into Siberia because of
167 hunger, the movement did not weaken at all in 1891, but, on
[162] the contrary, even increased from 82,000 in 1891 to 84,000 in 1892. A very small part of this enormous contingent of migrants came to the Akmolinsk oblast, however, because of the bad
[657] harvest in the Kirghiz Steppe, as was shown above. The Imperial orders of March 26 and April 23, legalizing the position of the masses of Siberian immigrants, were also extended in the steppe krai, and /161/ 4,390 persons of both sexes (915 families) were moved into the Akmolinsk oblast, while at the same time the immigrants were given loans and subsidies from immigration credit.

175 With the laying of the Great Siberian main railway line
and the establishment of the Committee of the Siberian Railway,
167 whose duties included among other things "cooperation in the
496 populating and industrial development of the localities contiguous to the railway" (at first in a 100 verst strip, and later farther

/161 cont. //

175 496 167 [423] south), the populating of Siberia was placed on a more rational basis. Thus the colonization of the Kirghiz Steppe in particular began from this time on to have a more orderly character than before, when the immigrants had usually not been allotted sectors of land until after they had settled on them.

175 167 497 Nevertheless, in the first days after the laying of the Siberian railway, the immigration still had to cope with unfavorable conditions. The immigrants were transported in unadapted and overcrowded railway cars. Tens of thousands of people gathered in the junction stations (Petropavlovsk, Omsk) during the summer, and, since they had no quarters, the immigrants lived under the open sky even in bad weather (1).

1. Immigrants are transported for 0.3 kopeks a verst, and children under 10 travel free.

175 167 731 758 The lack of necessary provisions and medical aid caused a great outbreak of illnesses and death. However "immigrant centers" were soon built in Omsk and Petropavlovsk -- hospital barracks with medical personnel -- and a feldsher was sent with the immigrant trains.

175 167 423 647 In order to put the allotment of land sectors to the immigrants in better order, two boundary offices were formed in the Akmolinsk oblast and one in the Semipalatinsk oblast, while a special expedition made a statistical and natural-history survey of Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts so that the division of the sectors might be made without violating the interests of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The boundary ("zemleustroitel'nye" /land organizational/) offices allotted [162] 193 sectors to 77,837 persons of male sex in the Akmolinsk oblast from 1893 to 1900, but, as it turned out, these sectors could not accommodate all those who wished a place. For the last five years (1896-1900) the number of settlements organized and the number of new settlers (for the Akmolinsk oblast) are

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/161 cont. /

167 shown in the following figures:
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In 1896 there were 132 settlements with 99, 399 residents.

In 1897 there were 134 settlements with 113, 249 residents.

In 1898 there were 138 settlements with 122, 311 residents.

In 1899 there were 150 settlements with 134, 424 residents.

In 1900 there were 200 settlements with 160, 090 residents.

167 The diagram on page 41 shows the movement of immigrants
161 into the Akmolinsk oblast from the 1860's. From it one can see how the movement grew gradually at first (until 1889), and
[73] how sharply it changed in the following years. This fluctuation is explained in part by the bad harvests in European Russia, which intensified the migration, and by bad harvests in Siberia, which brought about a migration in the opposite direction. Most of the immigrants come from the guberniyas neighboring the region -- Perm and Tobolsk (up to 50% of those in the northern part of the Akmolinsk oblast) -- after which they come from the Samara, Saratov, Voronezh Kursk, Kiev, Orenburg, Orel, Tambov, /162/ Poltava, and Chernigov guberniyas, the Don oblast, and others. From this it can be concluded how
167 relevant the concept of land shortage is to this matter. At the
423 same time one notes that the peasants of the steppe guberniyas
162 (Samara, Kharkov, the Don oblast) go to the southern steppe
[361] uyezds, being more accustomed to their nature, while those from the forest guberniyas (Perm, Tobolsk) choose sectors in the northern part of the region. As we have already said, 193 sectors were formed in 1893 in the Akmolinsk oblast for 77, 837 persons of male sex. Most of the sectors were formed in the Petropavlovsk uyezd (49 settlements with a population of 21, 610), followed by the Kokchetav uyezd (42 settlements with a population of 19, 200), Akmolinsk (46 settlements with a population of 19, 122), the Omsk uyezd (37 settlements with a population of 8, 141)/graph appears here/ and the Atbasar uyezd

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --42 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

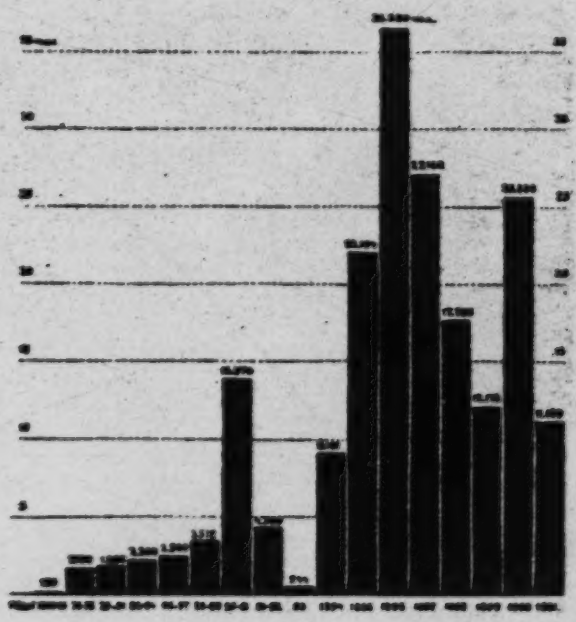
Historical Turkestan RL2

/162 cont. /

167 (10 settlements with a population of 6, 205). In addition, sectors
423 for the nobility have recently been formed. In the Kokchetav
162 uyezd seven of these have been formed with 2, 342 persons, and one with 62 persons in the Akmolinsk uyezd.

The situation is often quite difficult for the immigrants in
167 these sectors. Most of them are poor, without any chance of
433 firmly establishing themselves economically at the outset. The effect of this is particularly strong if there is a bad harvest the first year. Then the entire economy is ruined, and the immigrants

[162]



The immigration movement into the Akmolinsk oblast.

must go hungry. The situation becomes still worse when the
[464] region is sparsely populated and it is almost impossible to get
[20] jobs on the side. Among other things, the lack of convenient means of communication interferes with this. It would also be
167 impossible to say that the selection of sectors was always fortunate.
311 Many sectors (in the Akmolinsk uyezd) were without water or with

/162 cont./

167 bad water, while others had poor soil and lacked hay fields, and
311 the immigrants, bankrupt, were obliged to abandon them and go to other sectors. Statistical studies have shown that persons in the middle economic range have immigrated here with the most profit. It is often unprofitable for the rich, and difficult for the poor and unindustrious. It is difficult for the latter because large /163/ outlays of money and labor must be made from the first year to carry on the economy because of the local soil, climate, and other conditions. It is not profitable for the rich to take the risk, because a bad harvest the first year can
[65] place them in a difficult situation. Although the immigrants have also been given subsidies of wood and seeds and financial loans (405,124 rubles were given out on loan in the entire Akmolinsk oblast in 1900), it would be impossible to call them adequately secure in their new location. This has also been shown in the last three years, when hundreds of thousands of rubles have been demanded for provisions for the immigrants in the Akmolinsk oblast.

167 At present this oblast has been almost completely closed to immigration. It is permitted only in the Akmolinsk uyezd. In the Semipalatinsk oblast, however, immigration is only beginning (not counting the independent migrants).

The immigration of the most recent years is no longer of an accidental character. Most of the families have been going to sectors selected by trusted persons or "scouts," and not to any place that catches their eye. On the other hand the local administration -- the provincial and peasant leaders in the homeland -- see to it that people who are not registered for a certain land sector are not permitted to go to Siberia. They have also taken measures to hold back well-to-do families. Finally, instructions were officially given to the scouts about selecting sectors. All this has helped considerably in bringing order to the immigration movement.

The peasant colonization of the western part of the region (the Turgai and Ural oblasts) began comparatively recently and in modest numbers. This is partly because the oblasts themselves

/163 cont./

167 were only recently established in their present form, and partly because there are few places suitable for agriculture in them. Indeed the Ural oblast is completely closed to immigration. At present it contains small peasant colonies only in Temir, Uil (the Shipovskiy settlement), and Zhilaya Kosa (on the shore of the Caspian Sea), but these could never be called agricultural.
195 The colonization of the Turgai oblast began with the founding
167 of the first fortress, Ak-Tyube, in 1869, around which several
712 free peasant families settled. At the end of the 1870's there
361 were already several dozen houses here, which even began to petition for incorporation. The registration was granted and it
167 was permissible to settle in other places (on lands rented from
162 the Kirghiz /Kazak/). There were 177 households in 1886 in
648 the Aktyubinsk uyezd, and in the census of 1897 -- 28,400
429 persons of both sexes. The Kustanai uyezd, being the most fertile section in the entire western part of the region, was settled more quickly. The first colonists appeared, at the invitation of the administration, in 1881, when the town of Kustanai was founded. In that same year 1,200 peasant agricultural households appeared in the new town (some of whom had formerly been living on sectors rented from Kirghiz /Kazak/). The town already had 18,000 residents in 1889, but then the population began to diminish because of bad harvests and transfers to other sectors. According to the 1897 census, there were 14,065 residents in Kustanai. This did not prevent new
167 immigrants from settling in the uyezd, however. In order to
648 regulate this movement, measures were taken to divide off
429 certain sectors for the immigrants. But since the question of how much this interfered with the Kirghiz /Kazak/ interests had not been clarified, the settlements received land only on lease. Only after a statistical survey in /164/ 1899 (the expedition of Shcherbina) could it be shown that large sectors could be allotted to the immigrants without any damage to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. About 500,000 dessiatine were allotted in the Kustanai uyezd, and 11 settlements were formed on these grants. From this time on immigration matters here operated under the same conditions as in the other steppe oblasts of Siberia.

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/164 cont./

H.S. 175 167 The colonization of the Altai had a somewhat special character within the region being discussed. It retained until very recently the mark of the features that characterized the free colonization of Siberia in the 16th and 17th centuries. The colonizing element did not consist of Kazak /Cossacks/ or service people. These were nameless people, but hardy and resolute, whose life had been difficult in the homeland, and they moved "wherever the eye fell" in search of a new homeland. It was natural that this movement should be to the south into the

H.T. 169 342

A temporary dwelling of immigrants in the Akmolinsk uyezd.

H.S. 175 169 mountains, where nature was more bountiful and one could easily hide from all enemies and /illustration appears here/ pursuit. We shall pause here only for the history of the populating of the southwestern Altai valleys which are part of the Semipalatinsk oblast.

H.T. (170) In 1761, when the Bukhtarminsk fortress was founded, it [172] was discovered that in the neighboring mountains there were already Russian settlements made up of Russian wild-game hunters, fugitive peasants, and every other kind of fugitive. Thus the Russian government had to hunt out its own Russians and

/164 cont./

125 167 impose the yassak on them or else completely banish them to their place of registration. In spite of this, with the formation of the southern frontier line, which it was strictly forbidden to cross, by 1761 there were already 17 Russian settlements (along the Bukhtarma River) in Dzungarian land. It was obvious that neither strict prohibitions nor punishments could stop the Russian fugitives. The striving for freedom and liberty took precedence over the fear of punishment for disobedience. It is hard to say exactly who made up these advanced posts of Russian colonization. Some of them /165/ usually abandoned their settlements and moved farther into the mountains when they heard of the approach of the Russian forces. As we shall see below, however, mostly peasants fled here, especially those from factories, escaping from their hard living conditions. There were also criminals here, hiding from punishment, sectarians hiding from persecution for their customs, and finally there were also hunters of wild game.

The nature of the Altai could not have been more suitable for the strivings of these people. On the one hand there are [13] flowering and fertile valleys and an abundance of game and fish, and on the other there are high, inaccessible mountain ranges and a very sparse native population. It is not surprising that these places had a particularly strong power of attraction in the eyes of the fugitives. Nevertheless it is impossible to deny that it took much courage and even heroism among these people to resolve to go and settle in a strange and unknown country (the examples below demonstrate this). One cannot regard this movement as simple wandering. As we shall see below, the free colonists established themselves and were sedentary from the very beginning. This migration somewhat recalls the populating of the Don or the Sech' /Zaporozhe/ in European Russia or the taperstvo and squatting in the first years of the conquest of America. Here as well as there people went out to seek a new home for themselves or a safe refuge, and they found it. The unusual conditions of life, as one would expect, developed a number of unusual individuals here, who are surrounded in the

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/165 cont./

175 169 folk mind with a halo of special heroism and whose names are linked with a whole series of legends. No small number of streams and places in the mountains are named after them. Here is one of these epics.

175 159 169 In the 1750's a certain Afanasiy Seleznev was confined in the Kuznetsk prison for a whole series of "exploits" (thefts, escapes, etc.). He had been in prison many times, both alone and with his comrades, but usually as soon as spring came he would escape. "It is time for the drake /selezen'/ to spread his wings," he used to say, and it was difficult to keep him confined. But in winter, having no shelter, he would give himself up to the police again. He went out into the forests and mountains and hunted game, and on occasion he was not averse to driving away the livestock of others. One last time Seleznev fled from confinement with his brother and a comrade, but on the way he stopped in a village with friends and was captured there. Again he had to sit in prison for two whole years. His nine-year-old son and his old father stayed with him. During this time Seleznev managed to teach his son to read and write (by the prayerbook /chasoslov/), and he made a new plan of escape. And actually in the second year all three of them and two other prisoners did escape from the prison. At first they hid in the Kasmala pine forest with the two comrades who escaped with Seleznev. Here they held a conference and decided to take their wives and what they could from their households with them and to move toward the Bukhtarma. Since their own horses were too few, they stole some from the neighboring villages, loaded four wagons with flour, seized a few other things for housekeeping, and started "to the Bukhtarma," but actually to whatever place struck their fancy. There were seven men altogether, one woman, and a boy. On the road they underwent no small number of frightening experiences and privations. [/110] They had to cross the frontier without being seen and without [648] encountering the wandering bands of Uriankhai /Soyot/. In fact, they managed to avoid meeting the latter, but were unable to escape the notice of the military frontier command.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --48 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

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H.S. /166/

175 At the Krasnoyarsk guard post they met such a command and
159 had to save themselves by taking to the mountains and
167 abandoning all their supplies. After a long period of wandering the daredevils finally reached the Bukhtarma, where they built themselves two wooden huts. Seleznev, as a man of experience and foresight, built himself a hut apart and fortified it so that it
H.S. looked like a blockhouse. The group engaged in hunting and
[648] fishing, but from the very beginning they had to defend themselves against the Uriankhai.

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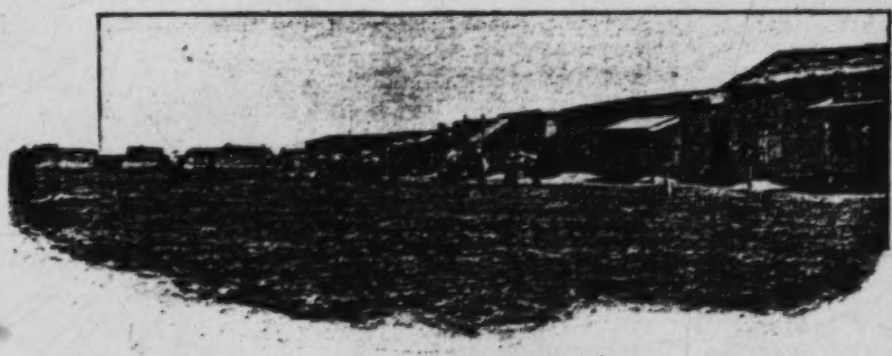

The Russian settlement of Dzhuma-Bazar in the sands of Taysuygan.

H.S.
175 Soon after their arrival the Uriankhai stole all their horses.
159 Another time they raided the settlement, but Seleznev's men saved
648 themselves by staying in their huts, although two of them were
167 wounded. Then the Seleznev group decided to go on the offensive and relieve themselves of the unfriendly people in their vicinity by force. In the winter, armed as best they could, they went out to seek the enemy, attacked a band of sleeping Uriankhai, and killed all of them. The Kalmyk also joined their side, but evidently the Seleznev group could not live in harmony with them. /Illustration appears here./

For example, one group of Kalmyk who had settled with them began to violate the law of hospitality -- they took bread away from the

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/166 cont./

175 others when the Seleznev group went hunting. This angered the
159 latter and they killed the Kalmyk. Living in a strange country,
648 the Seleznev people had to be on their guard every minute to
167 avoid sudden attacks by the Uriankhai, Kalmyk, and other indigenous peoples who were engaged in wild-game hunting in this area or simply in robbing (driving away livestock, etc.). Once a band of Kirghiz-Kaisak (up to 500 men) who were engaged in plundering the surrounding population passed by them. The Seleznev group remained within their fortified houses and determined to defend themselves to the end, but the Kirghiz /Kazak/ decided not to attack, evidently recognizing their strength. On another occasion this same group proposed to engage in barter with the Seleznev people, not having decided to take the needed articles away from them by force. Being left without horses, the Seleznev group had to capture them somehow, whether they wanted to or not, from the Russians. In the spring Seleznev and /167/ three comrades sailed down the Irtysh on rafts to the village of Praporshchikovaya, and here they stole six horses. The theft was noticed, however, and the Kazak /Cossacks/ captured Seleznev with one of his comrades, while the others escaped. History says nothing of the later fate of this undoubtedly uncommon man with his great will and cleverness. From the subsequent testimony of Seleznev it is evident that after the capture ten red deer and elk skins, ten martens, five red foxes, two wolves, a hundred squirrels, ten sheepskin coats, four copper kettles, three of cast iron and one of iron, one copper pot /medennik/, and one and a half pounds of silver remained behind him in his house on the Bukhtarma. It is obvious that Seleznev was an enterprising man and was engaged not only in hunting but also in working the ancient mines and perhaps also digging in the kurgans. On the basis of information from Seleznev a troop of Kazak /Cossacks/ were sent to the Bukhtarma [illegible] they captured all of his followers except one, who escaped. All the goods accumulated by the Seleznev group were seized by the Kazak /Cossacks/ and their commander.

/167 cont./

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This episode gives an idea of how the landless fugitives settled these regions. The Old Believers, or "dvoyedane" /payers of double taxes/ as they were called here, were of great importance in the colonization. We find this movement here only in part, since most of the "dvoyedane" went to the southern part of the present Tomsk guberniya. They will be discussed in greater detail in that section. They appeared on the lower Bukhtarma for the first time in the 1740's. At first there was a small family, which had evidently suffered most from persecution because of their customs and had fled from the border villages. The inaccessibility of the locality protected them from all pursuit. For one family to find it habitable here was enough for a more decisive influx to follow them in subsequent years. Soon a number of settlements were formed along the Bukhtarma and its tributaries. The abundance of nature and the freedom made it possible for the hard-working inhabitants to prosper quickly, and enticing stories began to circulate about the life there. This brought about a new intensive influx of immigrants, some of whom went to settle near their predecessors, while others went farther to new places. The mass flight of the border population could not help but lead to restrictions on the part of the administration, but this did not help, nor did pursuit by the troops have any positive results. Access to the Bukhtarma valley from the north is possible even now by one path alone (from Ust-Kamenogorsk), and that has its difficulties, while earlier there were even more difficulties.
[648] The government of the Empress Catherine II decided to make concessions, in order not to lose so many working peasants. It promised amnesty to all those who had fled (the "stonemasons" /kamenshchik/, as the administration called them, because they fled to and hid in the rocky mountains and gorges), if they would present themselves to be registered and agree to pay taxes. The "stonemasons" agreed. Their number then came to
taxes. The "stonemasons" agreed. Their number then came to
62] 318 officially, but of course there were actually more, some of whom did not wish to register, while others could not because of a past that was not beyond reproach. These last

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/167 cont./

175 preferred to remain free and moved farther into the interior of
167 the mountains.

The annexation of the "stonemasons" in 1792 did not and could not stop the movement that was beginning. The reasons causing it (the difficult conditions of life in the homeland, especially for the factory peasants, and the highly colored stories of the easy life of the "stonemasons") /168/ continued to exist, and they attracted many people here. The granting of legal rights to the "stonemasons" to live on foreign land made this movement more intensive, since it gave courage to the less resolute elements in the population to come here. For the more daring it provided the assurance that in the new place they would not be punished for independent departure. Actually a kind of elemental southward movement of Russians has been going on here from the beginning of the 18th century, even to the present day, as we shall see below, a striving to find a place where one can live freely, without restrictions. This yearning, transmitted from generation to generation, was inculcated in the minds of the border population. The folk imagination added stories of the existence of happy lands where the people were never affronted by anyone, and where nature generously dispensed her gifts. And this is how a vague idea of the reality of such fabulous lands or "Belovod'e" came into the minds of the local inhabitants. "Throughout the entire 18th century an endless search went on for this fantastic Eldorado, where honey flowed in the rivers, where no taxes were collected, and where, finally, especially for the heretics, the church of Nikon did not exist," says Professor Shmurlo. It is evident that the population had no clear and exact notion of where such a country was, inasmuch as in the 18th century they sought "Belovod'e" in the northwestern Altai, and perhaps the first pioneers of the colonization found it, but when the Russian frontier moved here Belovod'e moved into the mysterious Bukhtarma mountains, where the "Belovodians" soon moved after it. With the appearance there of Russian rule and a more numerous population, the folk imagination transferred "Belovod'e" farther south into the inaccessible southern mountain ranges of the Altai, and later still farther south into China. And

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this was natural: "The Russian colonizer ascribed ideal qualities to a certain region, and then each time when he found it, he was inevitably persuaded that here, too, life had its negative side, that here, too, the social conditions often manifested themselves all their cruelty and implacable force. His original idea that he had found Belovod'e changed to the thought that this Belovod'e was in another place. In this way a certain disappointment set in, weaker if the new living conditions, with all their imperfections, still were essentially better than the old, and stronger if there was little difference between the abandoned nest and the newly established one. In the first case the man was easily reconciled to the idea that Belovod'e had not fallen into his hands all the same, while in the second case he rose from his place at the first opportunity and went to seek it" (Shmurlo). In order to illustrate this movement we shall mention several cases of the quest for Belovod'e in the 1820's to 1860's.

In 1826, a group of 38 persons (men, women, and children) fled to Lake Kanas (within the borders of China), where they expected to live at liberty. A detachment was sent in pursuit of them, but failed to bring them back, and only the promise of a manifesto of amnesty made them return. The quest for Belovod'e in 1828 within the Tomsk guberniya assumed great proportions. In 1832, 42 peasants ran away to China, but they were returned. In 1861, peasants appeared in the Narym valley (the villages of Talovka and Medvedka), excited by /169/ the experienced Bobrovs' fantastic stories of the existence of Belovod'e somewhere nearby. In the same year 55 persons, men and women, from the border villages crossed the frontier (the Narym River), went over the Narym mountain range, and headed "for Belovod'e," but their leaders, the Bobrovs, lost their way and led the party to the desert around Zaisan and into the lower course of the Alkabek (in the sand). The party wandered in China for two years, but did not find the promised land, and indeed the Chinese would not always allow them to settle. There was nothing left to do but go home. The Bobrovs and several others

175 /169 cont./
167 did not wish to return and disappeared, no one knows where. The administration regarded those who returned indulgently and even granted them a favor -- it returned the houses and part of the property that had been put on sale after the peasants had tried to find Belovod'e. This did not stop the movement, however. Russian settlements soon appeared in the mountains along the Kaba River and near Lake Marka-Kul. Grain cultivation, [433] apiculture, fishing, and hunting were all successful here, and in spite of the protests of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, the peasants founded their villages here. In the treaty with the Chinese in [648] 1881, the Russian government was obliged to reserve for itself the entire strip of land between the Narym and the Kaldzhir rivers, which was actually already occupied by Russians. In 1885 the Department of Agriculture included these localities among the places to be allotted to immigrants, after which the populating of them progressed still more rapidly. The first colonists of the Kaba valleys soon rose again, however, and went on to new places. The villages already formed were deserted, but then filled again by the incoming population. The latter, who came in with a yearning for "Belovod'e," only added to the groups seeking new places and thus strengthened the free colonization of the region. In 1896, there were three official [162] villages (over 500 persons of both sexes) in the Kaba valleys -- Tyus-Kain, Chanagaty, and Balyk-Bulak. And perhaps some 100 or more people, who were seeking "Belovod'e" and had gone into China, were living in the mountains.

167 Thus the free colonization continues to exist even now, in spite of obstacles, and will continue as long as there are reasons which create it. The power of this longing to find places of freedom can be seen by the fact that peasants are going into the most deserted places, overcoming all obstacles. It is known that Przhevalski discovered a colony of Russian peasant Old Believers in Central China (near Lob-Nor).

At present it is still impossible to make a reckoning of the populating of the region by the peasants, because it is still going on and not enough time has elapsed. In any case the region has gained a great deal from the immigration. The varied natural

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H.S. 311 /169 cont./ The varied natural wealth of the area, as we saw in the first chapter /untranslated/, had remained untouched, unused capital. The region itself was wild, an almost unpopulated area, through which Kirghiz /Kazak/ only rarely wandered. The basic sedentary population, the Kazak /Cossacks/, showed themselves to be incapable of colonizing activity, which was recognized (as we saw above) also by the local administration (1).

H.S [162]

H.S [361]

1. It is not without interest to note that from the 1850's on not a single settlement of the Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/ developed.

H.S 167 311 /170/ Under such unfavorable conditions, the colonization of the area and its cultural development would have taken place very slowly, and its natural wealth would have long remained inaccessible. When the peasants appeared, the region obtained a considerable agricultural population (over 200,000 persons) and was intersected in several directions by chains of peasant villages and by country roads, which were even quite frequent in the northern part. Grain production grew to such proportions in the region that the Kustanai uyezd alone was exporting millions of poods of grain. When the Siberian railway was led through, the colonization of the steppes along it acquired still greater importance for the cultural development of the region.

H.S. 167 212 433 Literacy and the dissemination of knowledge determine the growth and cultural development of a country. By studying the history of the development of education in the region, we can form an idea of its civilization in its present state.

H.T. 167 212 433 The Kirghiz krai was in very unfavorable circumstances in this regard. When the Russians had conquered the region, they could not turn to cultural work, because the original conquest was made solely with the aim of enrichment and the first conquerors were entirely unsuited to a cultural role. These were rough, ignorant people with primitive morals and a doubtful past. True, with all this they were more developed than the indigenous population, but not so much so that, after

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H.T. /170 cont./
167 conquering them, they could deliberately proceed with peaceful
648 work. They did not even apply their efforts to utilize the rich
gifts of nature in a rational manner or to support themselves by
H.T. [311] their own labor. On the contrary, they chose another, easier
means of livelihood -- the plundering of the conquered indigenous population and the rapacious use of the natural wealth.

H.T. [797] Only the clergy could have played a role of enlightenment during the conquest of the eastern part of the Kirghiz krai, but there were too few of them, and their center was too far from the region (Tobolsk) for them to have any noticeable influence on the life of the area. It is true that the Moscow government tried to send into Siberia commanders and other representatives who were literate, but these people were no wellsprings of enlightenment, and attention to this matter was not made a part of their duties. Their literacy served them only for reports and orders. The Moscow government which appointed them primarily had to see that they did not oppress the people and that they sent in the taxes promptly. The literate Poles and Zaporozhians /Dnieper Cossacks/ who were sent in at that time also apparently had no influence in this respect. They soon forgot their former knowledge and schooling in reading and writing.

H.S. After the Russian population had increased enough and was
175 more or less settled in place (from the end of the 17th century),
871 a striving for literacy began, but this striving was called forth by the purely egotistical motives of a small class. Military commanders, clerks, secretaries, and other service people tried to teach their children (or kinsmen) reading and writing so as to maintain a privileged position for their families. Only in the 18th century did the central government (the Governor Generals) raise the question of opening schools, although this, too, was not /171/ for the entire population, but only for the military class. It can be seen from the service lists of 1761 that of 78 sergeants and corporals on the Siberian line (from the Tobol to the Irtysh), 47 were already literate, and all of the 18 officers were literate. In 1765 Shiringer, the chief of the Siberian

175 /171 cont. In 1765 Shiringer, the chief of the Siberian
871 armies, opened "garrison schools" in Omsk, Petropavlovsk, and
[874] Yamyshev, and in the very first year these schools had an attendance of 240 pupils. An "Asiatic school" was opened in Omsk in 1789 to prepare translators (interpreters) /tolmach/. Here, in addition to elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Tatar, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages were taught. Later, classes in land surveying and topography were added. In 1813 in Omsk the first general educational institution was opened with military subjects, a "military institute," something in the nature of a military gymnasium. No one thought seriously of public education accessible to everyone at that time.

[874] Although the clergy had their church schools from the be-
[875] ginning of the 19th century, they were few in number and the results of their schooling were unsatisfactory because of the poor teachers available (barely literate clerks, retired soldiers, etc.). The Kazak /Cossack/ schools (in the Siberian army), although they, too, were opened long ago (there were 60 of them at the beginning of the 1850's), did not include as one of their goals the dissemination of reading and writing among all the Kazak /Cossack/ population, but served more to satisfy the needs of the literate persons in the service (to train copyists,
[875] lower officers, etc.). The teachers in these schools, too, were barely literate Kazak /Cossacks/. One was admitted to such a school for two rubles and 40 kopeks a month.

The matter of public education progressed markedly during the reign of Tsar Alexander II, at which time there was also a noticeable striving for education in general in the Siberian population. Thanks to the efforts of one of the most outstanding local Governor Generals, General Kaznakov, there were already tens of lower schools (in addition to the Kazak /Cossack/ ones) in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts in the 1860's, and
175 several progymnasiums were opened. The institutes for soldiers'
87 sons /kantonist/ (in Omsk) were reorganized and replaced by military elementary schools (1). The Kazak /Cossacks/ began

1. Until 1856, all soldiers' sons were obliged at the age of 14 to enter

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --57 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazal
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/171 cont./

kantonist schools, where they were trained and then went at once into the service. When these schools were closed, the soldiers' children were permitted to leave school and go home to their parents. "This Imperial favor," says the manifesto, "returned up to 378,000 minor children to the bosom of their families (in all of Russia, and up to 600 in Omsk), and these children, who received civil rights, ceased to consider themselves orphans while their parents were still living."

to disburse funds for scholarships to special educational institutions and increased the number of lower schools. Private schools appeared (the Sokolov school in Omsk, for example), and Sunday schools, and the libraries of uyezd and urban institutes became accessible to outsiders. The opening of secondary and special schools continued, parallel to this, especially in Omsk, the administrative center. A cadet corps was founded in Omsk in 1836, a feldsher school in 1852, an uyezd institute in 1858, and the Omsk girls' gymnasium in 1863. In 1871, progymnasiums were opened for girls in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk. In 1872 /172/ a seminary for teachers was opened in Omsk, and in 1876 a boy's gymnasium was opened in the same city. The public began to take a more zealous interest in education, and the cities set aside considerable sums for the support of the elementary schools and girls' progymnasiums (1).

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1. In Omsk, for example, up to 1856, there was one parochial school, supported by two merchants, to which the city gave only 30 rubles. In the 1870's, however, the city contained four schools, spending up to 4,000 rubles for them.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --58 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Siberia RR2

H.S. /172 cont./

175 87 At the beginning of the 1880's the first private society for cultural enlightenment was opened in the region "for the care of elementary education" (in Omsk). In general, education began to make considerable strides in the region beginning from the 1860's. In recent times attention has been turned to agricultural education and the spreading of skills and crafts through the region. Lower agricultural schools were opened in the uyezds in 1885 for this purpose. Finally it would be impossible not to mention the opening (in 1877) in Omsk of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which occupies an eminent place in the history of enlightenment in the region, both in the study of the region and as an educational society, and which is rallying the best local cultural forces around it.

K 175 871 191 The dissemination of reading and writing among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population was founded long ago. Their first elementary schools were opened even considerably earlier than those for the Russian population, but there is very little literacy in Russian among them.

This lack of literacy in Russian among the indigenous population is explained, perhaps, by the fact that at the beginning in these schools there was not as much effort made to teach the children to read and write Russian as there was to give them a definite ideological direction. Thus the first schools were

K 175 871 opened by the administration in 1782 in many mosques, and Tobolsk Tatars were hired as teachers in order to block the influence of the Central Asian mullahs on the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population subject to the Russians. At the same time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were given full access to Russian schools. In the 1870's boarding schools were opened in all the uyezd towns in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively for Kirghiz /Kazak/ children (later transformed into lower agricultural schools). At present nomad village schools are being opened here.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --59 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. 175 87 K [871] [175]

/172 cont./

In the Turgai oblast the beginning of public education coincided in time with the founding of the oblast (1869), and 800 rubles were set aside for it. The first school, however, a Russian-Kirghiz /Kazak/ one with two classes, was not actually opened until 1879. After this the development of schools continued with considerable success. In 1883 a teachers' school was opened in Orsk in the Orenburg guberniya (next to the Turgai oblast), and a craft school in Turgai. In 1887, Russian schools appeared; in 1891, girls' elementary schools were opened in Turgai, Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, and Kara-Butak, and in 1892 mobile nomad village schools were established especially for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, with a program equal to the first two divisions of the one-class schools of the Ministry of Education. There are also about 20 church parochial schools. The largest number of schools (up to 54) are in the most populated uyezd, that of Kustanai, while there are fewer (up to 12) in the Turgai uyezd. /173/ There are no intermediate schools in the Turgai oblast. In the Ural oblast elementary education has been established quite satisfactorily. In addition to the Kazak /Cossack/ military schools here, there are schools of the Ministry of Education (Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/) and church parochial schools. Statistical data for 1900 give a picture of the situation with regard to elementary education in the region as follows (see the table on this page /on the next page in the translation/).

K [175] [871]

H.T. 871

The Ural oblast is first in number of schools, and the Semipalatinsk oblast is last. There is one school for every 3,065 persons in the region. The number of effective schools, as we see, is still very inadequate, and the idea of universal education in the region is an almost inaccessible dream.

The position of the region with regard to intermediate and special education is no better. Such important and, comparatively speaking, fairly rich cities as Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk do not have to this day a single intermediate school (not counting the progymnasium for boys recently opened in the former). Meanwhile the need for them is strongly felt, since the intermediate schools which exist in Omsk are overfilled. In Uralsk there is a (military) professional school and

[Text Continues on P. 61]

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --60 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
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Oblasts	Population in 1900	Area in sq. versts	Schools of Ministry of Education			Schools under Clerical Direction			Schools under Kazak /Cossack/ Direction		
			Schools	Boys	Girls	Schools	Boys	Girls	Schools	Boys	Girls
Akmolinsk	803,994	479,200	129	6,028	2,354(1)	--	--	--	90	2,765	1,082
Semipalatinsk	686,053	442,245	25	1,276	727	13	522	149	56	1,420	457
Ural	691,687	284,412	42	1,835	60	57	1,017	969	107	2,955	977
Turgai	461,516	400,830	117	2,466	475	45	1,094	497	--	--	--
Total Region	2,443,250	1,606,687	323	11,605	3,616	115	2,633	1,615	253	7,140	1,613

(Table cont.) Oblasts	Schools under other Direction and Private Schools			Totals				One School for every	
	Schools	Boys	Girls	Schools	Boys	Girls	Sum Total	Inhabitants	Square versts
Akmolinsk	22	746	272	241	9,539	3,708	13,247	3,336	1,980
Semipalatinsk	19	897	--	114	4,115	1,357	5,472	6,018	3,879
Ural	74	1,665	174	280(2)	7,472	2,180	9,652	2,470	1,015
Turgai	--	--	--	162	3,560	962	4,522	2,848	2,474
Total Region	115	3,308	446	797	24,686	8,207	32,893	3,065	2,016

1. Including church parochial schools
2. In addition, 183 schools of technical specialists /master, masteritsa/, with 1,214 men and 915 women

871 /173 cont. /In Uralsk, there is a (military) professional school and
874 a gymnasium for girls, which are the only intermediate schools in the Ural and Turgai oblasts, and in addition, the first in the entire Kirghiz krai. The city of Omsk has the best situation, where there is a gymnasium for boys and one for girls, a cadet corps, a teachers' seminary, a technical school in mechanics, a railroad technical school, and a feldscher school. In the village of Borovoye (about 60 versts from Kokchetav) there is a forestry school.

213 /174/ Omsk is also first in the development of books, print-
214 ing and publishing. There are three private printing presses in Omsk (two of which have lithography), and two government ones (with lithography), a cartographic and a lithographic department
204 (of the Military Topographical Department). Four periodicals are published (Stepnoi Krai /The Steppe Region/, Sel'skokhoziaistvennyi Listok /The Agricultural Leaf/, published in Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/, Eparkhial'nye Vedomosti /The News of the Diocese/, and Oblastnye Vedomosti /The Oblast News/), as well as separate "Trudy" /Transactions/ of scholarly societies (the Geographical, Medical, and Agricultural Societies).
368 There are two bookstores and four small bookshops, two public
443 libraries and two public reading rooms. In the other cities in
217 the eastern oblasts of the region, Semipalatinsk has a printing
213 press, one bookshop, a library, and publishes one periodical
204 (Oblastnye Vedomosti), while Petropavlovsk has a small bookshop and a library. In other towns (Akmolinsk, Kokchetav, Karkaralinsk, Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk and Zaisan) there are small public libraries. In the western part of the region (the Ural and Turgai oblasts), Uralsk has a printing press, a bookstore, a community library, a public reading room and three periodical publications (Oblastnye Vedomosti, Voiskovye Vedomosti /The Army News/, and the newspaper Uralets). In the Turgai oblast, there are public libraries in Kustanai, Irgiz, and Aktyubinsk, and Kustanai also has a people's reading room. There are no printing presses or bookstores in the oblast. The Turgaiskie Vedomosti /The Turgai News/, with a supplement of the Turgaiskaia Gazeta /The Turgai Gazette/ (in Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/), are published in Orenburg.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --62 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903
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21 815 Everything that has been said about the development of books, printing, publishing, and libraries in the region is illustrated in the following table, which also shows the number of scholarly and cultural societies which play an important role in the cultural development of the region: (table on following page)

[184] From this table and also from the foregoing, it is evident that the Akmolinsk oblast (especially the city of Omsk) occupies first place in the region from the cultural point of view, while the Turgai /175/ oblast is the most backward, held back in cultural growth in part by the lack of large populated places.

893 Higher education in the region is taken care of by the establishment of scholarships to the nearest institutions of higher education -- the Tomsk university and technological institute, the Kazan university and veterinary institute, Moscow university, the agricultural institute, and several others. But there are few

000 scholarships of this sort. The region needs to open an advanced agricultural and veterinary institute, since agriculture and livestock-raising are the cornerstone of its economic well-being. This absence of scholars and practical specialists in these fields has a very unfavorable influence on both the present situation and further development.

Ch. V. The Distribution of the Population of the Kirghiz Krai within the Territory, Its Ethnographic Make-up Way of Life, and Culture

By A. N. Sedel'nikov

The area and administrative divisions of the region. -- The Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies. -- The figures for the population and its distribution in the region. -- The comparative density of the population. -- The increase and movement of the population in recent years. -- The comparative figures for the urban, rural, and nomadic

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Oblasts	Printing and Lithographic Presses	Bookstores and Bookshops	Periodical and Scholarly Publications	Scholarly and Cultural Societies	Libraries		Museums
					Com-munity	Reading Rooms	
Akmolinsk	10	6	7	7	6	3	1
Semipalatinsk	2	1	2	2	5	2	1
Turgai	--	--	2	1	3	1	--
Ural	2	2	3	3	1	2	1
Total in Region	14	9	14	13	15	8	3

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --64 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

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populations. -- The size and growth of the cities. -- The density and large numbers of people in the Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements. -- The distribution of the population by sex, class, and religion. -- The ethnographic make-up of the population. -- General remarks on the "Sibiriak," Belorussians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and other nationalities in the region. -- The Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The Ural Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The peasants. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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The Kirghiz krai occupies a total area of 1,606,687 versts, which is equal to one-third of all of European Russia (including Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus), or one-third of all of Western Europe, while the area of each of its oblasts is equal to the area of the principal states of Europe.

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Administratively, the Kirghiz krai comprises four military oblasts: the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, and Turgai oblasts. These oblasts were established in 1868 from the lands of the Siberian and Orenburg Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the lands of the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies for greater convenience in administering the Kirghiz /Kazak and the Kazak /Cossack/ armies, and at the same time great changes were made. The "Statute on the Siberian Kirghiz /Ustav o Sibirskikh Kirgizakh/," which had determined the life of this borderland until then, was abolished, and a new "Temporary Code for the Administration of the Steppe Oblasts /Vremennoe Polozhenie ob Upravlenii v Stepnykh Oblastiakh/" was introduced (now somewhat changed). By this code the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands were recognized as state property and put at the disposal of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ only for communal use, while considerable changes were introduced in the administration. The power of the sultan was abolished, as well as the orders from the districts. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ were allowed an administration of their nationality (elected from

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/175 cont./

their midst). The yassak tribute /per capita fur tribute/ was changed to a collection from each kibitka and various other reforms were introduced.

/176/ The military and civil administration was entrusted to the military governors of the oblasts from this time on. In addition to this, the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, together with neighboring Semirechye, formed (in 1882) the Steppe Governor-Generalcy. The small administrative divisions for both the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are the uyezds.

The Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts are divided into five uyezds each, and the Ural and Turgai oblasts have four uyezds each, so there are 18 uyezds in the entire region. In addition, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are broken up into volosts. There are 55 volosts in the Akmolinsk oblast, 84 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 60 in the Ural oblast, and 54 (?) in the Turgai oblast. The volosts are subdivided in turn into nomad villages /aul/, and these are divided into kibitkas (yurts). Elected Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the volost elders -- head the volosts, and they are directly subordinate to the uyezd chief. In addition, the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army is an independent administrative establishment within the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, as is the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ army in the Ural oblast.

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The Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army was founded by the first military colonists of the region -- the "serf Kazak /Cossack/," including various kinds of military men -- policemen, Don Kazak /Cossacks/, Ural Kazak /Cossacks/, Bashkir, Tatars, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, etc. The well-known Kasak /Cossack/ writer Usov has characterized the Siberian army in these words: "It was not the independent product of the land colonization of the borderlands, like the Don and Yaik Kazak /Cossack/ armies, but came forth fully armed from the hands of the administration and was completely indebted to the government for its existence. This feature has made an impression on all its later history. Throughout its existence, the government, without the

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/176 cont./

701 intervention of the people themselves, made the necessary re-
631 forms among them and enlarged their organization by enforced colonization. It also opened up ways for internal natural increase for them, obtaining wives from among the exiles, women criminals, and the convicts freed from the prisons. It forged them from varied elements into a homogeneous organism, brought culture to the ignorant uncultivated masses, provided public institutions and local self government, and brought to the surface a privileged class of personal nobles /lichnye dvoryane/ and officers from the general ultra-plebeian level of the masses by means of scientific training and official service. It encouraged economic life and agricultural, industrial, commercial, and handicraft activities and established this activity within definite restrained limits as military requirements from the Kazak /Cossacks/." In these few words the character of the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army is fully defined.

701 In 1808, the position of the Kazak /Cossack/ army of the Siberian line was established as a separate estate with special rights, privileges, and duties. In 1846 a new code was instituted, which was somewhat changed in 1861, 1869, and 1871. In 1880 a new code was established concerning the service of the Kazak /Cossack/, which is still in force at the present time. The army is divided into three military divisions (1st, 2nd and 3rd), of which the first two are part of the Akmolinsk oblast, and the last is part of the Semipalatinsk oblast and part is in the Tomsk guberniya. The military, economic, and /two maps, both in contrasting colors, appear here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ administrative organization of the settlements is under the direction of the atamans of the division. Their actions are subject to the supervision and direction of the military authorities and the ataman of the interim (the steppe Governor-General). The administration of the settlements is concentrated in the settlement and station offices, whose atamans are elected from among the Kazak /Cossacks/. (At present there are 173 settlements and
701 35 stations in the army). In the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk
471 oblasts, over five million dessiatine belong to the army (including

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 68]

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --67 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
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1. Kirghiz /Kazak/; 2. Great Russians; 3. Little Russians; 4. Belorussians; 5. Latvians and Estonians; 6. Mordvinians; 7. Tatars.

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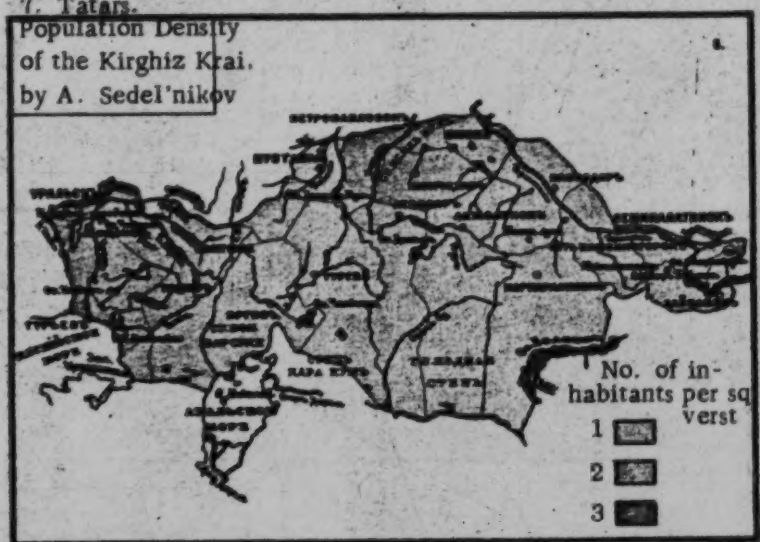

1. less than 1 person; 2. 1-2.5 persons; 3 more than 2.5 persons.

/177cont./

701 471 a "ten verst strip" -- about one million dessiatine -- provided for temporary use). The lands of the army are divided into three types: the tent allotments (the lands of the stations and settlements, from which every male is allotted 25 dessiatine of convenient land), the hereditary lands of the officers and officials, and the reserve lands (500,000 dessiatine). The army has its own capital. (1,008,536 rubles, to 1895. This sum has been considerably reduced in recent years because of bad harvests [871] and for other reasons.) The army directs the economy itself, [758] organizes schools and medical services, etc. In peacetime it is obliged to furnish up to 3,150 members, and in wartime, up to 9,120 members fully equipped for battle.

701 The Ural Kazak /Cossack/ army was formed from the [775] Yaik (in 1775, after their participation in the Pugachev rebellion), but 1591 is considered the year of the founding of the army as an organized military power. At present the army is divided into three military divisions (the first, Ural, the second, Lbishchensk, and the third, Guryev) commanded by atamans, who are subordinate, as in the Siberian army, to military command. This last command has the governing role, but a meeting of elected representatives from the stations also participates in its affairs. Local matters are superintended by atamans of the settlements and stations (there 135 settlements and 31 stations altogether). The army carries on a varied economy (the fish- 701 471 ing industry deserves special attention here). In 1899 it had an army capital of 1,874,303 rubles (of which 601,000 rubles represented money paid in substitution for service /netchikovye/ and was used in particular for the equipping of the Kazak /Cossacks/). The army possesses about six million dessiatine of land which is in communal use. The commune regulates the use of lands, the hay fields and other appurtenances, the fishing industry, the livestock raising, the gathering of berries, etc., and in one way or another it touches every aspect of the eco- 701 nomic life of the Kazak /Cossack/. In peacetime the army is

/177 cont./

701 required to furnish up to 2.500 men of the lower ranks, and in wartime up to 8.670 men. The military obligation in both armies is one of the principal burdens holding back the peaceful cultural development of the Kazak /Cossack/ population, since the Kazak /Cossack/ is considered to be in the service up to 33 years and cannot engage freely in the economy.

631 The peasant population of the region is still not organized in final form at the present time. At first the peasant settlements and volosts were subordinate to the uyezd chiefs, just like the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Later special officials for peasant affairs were established for the Akmolinsk oblast. Their offices were held (from 1897) by peasant officials, and from 1902 by peasant leaders.

161 Let us turn now to a more detailed description of the
162 population of the region.

In comparison with European Russia and above all with Western Europe, which are enlivened by thousands of rich cities and settlements with tens of millions in population, the huge expanses of the Kirghiz krai are unpopulated. Here twelve cities, several hundred settlements, and the quarters of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are completely lost, with a total population /178/ of 2.643.250, or about 1.6 inhabitants per square verst. According to the figures for 1900, the population of the area was distributed in the following manner:(see following page)

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --70 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

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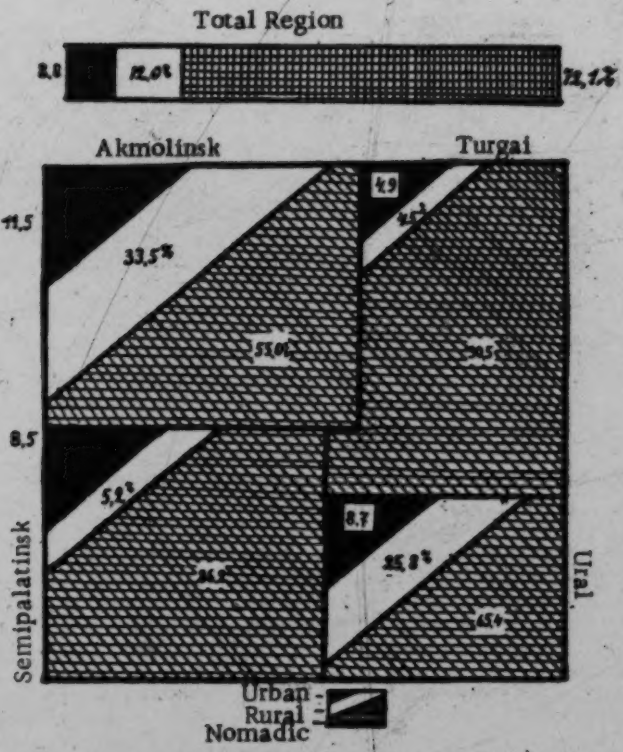
Oblasts	Area in square versts	Population			Inhabitants per sq. verst
		Sedentary	Nomadic	Total	
Akmolinsk	479,200	361,770	442,224	803,994	1.6
Semipalatinsk	442,245	94,352	591,701	686,053	1.4
Turgai	400,830	41,224	420,292	461,516	1.1
Ural	284,412	238,713	452,974	691,687	2.4
Total Region	1,606,687	736,059	1,907,191	2,643,250	1.6



The comparative size of the oblasts and the urban, rural, and nomadic population.

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161 As we can see, the Akmolinsk oblast has the largest population and the Turgai oblast has the least. The Ural oblast has the greatest density of population, and the Turgai has the lowest density. Because of natural and historical conditions, the population of the region has distributed itself unevenly. The northern uyezds are the most densely populated, or, more precisely, the uyezds contiguous with the Tomsk and Tobolsk guberniyas in Siberia, and the Astrakhan, Samara, and Orenburg guberniyas in European Russia. This is explained by the fact that /179/ the localities with the greatest natural wealth are here (as we saw in the first chapter /untranslated/), and this attracted both the aborigines of the region and peasant immigrants, especially in recent times. It was also significant that the neighboring guberniyas were densely populated, and this surplus naturally came across the borders of our region (for example, at the beginning of the 1880's they came from the Tobolsk guberniya into the neighboring Petropavlovsk and Kustanai uyezds). Finally one should point out the fact that the conquerors of the area, the service people and the fugitives who later made up the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies, began their invasions from just these places, but when they had conquered the region, they did not spread through it, but settled in its northern, eastern, and western borderlands. This is why the Ural, Petropavlovsk, Kustanai, and Semipalatinsk uyezds are more densely populated, while the uyezds in the interior, such as Atbasar, Irgiz, and Turgai, are more thinly populated, being of little use because of the natural poverty and providing unfavorable conditions for existence not only for the sedentary population, but also for the nomad. From the diagram given above, it is evident how unevenly the population of the region is distributed. The average density of the population is very small (1.6 persons), so that in this respect the Kirghiz krai is one of the last in Russia.

161 If we compare the present figures for the population with
162 those of twenty years ago, we see that it has increased considerably:

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --72 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

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Oblasts	1880	1890 (by census)	1897	1900
Akmolinsk	454,205	519,929	682,429	803,994
Semipalatinsk	525,979	595,254	686,909	686,053
Ural	?	?	645,590	691,687
Turgai	320,070	?	453,691	461,516

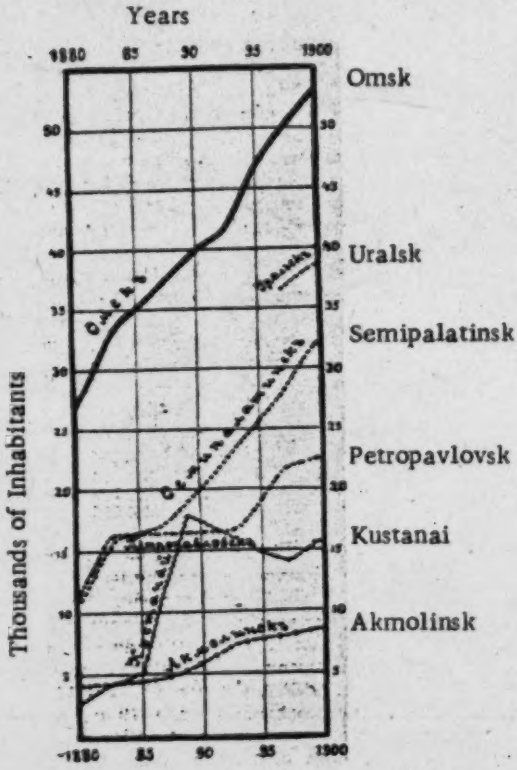
The most significant increase in population is seen in the Akmolinsk oblast. This is explained not so much by the natural increase of the population as by the colonization of this part of the region. Historical inquiries give us this kind of a picture of the population growth of this oblast. In 1869 (the year the oblast was formed), its population was made up of 101,910 Russians and 274,750 nomads. In 1900 the increase of the sedentary population equaled 259,860, i.e., 255%, while that of the nomads was equal to 167,474, or 61%. An intensified increase of population was noted from 1879, when the population of the towns of the oblast increased from 50,394 to 92,127, and the number of peasants increased from 1,749 to 167,952. The increase in the nomadic population was considerably lower. It increased 66,000 from 1870 to 1880, but only 9,520 from 1880 to 1890 (because of bad years). From 1890 to 1900, there was again an increase of 83,859 persons.

16 The natural movement of the population of the region for 1900 is expressed in the following figures:

Oblasts	Marriages	Births	Deaths	Growth
Akmolinsk	5,227	30,761	20,984	9,777
Semipalatinsk	2,733	15,160	11,529	4,631
Turgai	3,175	16,441	10,009	6,432
Ural (for 1895)	1,842	9,110	5,369	3,741

/180/

16 It can be seen from these figures that the region is low in marriages (although the predominance of Moslems, one would think, should put the region in first place in this respect). There are



The growth of the towns of the Kirghiz krai.

0.6 marriages for every 100 residents in the Akmolinsk oblast, 0.4 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 0.7 in the Turgai oblast, and 0.3 in the Ural oblast. The birthrate is also low. There are 3.8 births for every 100 residents in the Akmolinsk oblast, 2.2 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 2.3 in the Turgai oblast, /graph appears here/ and 1.6 in the Ural oblast. The mortality in the region is quite high, especially in the Akmolinsk oblast, where there are

/180 cont./

16 2.6 deaths for every 100 persons, while in the Semipalatinsk oblast the rate is 1.6 for every 100, 1.4 in the Turgai oblast, and 1.1 in the Ural oblast. The Akmolinsk oblast has the highest natural increase per year -- 1.2 -- while in the Semipalatinsk oblast it is 0.6, in the Turgai oblast 0.9, and in the Ural oblast 0.6.

361 162 Most of the sedentary population of the region lives in villages. There are few towns in the region, and the urban dwellers constitute only a small percentage. In the Akmolinsk oblast, there are only four (uyezd) towns, in addition to the oblast town (Omsk), and their total population is 92,000. In the Semipalatinsk oblast there are also only four uyezd towns and one town without a district, in addition to the oblast town, and the total population of all of these is 58,000. In the Turgai oblast there is no oblast town and only four uyezd towns with a population of 23,000. In the Ural oblast there is an oblast town, four uyezd towns, and one town without a district, all of which have a population of about 60,000. Thus in the Kirghiz krai there is a total of three oblast towns, 16 uyezd towns, and two towns without a district, with a population total of about 234,000. The relation of the urban, rural, and nomadic population (in percentages) was shown in the diagram on page 70. As we see, the urban population constitutes only 8% of the total population. Such a weak development of towns is explained by the history of the region. The towns of today are either former fortresses or have developed from military settlements where the armies and the military and administrative institutions were concentrated earlier. But when the armies withdrew and the military establishments were closed, the towns were emptied. Towns created by the economic life [438] of the region (as centers of industry or trade) are almost nonexistent, if one does not count Petropavlovsk and Kustanai, where there has been trade and industry since they were founded. For these reasons, the growth of the towns was /181/ extremely slight.

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Only in the 1890's when immigration into the region was intensified and especially after the Siberian railway had been laid, the towns along it began to grow and develop markedly. In the diagram on page 73 the growth of several Siberian towns is shown. The following diagram on page 76 shows the size of the towns in thousands of inhabitants, and the number of males and females, from data for 1900.

H.T. 162 The non-urban population of the region can be divided into rural and nomadic groups. According to the data of the general census of 1897, it is distributed among villages, nomadic villages /aul/, and campsites in the following manner:

K. [162]

Oblasts	Populated Places	Residents
Akmolinsk	6,552 (1)	608,316
Semipalatinsk	8,913(1)	634,345
Turgai	499	430,096
Ural	849	582,703
	16,813	2,255,460

1. Including small Kirghiz /Kazak/ camps of 25, 10, and fewer persons.

H.T. 361 162 In 1900 there were the following number of Russian villages:

In Akmolinsk oblast	...198	with	77,057	people in them
" Semipalatinsk "	...160	"	47,047	" " "
" Turgai "	... 30 (?)	"	21,781	" " "
" Ural "	...158	"	172,415	" " "

H.T. 361 The number of these villages is very small in comparison with the area of the region over which they are scattered. In the Akmolinsk oblast, there is one Russian /diagram appears here/ village per 2,420 square versts, in the Semipalatinsk oblast there is one per 2,514 square versts, in the Turgai oblast one per

[Text continues on p. 77]

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --76 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

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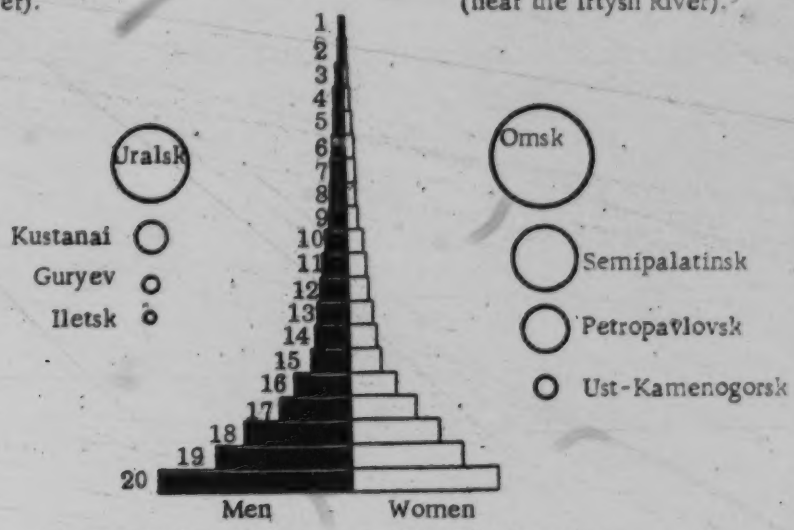
162 Key to numbers in figure below:

361 1. Temir 736
[103] 2. Turgai 999
3. Irgiz 1,738
4. Atbasar 2,625
5. Kokpekty 2,833
6. Lbishchensk 3,324
7. Karkaraly 3,377
8. Zaisan 3,734
9. Aktyubinsk 4,311
10. Kokchetav 5,944
11. Pavlodar 7,516
12. Iletsk 7,813
13. Akmolinsk 8,758
14. Guryev 9,576
15. Ust-Kamenogorsk 10,053
16. Kustanai 16,175
17. Petropavlovsk 21,749
18. Semipalatinsk 31,233
19. Uralsk 38,919
20. Omsk 53,050

The largest towns of the western part of the region (near the Ural River).

The largest towns of the eastern part of the region (near the Irtysh River).



The population of the towns of the Kirghiz Krai.

H.T. /181 cont./
361 13.361 square versts, and in the Ural oblast one Russian village per 1.800 square versts. Thus if one takes the total number of settlements (and towns), one settlement is found for every 95 square versts. For those who do not know what a Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlement is like, this last figure may be misleading in relation to the actual density of population. In the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts together, for example, there are about 13,000 such Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements (camps and aul) in which the population is not greater than 50 persons. For the Russian villages the average can be taken as /182/ a village of 500-800 persons. Villages with a population of 1,000 or more are very few in number and these are only old settlements.

K 361 162

H.T. 361 162

H.T. 162

The distribution of the population by sex (the number of males and females) is shown on page 78 indicating that the males predominate in the region by a considerable margin (53%) This difference is particularly noticeable in the Semipalatinsk oblast, where there are 31 women for every 37 men. The population of the Turgai oblast has a more equal distribution (22 women for every 24 men).

The distribution of the sedentary population by estate is represented in the next diagram on page 79. It shows that the peasants are the most numerous, in spite of the fact that they began to settle in the region only recently. The Akmolinsk oblast has the largest proportion of peasants, 54.2%, and the Ural oblast has the smallest (16.5%). After them come the Kazak /Cossacks/. /Diagram appears here./ They are most numerous (in proportion to the other estates in the Ural oblast (75%), and least in the Akmolinsk oblast (25%), while in the Turgai oblast there are none at all. The petty bourgeois, the aristocracy, and the raznochinetz /intellectual not belonging to the gentry/ are most numerous in the Turgai oblast (48%) and the Semipalatinsk oblast (41.6%), and fewest in the Ural oblast (8.5%). If one considers the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as an estate, they are the largest group in number (72.1%), as is clearly evident from the diagram. The other estates, constituting, when combined, 27.9% of the population of the entire region, are distributed as follows: 37.5% are peasants, 34.5% are Kazak /Cossacks/, and 28% are aristocrats, clergy, merchants, petty

K [162]

/182 cont./

162 bourgeois, and raznochinetz.

162 795 The population of the region can be split into two main groups with regard to religious faith: the Moslems and the Christians. Jews and pagans constitute an insignificant percentage. The Moslems (Kirghiz /Kazak/, Tatars, Sarta, and Bukhariotes) make up 73.5% of the region, while the Christians are 26.4%, the Jews 0.09%, and the pagans (Kalmyk) 0.04%. The majority of the Christians are of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Other Christian groups are represented by small assemblages. The Protestants make up 0.2% and the Catholics 0.1%.

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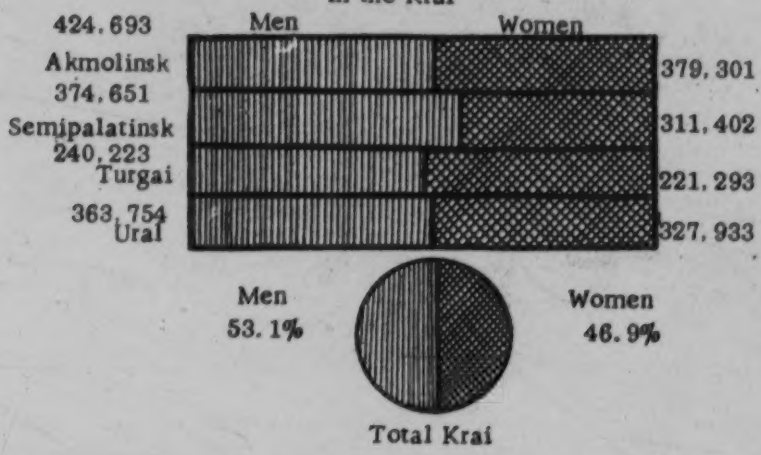
Relative Number of Men and Women in the Krai



162 795 Sectarians and heretics /raskol'nik/ are quite numerous in comparison with the total number of those of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Most of them live in the Ural oblast (65,630). Of these, 30,360 accept the priesthood. One part of these, the "Austrian" sect, recognizes the supremacy of the /183/ Bishop of Belo Krinits /in Bukovina/, while the other "Moscow" sect recognizes the authority of the Moscow bishops. There are up to 35,000 of those without priests /Bezpopovets/ (not accepting the priesthood). Most of them recognize marriage, but some of them do not. There are also a few sectarians in the oblast, in addition to the groups

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --79 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

Historical Turkestan RL2

/183 cont./

162 mentioned. In the Semipalatinsk oblast there are up to 1,500
795 "non-prayers" /nemolyak/ and other sectarians, most of whom live in villages in the Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezd. There are up to 4,000 sectarians and heretics in the Akmolinsk oblast, concentrated in the Akmolinsk, Omsk, and Kokchetav uyezds. Among them, there is the well-known sect of the "new spiritual Christians" /novye dukhovnye khristiane/ or of "new Israel," by whose teachings the people are now living in the Second Coming of Christ. They do not recognize the priesthood, icons, or the sign of the cross. The number of heretics and sectarians

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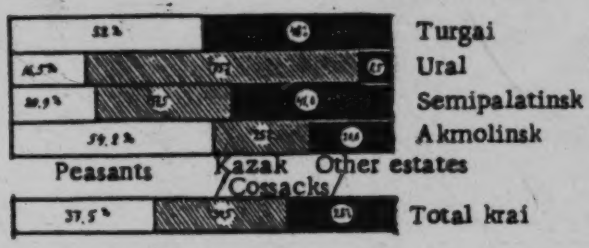

Relative Number of Peasants, Kazak /Cossacks/, and Other Estates in Percentages

162 in the Akmolinsk oblast increased with the immigration of the
795 peasants there. There is a total of 120 sectarians and heretics in the Turgai oblast. Thus there are up to 70,700 heretics and sectarians living in the entire region.

175 In the ethnographic sense the Kirghiz krai does not rep-
167 resent great diversity. /Diagram appears here./ From the historical survey we saw that although it served from ancient times as the "gates of peoples" moving from the east (from Inner Asia) to the west, all these peoples only passed through here without settling, and if some peoples did stay for a longer period, the unceasing waves of movements of new peoples

/183 cont./

175 wiped them "from the face of the earth" without reflecting any
167 features whatsoever of their life. Only the Turkic tribes that
175 appeared in the 13th century definitely settled within the
167 boundaries of our region, forming the basic population -- the
563 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their influence has affected all the later peoples who have appeared in the region. The Mongols and the Dzungarians (Kalmyk) came after the Kirghiz /Kazak/, but their sojourn, too, was not a long one, and they left the historical arena without succeeding in making a noticeable impression on the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Finally, people of the Slavic race began to move into the region from the beginning of the 16th century. These were Great Russians of various shades in the north, and Great Russians and Little Russians /Ukrainians/ in the northwest. This movement is not only still going on, but has even increased in our day. Also Latvians and Estonians have been added to their number.

121 In the following account we will allot most of the space to
563 a description of the basic population of the region -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- who are the principal people in the region and represent a fully defined group in the ethnographic sense. The Russian old-inhabitants of the region can be regarded only as a special regional variety of the Great Russians from the ethnographic point of view. /184/ We shall limit ourselves to only general remarks concerning the Great Russians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, Latvians, and Estonians who have recently settled in the region, since they have thus far failed to diverge from their original native type in physical type or in way of life (and they are described in detail in their homeland). In addition the studies of these regional varieties are far from adequate. We shall not describe the Jews, Poles, Bukhariotes, or Sart at all, both because there are too few of them, and because most of them in the region have to a considerable extent lost their national traits and way of life. /Diagram appears here./

The distribution of the races living in the region is presented in an appended diagram.

It shows that most of the region is populated by Kirghiz /Kazak/, after which there are Great Russians, Little Russians, Tatars,

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --81 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2

/184 cont./

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Estonians and Latvians, Poles, Jews, Kalmyk, and others. The quantitative relationship of these peoples is represented in the

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diagram. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ constitute 73.6% of the total population, the Russians 25.8%, the Tatars 1.4%, the Estonians and Latvians 0.2%, the Poles 0.16%, the Jews 0.09%, the

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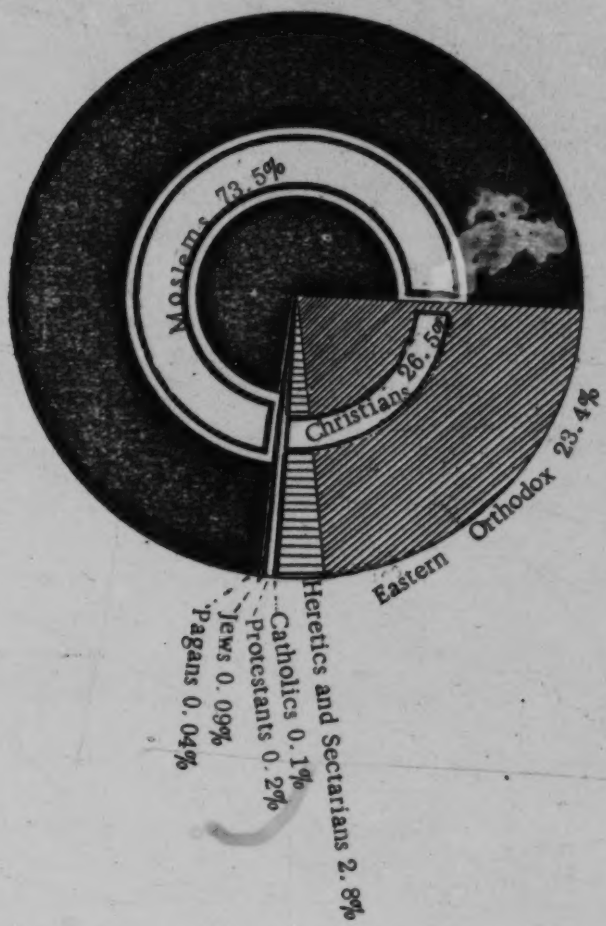

563
162

Kalmyk 0.04%, the Sart, Bukhariotes, and other Central Asians 0.09%.

The oblasts containing the largest numbers of the indigenous population are the Turgai and Semipalatinsk oblasts (as is

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --82 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Sibiriak RR4

/184 cont./

HT.
162
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evident from the diagram of the distribution of the urban, rural, and nomadic population), and those with the least are the Ural and the Akmolinsk oblasts. In view of the present situation with regard to statistics for the oblasts of the region, it is impossible to determine the exact number of Kirghiz /Kazak/, Russians, and others (which is also recognized by the Governors' reports), and thus the diagram

shows only the approximate relationships of these nationalities.

Let us turn now to the description of the representatives of the Russian nationality in the region -- the Sibiriak peasant and the Sibiriak Kazak /Cossack/.

HT.
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The type of the Sibiriak (within our region) has been developing /185/ for more than 300 years, and this is enough for the local life to have given him individual traits by which he can be distinguished as a special regional ethnographic type.

RQ2 Kazak
Siberiak RR4
Historical Turkestan RL2

/185 cont./

H.T. 563 S 101 174 [648] [177] It is difficult to establish who his ancestors were, since the first Russian colonists were a mob of fugitives. There is no doubt that there were Great Russians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and Poles among them. From the very first years of their appearance in the region they entered into close contact with the indigenous peoples -- the Tatars, Kirghiz /Kazak/, and Kalmyk -- the inevitable result of which was crossbreeding, changes in the form of life, customs, and morals, etc. All this, of course, left a marked trace both on the physical appearance and in the whole way of life of the Russian colonist-conquerors. /Diagram appears here./ This was due to the lack of culture of the colonizers themselves and to several other historical factors. Thus the crossbreeding was forced to a great extent by the fact that the first colonizers, being military people, did not have wives with them. The administration, which wished to consolidate their families along the border line, was obliged to provide wives for them, and these were recruited in groups from among loose women and all other kinds of women. Even these were not enough, however, and some took Kirghiz /Kazak/ women and lived with them. It is unnecessary to mention that the morals and conditions of the time permitted the Kazak /Cossacks/ to have several wives and to change them frequently.

H.T. 563 S 175 701 582

H.T. [595]

H.T. 563 175 One can obtain some idea of the great mixture of the border Russian population with the indigenous population (chiefly with the Kirghiz /Kazak/) from the fact that the Tobolsk Metropolitan sent reports to Moscow more than once about the extreme dissoluteness of the border population and asked that the most decisive measures be taken to destroy this "sin."

Such attempts, however, did not stop crossbreeding, and it continued to exist. Of course, the natural conditions of the country also played an important role in the development of the physical type and character, as did the historical conditions under which the life of the first colonists took shape. Living in a wild steppe country, with a cold winter and a hot dry summer, living in special social and economic conditions, far /186/ from the direct governmental regime, and living as a

S [101]

H.T. /186 cont./
563 privileged (Kazak /Cossack/) class, etc. could not have helped
175 but influence the development of a special regional type -- the
S Sibiriak-Stepniak -- from the Great Russian or the Little Russian.
101

The characterization of the Sibiriak made by ethnographers
S (Shchapov and Yadrintsev, for example) is applicable in many
[171] ways to the peasants and Kazak /Cossacks/ in our region.

In the physical sense, this type cannot be called handsome.
S They are thickset, of average height, swarthy, with gross,
142 rounded facial features, and black eyes and hair, and their movements are slow or jerky, so that at first glance they do not make a favorable impression. On closer contact, however, one forgets this first impression. The women are also swarthy with irregular facial features, but one finds many among them who are attractive.

S Their conversation is lazy and apathetic, but not super-
19 ficial, and is abrupt and of few words. Their speech is marked
521] by its harshness of pronunciation and monotony of tone. The sounds are not pronounced clearly (but gutturally), probably due to the influence of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ pronunciation. Several vowel sounds have no special distinction. The influence of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language is felt directly. Most of the Kazak /Cossacks/ and many peasants speak Kirghiz /Kazak/ freely
S from childhood and even use it in daily speech. Their intellectual
153 capacities correspond to their physical features. Thinking operates peacefully and slowly, and judgments are given with difficulty and are brief and fragmentary. The Sibiriak is rarely
S visited by an idealistic mood; his mind is more inclined to the
157 material. Utilitarian stimuli have greater weight than idealistic
H.T. ones. Religiousness and mysticism is absent in the population
S of most of the region, especially among the Kazak /Cossacks/.
181 Schism and sectarianism are spreading slowly in the region in
771 spite of the favorable conditions for them (the increase is produced chiefly by the natural increase in the families or by new arrivals). Apparently religious questions do not interest or touch the present Kazak /Cossack/ and peasant very much.

/186 cont./

157 155 The Sibiriak has not been affected so much by history as by the primordial nature surrounding him and the life of the indigenous people. They opened up the broad spaciousness of his nature, permitting the development of individuality, whether it was directed to the utilization of the wealth of the region by his own labor, or the extraction of profit from his own position by oppressing and robbing the indigenous people. This was a new life to the colonizers, unknown in their homeland. The peasants and Kazak /Cossacks/ here have never been beaten down or oppressed, as have many of the peasants of European Russia. The absence of serfdom, freedom, the absence of constraints and limitations in the way of life, and other conditions have developed an independent and sometimes even a restless character in them. A clear illustration of this can be seen in their free colonization of the Altai (see the preceding chapter). If these colonizers had been more cultured, the life of the region would have been set in more modern forms, close to those which were created under the same conditions in the colonization of North America. The conditions of Russian life, however, were not propitious for this. Russian life of that time brought about the inculcation of only /187/ predatory instincts in the population. The beginnings of a community spirit and peaceful cultural work were stifled by them.

159 184 The peasants and Kazak /Cossacks/ here are less conservative than the peasants in the guberniyas of European Russia. They readily accept innovations in farming and domestic customs, and from this point of view there is less difference between them and the urban petty bourgeois than there is in European Russia.

There is no sharp difference between the peasant old-inhabitants and the Kazak /Cossacks/ physically or in their way of life (for example, in the Kokchetav uyezd), since a part of the Kazak /Cossacks/ was formed by the annexation of several peasant villages. /Illustration appears here./ The difference between them becomes more noticeable only where the peasants and Kazak /Cossacks/ have less contact with each other (for

/187 cont./

157 184 example, in the Petropavlovsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezds). One can regard only certain traits as characteristic of the Kazak /Cossack/, for example, less receptivity to innovations in farming and less devotion to labor. This is not because they cling to the old way of life, however, but only because they are less attracted to labor by character and by all their semimilitary life. A prejudice against "black" labor -- agriculture -- has not been

157 461 701 241

342 291 142 516

Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/ of Tatar descent from the Kokchetav uyezd.

157 461 241 eradicated from the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ to this day, for he does not like to engage in it and at the first opportunity resorts to the use of hired labor. The Kazak's /Cossack's/ dislike of other types of labor is also apparent. In the family of the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ the management of the farming rests mostly upon the women and on hired workers. This /188/ dislike of farming must be explained by historical conditions, under which the Kazak /Cossack/ had to lead a semisedentary life, being in military service. Even at present the military service demands the universal service of the

157 461 701

157 /188 cont./
461 men, both active and in the reserve, up to 33 years, taking
701 the chief workers away from the family and causing them to lose the habit of farming. This has become so ingrained in the flesh and blood of the Kazak /Cossacks/ that many of them even now regard themselves first of all as "a servant of the Tsar," whose first duty is not farming, but the service, who is anxious to know how to use a Circassian saber, but not to plough a field as well as possible. These conditions have had
186 an effect on the Kazak /Cossack/, of course. For example, he
157 holds himself aloof from the peasants, whom he considers beneath him simply because they are "muzhiks" and are attached to the land. He regards the Kirghiz /Kazak/ with contempt, calling him a "dog" and considering it superfluous to treat him as an equal. Deception and abuse for no reason are ordinary occurrences. The Kazak /Cossack/ "civilizes himself" most of all in service ("in the detachment"). This "civilization," however, is purely external and, if one may say so, a special Kazak /Cossack/ brand. A Kazak /Cossack/ knows how to hold himself without constraint with his superior officers, to hold a special conversation, even to criticize the orders of his superiors, etc., but there is little in him of a thoughtful relation to life, a striving for education, or a love of knowledge in general, while a spirit of enterprise is less developed in him than in the peasants.

157 Under the same conditions, the peasants have managed to
184 organize themselves better than the Kazak /Cossacks/. This
461 advantage comes primarily from that capacity for perserverance and hard work which has been developed in the peasant through time and is completely absent in the Kazak /Cossack/. This is why, in the Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezd, for example, the peasants living next to the Kazak /Cossack/ settlements are considerably richer than the Kazak /Cossacks/, although the latter have better and more extensive sectors of land.

In general, however, the natural and historical conditions for the Russian colonists were a rich soil on which energetic and enterprising characters were cultivated.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --88 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

Sibiriak RRU

/188 cont./

128 Now we shall discuss the form of life of the Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants in somewhat greater detail.

361 The settlements of Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/ (of the Kirghiz kral) represent three or four rows of houses with irregular streets and wards. The general appearance of the settlement is ugly. The lack of thriftiness of the Kazak /Cossack/ is obvious at every step. The carelessness about 342 building is evident, as is the absence of attention to external 35 order, etc. The ordinary type of building is a five-walled [574] house, one half of which ("gornitsa" /the chamber/) is clean for the reception of guests. Houses with a few small windows and a wooden roof are very rare. The yard by the house is large, surrounded by a rose-willow wattling (planks in wooded localities), and is divided into two halves. The one by the house is clean, and the other is where the livestock is driven. [343] Here they make wattled stands or sheds to protect the livestock from the frost. The inside of the clean room is kept in order. The walls are either whitewashed or covered with hangings. The appurtenances of such a room, in addition to the furniture, are: a mirror with an embroidered towel hanging on it, ragged carpets, a chest containing clothing, and popular prints of military or sentimental scenes. The rich Kazak /Cossacks/ [556] set themselves up in urban style, with Viennese and /189/ soft furniture, pier glass, Tashkent rugs, door curtains, comparatively nice pictures, and musical instruments not uncommon.

291 The clothing of the Kazak /Cossacks/ is of three types. The everyday costume can be considered the quilted jacket /beshmet/ or long coat /khalat/ of Kirghiz cut, but with shorter sleeves, usually belted with a broad band of colored material or a sash of woven fabric. The color of the long coat is usually brown or is in Kirghiz /Kazak/ style with designs and flowers. On holidays many wear homemade jackets /pidzhak/ and only a few put on the Kazak /Cossack/ uniform -- a long-skirted single-breasted overcoat with epaulets of red material. The young men go about in colored shirts embroidered with thread or yarn. /Illustration appears here./ The headgear

/189 cont./

291 is always a visored cap or the usual Kazak /Cossack/ forage cap. The winter costume consists of the same quilted jacket, but more thickly quilted, of wool or else of tanned sheepskin. Felt boots /pimy/ are worn on the feet, and a fur hat of Tatar style on the head, also sometimes the Kirghiz /Kazak/ fur hat with earlaps /malakhay/. A long, wide linen shirt, usually of calico, and short wide trousers are worn underneath. The woman's costume differs little from that of the urban woman. The usual

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Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/ of Mordvinian descent.

291 costume consists of a jacket, tight-fitting or loose, and a wide skirt. Their heads are bound up in a kerchief or a shawl. On holidays the women put on headdresses or neckerchiefs. The Russian sarafan /long dress with armholes and a belt/ and the head-band /kokoshnik/ are unknown to the original Kazak /Cossack/ [301] women. Beads, /190/ earrings, rings, and bracelets are common. Most of them wear men's boots. The more prosperous Kazak [556] /Cossack/ women (not to speak of the Kazak /Cossack/ men dress in urban style. In summer the outer clothing is a short jacket made at home, and in winter they wear straight fur coats. The

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --90 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Sibiriak RRU

S /190 cont./

291 Altai Kazak /Cossack/ women often wear a man's costume in the summer because it is more convenient to work in (to ride horseback) in the mountains.

S The food and drink of the Kazak /Cossack/ are simple.
262 His dinner consists of one dish -- meat soup (usually mutton)
272 and milk. Those living along the Irtysh eat a great deal of fish
273 (in various forms). Grouts /kasha/ are rare, while potatoes and vegetables are quite common. Brick tea plays an important role in the diet of the Kazak /Cossack/, and no family celebration passes without it or without vodka. They drink their tea strong, taking a bite of sugar with it. Their bread is mostly of wheat (rye bread is very rare). Vodka is widely used. In the Altai they make an intoxicating beer of honey, which takes the place of wine.

S We have already spoken of the occupations of the Kazak
241 /Cossack/. Service duties do not leave much time for the
461 development of the productive forces of the Kazak /Cossack/
464 population. Since agriculture demands a great expenditure of
438 labor, it does not enjoy his favor, and if it is carried on, it is
439 almost always with hired workers -- Kirghiz /Kazak/. Trade
K in livestock and goods, or even in bread which has been bought,
[464] is preferred as an easier and more profitable occupation, thanks
[439] to such undemanding and compliant buyers as the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The Kazak /Cossacks/ of the Kokchetav uyezd (former peasants) are considered the best grain farmers.

S There are many livestock raisers along the Irtysh and in
233 the steppe uyezds (Akmolinsk and Atbasar), where the natural
S conditions are also propitious. Some of them have tens and
[471] even hundreds of thousands in capital from this occupation. The
S Irtysh (and a few of the Kokchetav) Kazak /Cossacks/ engage
226 in fishing, but they do this in a quite primitive fashion and it does not constitute a substantive business, but only an auxiliary one. Fishing with nets, as an industry, exists only on Lake
S Zaisan, where small fishing families are gathering. Beekeeping
231 is carried on by the Kazak /Cossacks/ in the Altai, but it is poorly set up and does not yield such good results as among the peasants living next to them.

/190 cont./

000 peasants living next to them. The Kazak /Cossack/ women have
241 a role equal to that of the men in carrying on the farming, and
462 such branches as gardening, raising melons, growing tobacco, and going after the livestock are taken care of exclusively by them.

795 The great majority of the Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/
781 (96%) are of the Eastern Orthodox religion. A small number are Old Believers, those who accept the priesthood and those who do not, and also sectarians. Among the Kazak /Cossacks/ 3% are Moslems (living in the Kokchetav uyezd). The devoutness of the Kazak /Cossack/ is not outstanding, perhaps because the church parishes consist of several settlements scattered over a wide distance, so that the Kazak /Cossacks/ rarely see the priest and the church service (over half the settlements have no church). The rites are strictly carried out, and the fasts are observed, especially by the women. At times of local disasters (droughts, fires, etc.) the Kazak /Cossacks/ have little recourse to public prayers, and at the same time the prayers are not particularly fervent. In general the Kazak /Cossacks/ endure
[731] community disasters quite apathetically, without grumbling at
[184] their fate /191/ and without seeking comfort from praying as the peasants do. Apparently they do not lose their confidence in a good outcome.

771 Superstitions are less widespread among the Kazak
184 /Cossacks/ than among the peasants.

Among the rituals, the most complex is the wedding. A
58 lawful wedding, i.e., not by elopement but with the consent of the parents, is made up of the following stages: matchmaking, betrothal (handshaking), evening party at the bride's house on the eve of the wedding, the marriage /bran'ya/, the great feast, the continued feast, and others. Along with the groom, his father, mother, and close relatives participate in the match-
584 making. The affair is carried on by an expert matchmaker. /Illustration appears here./ The father of the bride usually does not give an answer for himself, but asks them to wait for

RQ2 Kazak
Sibiriak RR4
Kalmyk AH5

S 584 /191 cont./

the decision of a family council. This decision is communicated to the bride, and, with her consent, the parents of the groom are notified. After this the matchmakers, men and women, appear at the bride's house and give gifts to her parents. In the evening, relatives gather at the bride's house, and the matchmakers, the groom, and his parents are invited. They all regale the relatives of the bride with wine, and the groom presents a gift to the bride

KK 142 302 291

Kalmyk Kazak /Cossacks/ of the Ural oblast.

S 584 [533] [539]

(printed calico for a dress). After this they usually sing wedding songs, such as:

The lovely girl is engaged,
Our beloved girl companion (name),
Your own father betrothed you
To the brave good youth (name).

/192/ The details of the wedding are decided here (how long a time to celebrate, where, etc.). After this the parents of the groom sometimes obtain a written promise from the bride's

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --93 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

Sibiriak RR4

/192 cont./

584 parents that they will not renounce the wedding. From this time on, gatherings of young people of both sexes begin at the bride's house for merrymaking, while the bride weeps for her maidenhood and parts with her own family, "with the braided tress -- with the maiden's beauty." Then the devichnik /bride's party/ begins, at which time the bride and the girls go to the baths, and the groom, the matchmakers, and other relatives of the groom come to the home of the bride and regale the parents and relatives of the bride. When the bride comes, the groom is obliged to give a present to her (earrings, headdress), and his relatives are obliged to do the same for the parents, sisters, and brothers of the bride. Then they all ride to the groom's house, where there is also a generous feast. All this time the girls are singing songs to the groom, the bride, the best man, the matchmaker, and others, for which the latter are obligated to pay them money.

585 On the eve of the marriage ceremony the ablution of the groom and of all those who will participate with him in the wedding procession takes place. Several ceremonies are observed in connection with this. On the next day the groom receives a blessing from his parents (at which time guns are usually shot off). The best man leads him and his escort into the yard where the farewell and blessing of those who are departing take place. When they enter the bride's house, "Christ's prayer" [188] is read three times, after which the bride's father permits the party to enter the room. The bride sits at the table, surrounded by her family (brother and sister) and girls, who do not allow the new arrivals to approach the bride. The best man, in jest, begins to threaten them with a whip, but they reply that he will receive the bride only after he rewards them. The best man then gives them gifts and regales them, after which they leave the table, and the groom and everyone else there take their places. Again the regalement of the family of the bride and the giving of gifts to them begin. The girls sing farewell [533] [539] songs such as:

They are parting (name)
With all her family, all her tribe,

/192 cont./

585 [533] [539]

With her father, and mother,
With her little brother, the bright falcon...
Do not lay (name)
Do not lay your reproaches
On your father or your mother...
Like a strange country,
She is saddled with sorrow, etc.

Then the parents bless the bridal couple, and the best man leads them out and seats them in a carriage. After this, [788] he walks around the carriage three times, reading the "Sunday prayer" in order to drive away the unclean power. Following this they drive to the church. On arrival at the house of the groom the newlyweds are again blessed by the parents, after which the matchmakers unbraid the bride's hair, give both of them a mirror, and force them to kiss each other. When this is finished, the young couple go into the bedroom. They do not stay there long, and after this the full celebration begins. [583] While the bride is regaling the father, the latter "sets" her dowry -- a horse, a cow, etc. The same is done by the mother, and the parents of the groom, and in this way their dowry is made up. On the second day, and also on succeeding days there are usually "hangover feasts" /pokhmelnyk stol/ and other small feasts. Because of these ceremonies and the custom of [435] being obliged to give gifts on certain /193/ /illustration appears here/ /194/ occasions, a wedding costs the average Kazak 000 /Cossack/ 100 and more rubles (1). Marriages very often take

[171]

1. It is interesting that the weddings of the considerably poorer peasants of the central agricultural belt of European Russia come to almost the same sum. Editor.

582 Marriages very often take place at a young age, and economic considerations play an 000 important role in this. A divorce is permitted in very rare

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --96 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2

/193/

142
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Ural Kazak /Cossacks/.

586 /194 cont./ A divorce is permitted in very rare cases, but cases of wives leaving their husbands and the co-
592 habitation of men are quite ordinary occurrences. The position
593 of the woman in the family is quite bearable, because of her management of several branches of the farming independently (gardening, churning, etc.).

592 Divisions in the family are made quite often. Large
425 families are rare among the Kazak /Cossacks/; the "elders" /stariki/ or an assembly do not interfere with the division and the entire matter is decided by the father and mother. In case of disputes over the allotments to the brothers, they have recourse to casting lots.

701 As we mentioned above, hard labor does not occupy the
[461] position in the life of the Kazak /Cossack/ that it does in that of the Russian peasant. The "burden" is the military duty,
[435] which requires full equipment from the Kazak /Cossack/ (at a sum of 150-200 rubles). If there are several men in the family, their equipment sometimes places the family in a hopeless posi-
701 tion. This is why the theme of the "land burden" is absent in
533 the songs about the way of life among the Kazak /Cossacks/, although this is a characteristic feature of the peasant songs, and the principal part is devoted to events of military service, in which the Kazak /Cossack/ formerly spent his whole life. Even now such events put a notable stamp upon their songs.
533 Some of the songs sing of the bravery and unconcern of the
539 Kazak /Cossack/, for example:

We have long lived in the steppes
And long ago we grew used to them.
Before the wild hordes
We stand not for the first time, etc.

Or:

Brothers, let us recall the past,
How in those days we
Fought bravely, how we took in battle
The banners of the Kokandians...
Our glory rings like a trumpet,
We fought for the Darya;
Along thy hills, Chinaz,
Our glory has been spread, etc.

/194 cont./

533
539

Of the old military songs, the one called "The Old Gunner" is very popular:

Early one morning in the spring
On the fortress redoubt
The grey-haired gunner once rose,
Rattled his saber by the ring,
Pulled on his grey moustache,
And blew upon his burned-out wick, etc.

In other later songs, dissatisfaction is felt with the present service, the negative sides of which are made apparent, especially in relation to family and poverty. Such, for example, is the song of the Kazak /Cossack/ woman left alone after the departure of her husband for his detachment:
/195/

The sun has disappeared behind the mountain,
The Kazak /Cossack/ woman sits at the door,
She sits and weeps bitterly,
And the tears flow from her eyes, etc.

Or:

Let us gather, Kazak /Cossack/ women,
In a single circle.
Let us sing, Kazak /Cossack/ women,
A new song for ourselves.
Life is good for the Kazak /Cossack/ women,
Only the service is hard.
We shall eat while walking, sleep standing up, etc.

Among the historical songs, "The Song of Yermak" is very popular (words by Ryleev) and is sung with special fervor by the Kazak /Cossacks/:

The storm howled, the rain roared,
In the darkness the lightning flashed,
The thunder crashed unceasingly
And the winds blustered in the thick forested dales...
Toward glory with passion breathing,
In a raw and surly land,

S /195 cont./

S 533 539

On the wild shore of the Irtysh
Sat Yermak, wrapped in thought.
The comrades of his labors,
His victories and thundering glory
Among their scattered tents
Slept without care near the forest...
He who has risked his life
And won gold by brigandage,
Will such a one think of him,
Perishing for holy Russia, etc.

S 701 181 [533]

The uniformity of the songs, telling chiefly of the bravery of the Kazak /Cossacks/, shows better than anything else the characteristic feature of Kazak /Cossack/ life and at the same time the absence of deeper content in their lives. "The military burden" is not only felt directly with regard to the equipment, but also weighs upon the entire life of the Kazak /Cossack/. The economic life of the Kazak /Cossacks/ is unenviable in spite of the richess of the best land sectors.

S 563

In addition to the preponderance of Great Russians among the Kazak /Cossacks/, there are also Little Russians /Ukrainians/ (about 6%), Mordvinians (5%), Belorussians (3%), Kirghiz /Kazak/ (1%), Tatars (1%), and an insignificant number of Cheremis, Chuvash, Permians, Votyak, Zyryans, etc. These tribes, however, have lost their national characteristics to a considerable degree, and the last (the Cheremis and others) have become completely assimilated with the basic people -- the Great Russians.

H.T. 175 171

It is also possible to view the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/ as an ethnographic variety.

The historical conditions of their life correspond in many ways to those of the Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/, for which reason there are many similarities with the latter in the character and way of life. The original stock of the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/ were fugitives -- runaway peasants (Great Russians and Little Russians, heretics, Don and Volga Kazak

H.T. 167 181

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --99 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak

[Ural Cossacks] Historical Turkestan RL2

/195 cont./

167 /Cossacks/. Poles, and later even Tatars and Kalmyk. These
181 fugitives were filled with the urge to create an independent life for themselves, far away from the government, and to retain their customs, organization, and freedom. This burning stubborn urge for freedom and /196/ independence and on the other hand the unceasing clashes with their neighbors over the course of nearly 300 years made a noticeable imprint on the Ural Kazak /Cossack/, determining to a large extent his present character and form of life. Although there is a general similarity in the character of the life of the Ural and Sibiriak-Kazak /Cossacks/, the life of the former was passed in a more complex setting.
226 From the earliest years the Ural men engaged in peaceful industry -- fishing -- which left a deep mark on their life, as it constituted the chief source of their well-being, like agriculture
226 for the peasants. The songs about their everyday life devote
533 much space to praise of the principal fishing place -- the Ural
[103] River -- called "Yaikushka, son Gorynovich." One of these songs, the favorite of the Kazak /Cossacks/, begins thus:

[539]

Our Yaik, Yaikushka,
Yaik, son Gorynovich!
For you, for Yaikushka
There is good repute
For you, for Gorynych
There is a good word:
Of Yaikushka gilded
Was its bottom,
Of Yaikushka silvered
Were its edges,
Of Gorynych pearled
Were the steep banks, etc.

/Illustration appears here./

175 The Ural men did not remain without a role in the great
669 events of Russian political life, however, even though living in the borderland, almost completely independent of the central authority, and far from the general Russian life. It is enough to mention their dual role during the interregnum and their great part in the Pugachev rebellion.

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
Sibiriak RR4

[Ural Cossacks]

/196 cont. /

H.T. 175 669 538 great part in the Pugachev rebellion. Legends of Pugachev, songs and narratives connected with this event, these "crumbs left over from an ancient banquet," to use the expression of /197/ Zheleznov, historian of the Urals, are still widespread among the people, and this shows that this event found fertile soil in the character and way of life of the Kazak /Cossacks/. Nothing like this has been noted among the Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/.

H.T. 538 [171] The folk epos is also richer among the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ than among the Siberian ones (at least judging by the literary data available). To be sure, the boldness and courage of the Kazak /Cossacks/ occupy the central role here, too, but considerable space is given also to purely everyday events (some of the traditions, legends, and songs of this kind have been collected

H.T. 226 291 516

The autumn fishing expedition /plavnya/ of the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/: the fishing ataman, the physician, and military deputies.

H.T. 538 by Zheleznov).

S H.T. 142 [144] Physically speaking, the Ural man in part resembles the Sibiriak (especially when he has an admixture of Kirghiz /Kazak/ blood) and in part differs from him considerably. One can observe

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --101 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak
Historical Turkestan RL2
[Ural Cossack] Sibirian RR4

S /197 cont./
HT two characteristic types among the Ural men. /Illustration appears here.
142 One is thickset, short, round-faced, light blond, with rather coarse and indeterminate features and with thick, but short facial hair. The
S other is tall, with delicate facial features and thick long facial hair,
HT handsome and brunette, with excellent proportions. The clothing of
291 the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ is little different from that of the
S Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. One does notice a predilection among
HT the former for checked shirts under their jackets. The settlements
361 (stations and villages) of the Ural men are richer in buildings. The tall
TB wooden crosses (in the form of the grave crosses) often erected by the Kazak /Cossacks/ by the windows (they are dug into the ground)

HT [342]

Types of buildings in southern stations of the Ural Kazak /Cossacks/ (From a photograph by V. P. Semenov.)

according to a vow, similar to the way the Great Russian peasants
HT put up candles before images, are characteristic of the village streets.
342 In the southern stations of the Ural army, unwhitewashed adobe and
HT earth huts with a flat earth roof predominate, as is evident in the
563 accompanying sketch. The Ural Kazak /Cossack/ include in addi-
[177] tion to Great Russians, as we have said above, Tatars, Bashkir (up
[226] to 6,000), and Kalmyk (about 1,000). /198/ Their way of life has
[241] changed under the influence of the Russians, and most of them are engaged in agriculture and fishing. For detailed descriptions of these nationalities, see Volume VI of Russia.

/198 cont./

184 We shall not devote much space to the peasant old-inhabitants of the region (almost all of them residents of the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively), since some of them became part of the Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/ and gave them much of their own way, so that much of what has already been said of the former can also be applied to the peasants.

175 167 The peasant old-inhabitants, as we have seen from the preceding chapter, are descendants of the free colonizers of the region, descendants of those resolute, hardy, and freedom-loving people who came to this wild region of their own will, overcame all obstacles, and laid a firm foundation for the Russian colonization here. There is no doubt that such colonizers could only have been the most resolute and energetic elements of the Russian peasantry. The conditions of life in the new region contributed to the development and reinforcement of these qualities, by which they are also distinguished from the recent immigrants from European Russia.

184 241 157 The chief difference between the peasant here and the Kazak /Cossack/ must be considered not so much in physical terms and in features of everyday life as in the general form of character determined by the historical conditions of life for each group. The basis for the populating of the region by the peasants was primarily a striving to find space on the land here, with which their most sacred hopes were bound. The desire was fulfilled, and the peasant had the opportunity to engross himself with farming and in general to build his life as he wanted it. The peasant put everything into agricultural activity, investing his whole life in it. In fact, his farming can be considered a model in comparison with that of the Kazak /Cossacks/. This attraction to the land puts its stamp (as in European Russia also) on all aspects of his life. The general characterization of the Sibiriak made above applies more precisely to this peasant old-inhabitant than to the Kazak /Cossack/, for among the latter such features as ease of manner, unconcern, and self-confidence can be considered characteristic, while they are

157 184

S /198 cont./
157 rare among the peasants. The peasant is undoubtedly a more
184 positive type and, as an economic force, is both a stronger and more desirable element in a pacified region than the Kazak /Cossack/. The latter acknowledges the superiority of the peasant in farming and in experience and knowledge of life and correctly attributes his backwardness to the conditions of his life.

S Physically the peasant old-inhabitants have much in
184 common with the Kazak /Cossacks/. The peasant is most
291 quickly distinguished at sight by his dress. He wears the same Russian homespun peasant coat, fur cap, felt hat, linen and wool shirts, coarse sleeveless overcoats, colored belts, great boots ("butyly" /bottles/), and in the winter sheepskin coats, etc. The women wear long, sleeveless, red sarafan, linen stanushki (blouses), headdresses, and ribbons, and they make almost everything themselves. The Kirghiz long coat which is worn by the majority of the Kazak /Cossacks/ is only very rarely seen on the peasant.

S In general the peasant villages have a more pleasant
184 and thrifty look than the Kazak /Cossack/ settlements. Even
361 in the buildings one sees the sober, positive character of the
342 peasant. They are built more /199/ solidly than the Kazak /Cossack/ ones. The wattled buildings to which the Kazak /Cossacks/ eagerly turn, even in wooded locations, are rare
S 628 among the peasants. Relations between the Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants are not close. Cases of intermarriage are quite rare. This is particularly applicable to the Altai peasants. The villages of heretics live in their own world, completely isolated.

H.T. The Little Russians /Ukrainians/ (from the Kharkov,
563 Poltava, Kiev, and other guberniyas) have settled in recent
361 years primarily in the southern steppe uyezds of the Akmolinsk oblast and in the Atbasar uyezd. Their villages are
H.T. recognizable at once by their white adobe (unbaked brick)
[342] cottages with thatched roofs. In general the "Khokhly" /pejorative term for Ukrainians/ organize themselves in the

H.T. /199 cont./
563 new homeland in the same way as they lived before. A
361 new village can always be distinguished at once from an old
H.T one on which local influences have already had an effect.
[628] They settle with Great Russians only in extreme cases, preferring separate settlements.

H.T. German colonists (Mennonites, Baptists, and others)
563 and also Estonians and Latvians appeared in the Akmolinsk
241 oblast only in the 1890's. Some of them live on rented
[195] plots near Omsk and some in the Akmolinsk uyezd on allotted land (the settlements of Preobrazhenskoye, Romanovskoye, Kankrinskoye /Kankrynka/), like the peasants. They are
H.T. engaged in agriculture. They do not have close relations
[628] with the Russian population. In the village of Romanovskoye the relations were so hostile that there were clashes of arms, and the administration consequently completely separated the Russians on a new sector. As farmers they equal the peasants
H.T. in their skill in tilling the ground. They have set themselves
[346] up in their sectors even better than the peasants, and they
H.T. have their own schools and houses of prayer. The general
[342] appearance of the German village is similar to that of the Little Russians; the buildings that are common, for example,
H.T. in the Livonian guberniya do not exist here. The clothing
[291] (hats, jackets), however, and the carriages (carts drawn by
[493] two animals, cabriolets) are still retained.

H.T. Poles, Jews, Bukhariotes, and Sarta live only in the
563 towns. The latter engage in trade and other commercial
361 undertakings. Bashkir and Kalmyk sometimes live in villages
463 in the Ural and Turgai oblasts, where they farm.

K We shall now turn to the examination of the principal
101 people of the region -- Kirghiz-Kazak. This people is first among all the Turkic peoples on the continent of Asia, both in number and in the expanse of territory they occupy (and second in the world, after the Osmanli Turks). For the ethnographer the Kirghiz-Kazak are of great interest since they have retained until now their nomadic way of life and their clan custom, similar to the primitive custom. Ethnically they are also the most interesting of all the Asiatic Turks, since they include representatives of all the most important and oldest Turkic tribes.

/199 cont. /

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.
614 /200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 619 614 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun', Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/200 cont./

101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

101 619 142 144 /201/ The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

/201 cont./

141 of the Middle Horde is 192 millimeters, of the Murun clan 192 millimeters, of the Naiman 181 millimeters, of the Baydjigit 192 millimeters, and of the Kirei 197 millimeters, and in the Bukey Horde it is 238 millimeters. The size of the face is small (119 mm. and smaller). Thus among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 117 millimeters, in the Middle Horde 116 millimeters, in the Murun clan 116 millimeters, among the Naiman 114, among the Baydjigit 117 millimeters, and for the Kirei 115 millimeters. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Little Horde the face of average size reaches 121 millimeters. The cranial index (the proportion of the length of the skull to its width) shows the following figures for the different tribes. In the Bukey Horde it is 86.5, in the Little Horde 87.5, in the Middle Horde 89.5, in the Murun clan 89.5, among the Naiman 89.5, for the Baydjigit 89.5, and the Kirei 89.0. These

[142] [291] →

Kirghiz /Kazak/.

last figures provide a basis for calling the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (all the tribes listed above) brachycephalic (short-headed).

142 /202/ It is evident from all the data presented above how much the statistics vary for the different tribes. This shows, as was stated above, that from the physical anthropological point of view the Turks in our region do not constitute a whole. Externally the Kirghiz /Kazak/ may be characterized in this way. His body is quite well-proportioned, with a well-developed chest and a neck that is neither thick nor short. His legs are slightly bowed (from frequent horseback riding), with short lower legs, and the hands and feet are small. The color

/202 cont./

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here./

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

159 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

[142]
[291]
[342]

221
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[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
171 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

/203 cont. /

193 constituent parts of the word are easily separated. Such languages are known among some scholars as agglutinative, and among others as uninflected, formless, etc. Since Ural-Altaic peoples speak them, they are most often called Ural-Altaic
192 languages. Under the influence of Islam and of their neighbors (Russians, Mongols, and others), one notices /204/ an admixture of foreign words in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language from Arabic, Mongol, Russian, and especially Tatar, and several other languages.

538 The folklore is quite rich, although it is also monotonous. It is expressed primarily in works of lyric and epic content. The former come down to a description of love and the experiencing of various feelings and situations by the lovers. Much space is given to comparisons of the internal and external qualities of the hero and heroine. The epic works contain descriptions of the former life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the deeds and great feasts "across the whole steppe" of eminent heroes and rich khans -- Ablai, Naurzbai, and others. Of these, the poem "Kurpech (Kuzu) and Bayan (Solu)" deserves the greatest attention. This is an ancient work, evidently not by one author but by a group. Although it has an uncomplicated plot (Kurpech loves Bayan and on the advice of his father thinks of marrying her, but another suitor, Tologoi, appears and kills Kurpech, and Bayan then kills Tologoi and herself), this work is of great interest for its artistic description of nature and especially of the everyday life and manners of its time. From this point of view it has no equal among other Kirghiz /Kazak/ works. Its popularity among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is great. Many place names are associated with the names of its heroes -- mountains, rivers, landmarks, and others (where the events described took place). The grave of Kurpech has been preserved until now (not far from Sergiopol).

538 In addition there is a whole series of songs of everyday
533 life associated with various rituals and events of life -- weddings, funerals, etc. The works of the well-known folk poet Nogoibai and his followers should be named as compositions of the most

/204 cont. /

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich). One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally, one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
177 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
[533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung, of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny" and "olengchi" (like the psaltery and kobza players of old Rus'). The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming," paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most important moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

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533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
[594] sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

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342 [192] As a dwelling, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in summer use the yurt (more precisely -- the uy, i.e., dwelling, for yurt is a Mongol word), and in winter, the kstau, i.e., winter camp. In rare cases (among the poor) the yurt serves as the summer and winter dwelling. In the southern part of the region, where the winters are not so severe, average families also live in yurts.

We shall give somewhat more detail in describing the yurt, since the whole life of the nomad is concentrated within it. /206/ His world view is formed here and all the most important moments of his domestic and public life take place here. The winter camp is a sad necessity called for by local climatic peculiarities.

The yurt is a wooden, cone-like form, a lattice-work framework, with felt stretched over it. Because of its lightness and simple structure it is quickly taken apart and also quickly assembled, which is very important in connection with the frequent migrations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The framework of the yurt consists of the "kerege" -- a wooden lattice serving the basis of the tent (a section of it, made of 12-17 pairs of sticks, is called a kanat) -- and the "chengarak," which is a wooden circle with arched transverse shafts called "kul'dereush." The kerege and chengarak are fastened together by wooden arches -- "uka" -- which are inserted at one end into the opening of the chengarak and the other is tied to the kerege. The number of uka in a tent varies. In small ones there are up to 100, and in large ones there are 150-200. The height of the kerege, the length of the uka, and the dimensions of the chengarak differ in different yurts. The height of a yurt is four to six arshins. The yurt door consists of a rectangular frame one and a half arshins high. The side parts of the frame are called "bosaga" or "tayanysh," the lower side "tabyldyryk," and the upper side "mandaiga." The door or "yesyk" is made out of thick felt cloth or wood. All this is fastened to the "kerege." The "chengarak" is fastened to the center of the tent with a lasso, called "dzhil'-bau," so that the wind will not blow it away, or it is supported with a special pole called "bakan." From [286] the outside the kerege is covered with a woven network of chiy

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342 [286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[283] [287] [531] [286] [531]

Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

[322] [412] [287] [462] [435]

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

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342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have be-
[199] gun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and
[175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored
554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door,
352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and
353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug,
[574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod-
[262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

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354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. [782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

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342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

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342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [184] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities with- [556] out forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

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Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

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184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

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291 Kirghiz /Kazak/ wear over the beshmet a fur coat, "kupa," of felting, joined naturally, i.e., on the skin of a sheep or a camel. This is light, but very warm clothing. In addition they wear tanned fur coats and quilted beshmet. The sleeves in all the clothing of the men and women are long, taking the place of gloves and mittens for the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/211/ Their legs are covered by quilted or sheepskin trousers, "shelbary," and thick (ox-hide) boots and felt socks. A conical form of fur hat, called "malakhay," is worn on the head, with long wide earflaps closing behind the neck. The material chosen for the clothing is always multicolored with bright colors and designs.

The costume of the women is quite similar to that of the men. They wear the same long, wide shirts as the men, and wide dambaly, with a loose-fitting dress over it. On their feet they wear the same boots or ichigi, with light lacquered overshoes. The long coats and beshmet are fitted at the waist. The girls wear round caps with fur trimming on their heads. The women wear a "kimeshek," a white hood that covers the head and goes down to the shoulders, with a slit in front for the face. /Illustration appears here./ The upper part of the head is covered by a white kerchief, called "dzhaulyk" (the Kirghiz /Kazak/ women do not cover their faces).

292 The bride wears a "saukele" on her head, a tall, pointed, cone-shaped hat with braid, silver plates, and other adornments sewed on it. The top of it consists of a bunch of feathers. Among the other features of the wedding costume of the bride, the colored shawl, "dzhilek," which covers the back of the bride entirely (the dzhilek is attached to the saukele), might be mentioned. The rest of her clothing is the ordinary type, only richer. The attire of the groom differs still less from the usual men's attire, having only the addition of feathers on his cap. Even this, however, could not be considered an invariable difference or appurtenance of the groom's attire.

291 The clothing of boys and little girls is alike in general, except for the arakchin /cap/ which the boys wear even as children.

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262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
272 and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/,
[275] there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible
[435] to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-
[958] known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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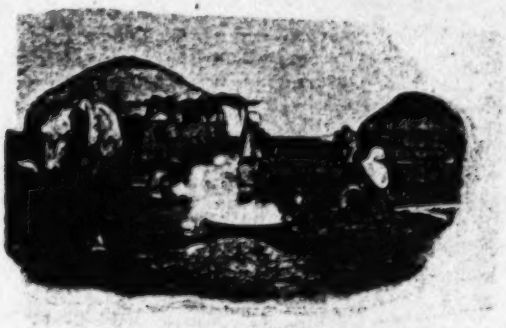

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is 286 made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, 283 hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 286 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 462 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes mentioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers engage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the 326 harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population. [i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the / position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
177 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
291 and especially in the years of
492 "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

592 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
614 (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

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1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

614 /216 cont. /
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ů Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

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585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

/218 cont. /

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accom-
[431] panied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

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844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

764 Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in
779 addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a
795 deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz
793 /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are
[872] medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

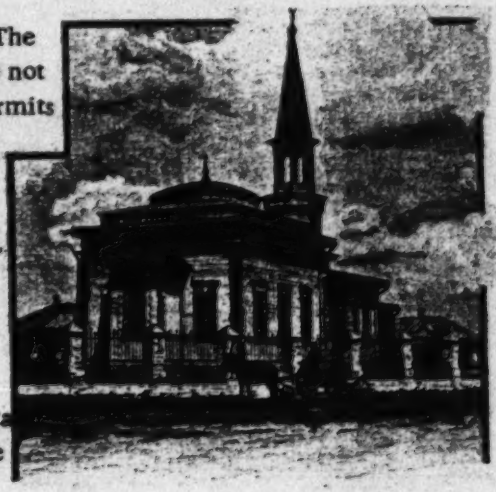
799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
799 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, espe-
785 cially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not
[779] observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods
[346] of three days only for
[493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta
[262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
777 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

/222 cont./

797 bury a handful of salt in a small bag. When he starts out on the
789 dangerous day the Kirghiz /Kazak/ disinters the small bag and takes it with him, believing that this will insure him against misfortune. Amulets are quite widespread, being hung both on favorite animals and on children (on the chest for boys and sometimes in the hair of little girls).

756 From earlier paganism the Kirghiz /Kazak/ retain a belief in the baksi /bakshi/ (shaman). He is usually an old man to whom they turn for the healing of sicknesses. Christianity is finding
797 conversion among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ very difficult. The activity of the Semipalatinsk and Turgai Kirghiz /Kazak/ missions has not produced noticeable results. The preaching has had some success only among the poor people (dzhetak or baygush), for whom purely material considerations are not least important among the incentives for adopting Christianity. Cases of reconversion to Islam are not rare.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

РОССІЯ.

ПОЛНОЕ ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКОЕ ОПИСАНІЕ

НАШЕГО ОТЕЧЕСТВА.

НАСТОЛЬНАЯ и ДОРОЖНАЯ КНИГА

ДЛЯ РУССКИХЪ ЛЮДЕЙ.

ПОДЪ РЕДАКЦІЕЙ
В. П. Семенова

И ПОДЪ ОБЩИМЪ РУКОВОДСТВОМЪ

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С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.
Изданіе А. Ф. ДЕВРІЕНА.
1903.

[Title Page]

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

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ОТДѢЛЪ II.

НАСЕЛЕНІЕ.

ГЛАВА IV.

Историческія судьбы Киргизскаго края и культурные его успѣхи.

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Народы, населявшіе Киргизскій край въ древности.—„Чудь".—Татары.—Башкиры.—Калмыки.—Джунгары.—Киргизы.—Завоеваніе и два вида колонизаціи края—военная и правительственная.—Крестьянская колонизація 80—90-хъ годовъ XIX в.—„Бѣловодье".—Развитіе просвѣщенія въ краѣ.—Низшее и среднее образованіе.—Книжное и издательское дѣло въ краѣ.

Слѣды пребыванія въ Киргизскомъ краѣ первобытнаго человѣка найдены въ немногихъ мѣстахъ; это различныя каменныя орудія—топоры, молотки, наконечники стрѣлъ и копій и незначительное число грубыхъ металлическихъ издѣлій. Открыто также нѣсколько стоянокъ и могильниковъ у подножья Алтайскихъ горъ и по берегамъ Иртыша. Эти памятники говорятъ о томъ, что народъ, который ихъ оставилъ, находился еще въ младенчествѣ и только выступалъ на путь культуры. Нѣкоторые ученые относятъ этотъ народъ къ финскому племени.

Гораздо бо́льшую область распространенія имѣютъ здѣсь памятники, говорящіе о пребываніи въ Киргизскомъ краѣ болѣе могущественнаго племени, стоявшаго на болѣе высокой ступени культуры. Это тѣ памятники, которые современное населеніе приписываетъ сказочному народу „чудь". Кажется, до самаго послѣдняго времени ученые не могли согласиться въ томъ, что за народъ оставилъ послѣ себя такое множество памятниковъ на громадномъ пространствѣ не одного только Киргизскаго края, но и по всей южной Сибири; тѣ-же памятники переходятъ даже въ южную Россію и далѣе на западъ—въ предѣлы Австріи и Германіи.

Одни придерживались Геродота, который, описывая Скиѳію (V в. до Р. Х.), упоминалъ, что у подножья горъ (Урала) жили *аримпаспы*, а къ востоку отъ нихъ *исседоны*, выше ихъ *аримаспы* и *гриппы* (грифы), стерегшіе золото. Отъ послѣднихъ, черезъ посредничество исседоновъ, по показанію Геродота, получали греки золото. Геродотъ, однако, самъ мало вѣрилъ въ существованіе упомянутыхъ народовъ и называлъ ихъ съ чужихъ словъ. Позднѣйшіе историки также не признавали ихъ, хотя не отри-

цали существованія въ этихъ мѣстахъ народа, ставшаго родоначальникомъ современныхъ калмыковъ. Съ послѣднимъ, однако, многіе археологи и этнографы не могутъ согласиться, какъ потому, что дошедшія до насъ письменныя свидѣтельства (отъ XIV и XVI вѣка послѣ Р. Х.) говорятъ о „чудскихъ" могилахъ, какъ совершенно чуждыхъ и неизвѣстныхъ тогдашнимъ калмыкамъ, такъ и потому, что предметы, находимые въ чудскихъ могильникахъ, и другіе дошедшіе до насъ памятники говорятъ о высшей культурѣ „чуди", въ сравненіи не только съ тѣми калмыками и другими инородцами монгольскаго племени, которыхъ заставъ русскіе въ XVI и XVII вѣкѣ въ Киргизскомъ краѣ, но и съ современными. Трудно допустить, чтобы калмыки (или другое монгольское племя), такъ давно достигнувъ довольно высокой степени культуры, черезъ болѣе чѣмъ десятокъ вѣковъ не только не сдѣлали шага впередъ, но и значительно опустились. Нѣкоторые археологи видятъ въ „чудскихъ" памятникахъ слѣды пребыванія здѣсь *арійскихъ* племенъ, основываясь на сходствѣ предметовъ, находимыхъ въ южно-русскихъ и сибирскихъ курганахъ, а также и близостью формъ череповъ.

Каменная баба.
(По фот. Рыжкова, изъ с.-пб. З.-Сиб. Отд. И. Р. Геогр. Общ.).

Изъ всего, что намъ до сихъ поръ извѣстно о курганномъ племени („чуди"), можно быть увѣреннымъ лишь въ томъ, что этотъ народъ жилъ здѣсь продолжительный періодъ времени, пройдя нѣсколько ступеней культуры—бронзовый и мѣдный періодъ, и перешелъ къ желѣзному. Онъ жилъ въ укрѣпленныхъ городахъ, имѣлъ довольно развитую промышленность, искусства, выработалъ письменные знаки, съ помощью которыхъ заносилъ свои историческія событія, имѣлъ наконецъ свою религію съ опредѣленными обычаями.

Остановимся нѣсколько подробнѣе на памятникахъ этого древняго народа. До насъ дошли, какъ мы уже сказали, остатки городовъ курганнаго племени. Это небольшія сооруженія изъ глины, дерева (срубы) и камня; такія „*городища*", открыты во многихъ мѣстахъ—по берегамъ *Иртыша*, близъ *Павлодара*, *Усть-Каменогорска*, въ окрестностяхъ *Каркаралинска*, въ верховьяхъ *Ишима*, *Тобола* и *Оби*, по берегамъ *Илека* и *Урала*. Въ нихъ найдены мѣдныя и бронзовыя орудія и разнообразная глиняная и бронзовая посуда (чаши и урны); послѣдняя всегда изукрашена различными узорами. Нѣкоторыя городища имѣли видъ укрѣпленій и помѣщались на неприступныхъ мѣстахъ (напр. въ окрестностяхъ Каркаралинска); другія расположены по берегамъ рѣкъ и озеръ и имѣли деревянныя и земляныя постройки. Находили въ городищахъ шорныя издѣлія (удила и стремена съ бронзовыми и мѣдными насѣчками и пр.) и орудія для обработки полей. Но особенно развито было горное дѣло. „Чудскія копи" въ массѣ разсѣяны по южной гористой полосѣ края; безъ преувеличенія можно сказать, что современная горная промышленность возникла на чудскихъ копяхъ: первые горнопромышленники на-

чали разработку мѣди и серебра въ этихъ копяхъ и только въ недавнее время занялись разработкой никогда еще нетронутыхъ мѣсторожденій. „Чудскія копи" найдены главнымъ образомъ въ Каркаралинскомъ у., гдѣ и въ настоящее время горная промышленность наиболѣе развита. Въ сѣверо-западномъ Алтаѣ также извѣстно много такихъ копей. Такъ, недалеко отъ впаденія въ Иртышъ р. *Шульбы* найдены были пять старинныхъ печей съ сохранившимися въ нихъ мѣдной рудой и шлаками. Извѣстный Зыряновскій рудникъ въ Алтаѣ основанъ также на „чудскихъ копяхъ". Слѣды древнихъ рудниковъ найдены въ *Мугоджарахъ* и въ верхнемъ теченіи Урала. Въ этихъ копяхъ находили главнымъ образомъ мѣдную руду, нарѣдка серебро (хотя желѣзная руда и обнаружена была во многихъ копяхъ, но повидимому выплавка металла была народу еще неизвѣстна).

Много осталось и памятниковъ религіознаго культа. Въ этомъ отношеніи богатый матеріалъ даютъ курганы и могильники. Тѣ и другіе говорятъ намъ, что у здѣшняго народа былъ уже не грубый фетишизмъ, а пантеизмъ и представленіе о загробной жизни. Народъ заботился о погребеніи умершихъ, убиралъ внутренность и внѣшность могилъ, выкладывая ихъ камнемъ или деревомъ, наряжалъ умершихъ въ лучшія одежды, украшалъ золотыми и серебряными вещами—ожерельями, кольцами, запястьями и клалъ вмѣстѣ съ умершимъ его любимыя вещи—чаши, тарелки, горшки и пр. Могилы (курганы) дѣлались для одного или немногихъ умершихъ—и такихъ большинство—или же для многихъ (такъ называемые могильники), причемъ, судя по убранству могилъ и находимымъ предметамъ, можно думать, что богатыя изъ нихъ служили усыпальницами для знатныхъ и почетныхъ людей. Нерѣдко курганы и могильники украшались каменными изваяніями („бабами") и каменными плитами съ надписями. Въ нѣкоторыхъ могилахъ находили мѣдные жертвенники и сосуды съ пепломъ: повидимому умершіе иногда сжигались. Мѣстомъ для богослуженій служили капища, гдѣ находились изображенія боговъ въ видѣ мужчинъ и женщинъ, быковъ, гусей, змѣй и др. животныхъ. Письмена были знакомы этому народу, и онъ заносилъ ими событія своей жизни, причемъ сначала прибѣгалъ къ іероглифамъ, а позднѣе пользовался буквами. Такія „писяницы" дѣлались чаще всего на камняхъ, выдалбивались или краснялись. Форма знаковъ напоминаетъ древнегреческія и индійскія (зендскія) буквы; запись дѣлалась въ горизонтальномъ порядкѣ.

О „чуди", обитавшіе здѣсь народы во время завоеванія края русскими не имѣли ясныхъ понятій; для нихъ „чудь" была такимъ-же таинственнымъ народомъ, какъ и для насъ по настоящее время. Но съ памятниками населеніе было знакомо; отъ здѣшнихъ инородцевъ уже узнали русскіе, что курганы суть „чудскія" могилы, что въ нихъ зарыты различные цѣнные предметы. Какъ инородцы, такъ и первое время русскіе спеціально занимались поисками такихъ могилъ и похищали изъ нихъ все цѣнное.

По китайскимъ источникамъ, за 200 лѣтъ до Р. Х. въ предѣлахъ края появился опредѣленный народъ *усунь* или *уйсунь*, выдѣлявшійся среди другихъ азіатскихъ народовъ своимъ типомъ (русые волосы, голубые глаза). Какъ и всѣ послѣдующіе народы, усуни двигались черезъ долину р. *Или* и *Аяк-Куля*, которыя, по справедливости, называются „пусто-

рическими воротами" народовъ, и вышли къ *Балхашу*. Здѣсь они жили почти до Р. Х., когда, разрозненные междоусобіями и тѣснимые съ юга новыми народами, вышли далѣе на сѣверъ и сѣверо-западъ—въ степи, гдѣ смѣшались съ бродячими тюркскими племенами. Съ 119 г. по Р. Х. имя ихъ уже совершенно сошло съ исторической арены. Въ 177 г. послѣ Р. Х. обитавшія въ Киргизскомъ краѣ племена были оттѣснены къ западу вышедшими изъ китайскихъ владѣній *гуннами*, которые двигались по южнымъ степямъ на западъ и совершенно смели на пути родственное усунямъ племя юэчжи. Въ V вѣкѣ послѣ Р. Х. остатки гунновъ (большею частью уже ушедшихъ въ южно-русскія и венгерскія степи) въ разсматриваемомъ краѣ подпали подъ власть двигавшихся съ юго-востока монголовъ; бо́льшая часть ихъ вскорѣ была разсѣяна и истреблена ближайшими монгольскими полчищами изъ племени *уйгуровъ*, спустившихся съ Алтая (въ VII вѣкѣ). Въ этотъ періодъ (V—VII в.), послѣ сильной и успѣшной въ завоеваніяхъ гуннской волны, съ востока и въ частности съ Алтая происходило почти безпрерывное движеніе различныхъ *тюркскихъ* племенъ. Въ это время вышли на южныя степи *печенѣги*, но вскорѣ были оттѣснены *тюрками* въ современную Уральскую область и далѣе до Волги, и въ IX в. были уже хорошо извѣстны русскимъ князьямъ, какъ дикій степной (кочевой) народъ и безпокойный сосѣдъ. Въ XI вѣкѣ появилось по этому-же пути другое тюркское племя—*половцы*; они потѣснили печенѣговъ и торковъ и также двигались на западъ. Жили они, какъ и первые, кочевымъ хозяйствомъ, а, дойдя до русскихъ предѣловъ, также занялись набѣгами на ближайшіе русскіе города и села.

Каменная баба. (*По фот. Рыжкова, изъ альб. Зап.-Сиб. Отд. И. Р. Геогр. Общ.*)

Каменная баба. (*По фот. Рыжкова, изъ альб. Зап.-Сиб. Отд. Имп. Р. Геогр. Общ.*).

Приблизительно въ это-же время на историческую сцену выступили новыя тюркскія племена, извѣстныя подъ общимъ названіемъ *киргизъ-казаковъ* (кайсаковъ). Въ виду того, что этотъ народъ игралъ и теперь играетъ большую роль въ исторіи нашего края, мы дадимъ здѣсь болѣе подробное описаніе какъ его исторіи, такъ быта его и нравовъ (въ послѣдующихъ главахъ).

Нашъ очеркъ касается краткой исторіи киргизовъ, проживающихъ въ предѣлахъ нашего края, т. е. четырехъ степныхъ областей: Акмолинской, Семипалатинской, Тургайской и Уральской. Въ нихъ, по даннымъ губернаторскихъ отчетовъ 1890-хъ годовъ, числится

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1.875.000 душъ обоего пола, что составляетъ 58% всѣхъ киргизъ-казаковъ, считая въ томъ числѣ живущихъ въ Китаѣ, въ бухарскихъ и хивинскихъ владѣніяхъ [1]). Киргизы Семипалатинской и Акмолинской областей главнымъ образомъ состоятъ изъ нѣсколькихъ тюркскихъ племенъ: *керей*, *найманъ*, *кынчакъ*, *алчинъ* и *аргынъ*. По скуднымъ историческимъ о нихъ свѣдѣніямъ, упомянутыя тюркскія племена издавна кочевали въ разныхъ углахъ азіатскаго материка. *Керен* жили въ перемежку съ монголами на рр. Керуленѣ и Ононѣ, родинѣ Чингисхана, и сдѣлались добычею первыхъ его завоеваній. *Найманы* въ XII вѣкѣ кочевали на юго-западъ отъ кереевъ, между рр. Орхономъ и Иртышомъ. *Кынчаки* и *алчины* кочевали въ сѣверо-западной половинѣ нынѣшнихъ степныхъ областей. Монголы Чингисхана, идя изъ восточной Сибири въ Среднюю Азію, затѣмъ полчища Батыя, отправляясь изъ восточной-же Сибири сначала на верхнее теченіе р. Иртыша (гдѣ Батый назначилъ сборный пунктъ), потомъ оттуда черезъ нынѣшній Степной край къ устью Волги,—произвели перетасовку всѣхъ кочевыхъ народовъ, встрѣченныхъ по пути. Благодаря общности быта монголовъ и тюркскихъ племенъ, послѣднія смѣшались съ первыми. Послѣ этого смѣшенія, произведеннаго полчищами Чингисхана и Батыя, оказалось, что наймана и аргыны, о которыхъ нѣтъ болѣе раннихъ свѣдѣній, вошли въ улусъ второго сына Чингисхана Джагатая и въ XIV вѣкѣ кочевали отъ р. *Или* на юго-западъ до *Каратала* и на западъ до р. *Нуры*; керен очутились на *Черномъ Иртышѣ*, а кынчаки и алчины вошли въ улусъ старшаго сына Чингисхана Джучія и составили ядро *Золотой* или *Кынчакской* орды Батыя. Со времени послѣдняго историческая судьба упомянутыхъ племенъ тѣсно связана съ исторіею улусовъ Джагатая и Джучія. Находясь номинально подъ властью чингисидовъ, кочевыя племена сохраняли родовой бытъ и кочевой образъ жизни. Функцію судьи по гражданскимъ и уголовнымъ дѣламъ отправлялъ *бій*, выдвинувшійся изъ народа краснорѣчіемъ, знаніемъ народныхъ юридическихъ обычаевъ, безпристрастіемъ и справедливостью своихъ рѣшеній. Благодаря особой подвижности, которая неизбѣжна при скотоводческомъ хозяйствѣ, въ степи происходили весьма часто столкновенія между родами изъ-за пастбищъ. Борьба родовъ выдвигала находчивыхъ, смѣлыхъ вожаковъ, носившихъ званіе *батыръ*. Часто бій и батыръ совмѣщались въ одномъ лицѣ. Искусный слѣдователь, мудрый судья въ мирное время, отправляясь на войну въ защиту рода, превращался въ лазутчика, полко-

[1]) Населеніе степныхъ областей называетъ себя „ачичъ". Существуетъ много фантастическихъ объясненій этого слова. Умиралъ отъ жажды больной, оставленный на произволъ судьбы, покоровленъ Колчи-Кадыръ и молитъ небеса послать ему скорѣйшую смерть. Но небеса сжалились: снуставлся тѣній добраго духа пери, въ образѣ бѣлой гусыни ала-аз; гусыня слетала за водой, напоила страдальца и осталась жить съ нимъ. Потомки этого брака получили имя ачичъ. Слово „киргизъ", вошедшее въ употребленіе и означающее „казаковъ", было первоначально совершенно неизвѣстно послѣднимъ, и они стали слышать это слово преимущественно отъ русскихъ. Въ старшей ордѣ хайсаковъ есть родъ „киргизъ". Это одно изъ самыхъ древнѣйшихъ тюркскихъ племенъ. Киргизы встарину были извѣстны тѣмъ, что нападали на города, села и караваны. Имя ихъ стало ненавистнымъ ихъ сосѣдямъ. Впослѣдствіи за набѣги, учиненные сосѣдямъ, послѣдніе „казаковъ" стали называть киргизами. Это слово вошло въ общее употребленіе и постепенно вытѣснило собственное народное названіе ачичъ.

водца, солдата, а послѣ войны—въ дипломата. Кочевники, располагая превосходными наѣздниками и необычайною подвижностью, въ свое время, въ XIII—XIV вѣкахъ, представляли огромную военную силу. Каждый родъ, руководимый своимъ біемъ, предводительствуемый своимъ батыремъ, свободно вступалъ въ союзъ и свободно выдѣлялся изъ него, признавая надъ собою только ту верховную власть, которая соотвѣтствовала интересамъ рода или его руководителя. Обычная борьба между чингисидами за власть и удѣлы рѣшалась при непремѣнномъ вмѣшательствѣ сильнѣйшихъ тюркскихъ племенъ, сыгравшихъ дѣятельную роль при распаденіи улусовъ Джагатая и Джучія.

Въ половинѣ XV вѣка на развалинахъ упомянутыхъ улусовъ выступили на историческую сцену въ видѣ самостоятельной политической силы тюркскія племена, впослѣдствіи вошедшія въ степныя области подъ именемъ киргизовъ.

Киргизское кладбище Адоевскаго рода въ Кара-Чунгулѣ.

Пользуясь слабостью власти узбекскаго хана Абулханра [1]), отъ него отложились со своими приверженцами султаны-джучиды Гирей и Джаны-Бекъ, которые, благодаря враждѣ къ Абулханру джагатайда, моголистанскаго хана Иса-Бута, нашли пріютъ на западѣ его улуса, на р. Чу и положили основаніе союзу кочевниковъ, получившему впослѣдствіи названіе „киргизъ-казаковъ (кайсаковъ)".

Послѣ смерти Абулханра въ третьей четверти XV вѣка въ его улусѣ усилились среди чингисидовъ обычныя усобицы за власть. Кочевникамъ, тяготившимся всегда враждою своихъ властителей, стало невмоготу оставаться въ Узбекской ордѣ. Большая часть кыпчаковъ присоединилась къ союзу киргизъ-казаковъ, увеличивъ число ихъ до 200.000. При сынѣ Джанибека Касымъ-ханѣ (умершемъ въ первой четверти XVI вѣка) союзъ киргизъ-казаковъ, принявъ къ себѣ коче-

[1]) Золотая орда со времени своего хана Узбека, умершаго въ 1342 г., стала носить его имя.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

ные народы восточной половины джагатайскаго улуса, насчитывалъ болѣе милліона населенія. Касымъ-ханъ, объединивъ весь киргизскій народъ, располагалъ огромной военной силой. Къ счастью своихъ подданныхъ, этотъ послѣдній изъ могущественныхъ хановъ не принадлежалъ къ числу обычныхъ завоевателей Азіи и стяжалъ любовь своего народа миролюбивой политикой. Касымъ-ханъ, уклоняясь отъ предложенія воевать, говорилъ, что „казаки, какъ народъ кочевой, должны думать о зимовкахъ, а не о войнѣ". За свое миролюбіе Касимъ-ханъ пользовался необычайной популярностью въ народѣ. Послѣ смерти Касимъ-хана союзъ киргизъ-казаковъ раздробился; всякій изъ султановъ его старался захватить власть, и усобицы среди нихъ способствовали распаденію союза киргизъ-казаковъ. Спустя 200 лѣтъ послѣ смерти объединителя киргизъ-казаковъ Касимъ-хана его народъ снова появился на исторической сценѣ въ видѣ трехъ политическихъ союзовъ, извѣстныхъ подъ именами: старшей, средней и младшей ордъ [1]).

Въ первой четверти XVIII вѣка „возникли наименованія юго-восточныхъ казачьихъ родовъ *дулатъ* и *канлоевъ*, какъ древнѣйшихъ тюркскихъ племенъ, занявшихъ земли казачьяго союза, старшею (улы) ордою, кыпчаковъ, аргыновъ, найматовъ и кереевъ, какъ болѣе позднихъ пришельцевъ,—среднею (орта) ордою, и отдѣлившихся отъ племенъ орды родовъ и племени алчинъ—младшею (киши) ордою" (Аристовъ). Въ это время всѣ три орды, вытѣсненныя съ юго-восточныхъ своихъ земель калмыками, кочевали въ бассейнахъ р.р. *Ишима*, *Нуры* и *Сары-Су*. Въ 1723 году джунгарскій властитель Галданъ-Цыренъ покорилъ роды старшей и средней ордъ. Нашествіе джунгаръ и калмыковъ заставило киргизскія орды подвинуться на западъ—къ Аральскому и Каспійскимъ моримъ и на сѣверъ—къ верховьямъ рѣкъ *Ишима*, *Урала* и *Тобола*. Младшая и средняя орды, прижатыя съ юга своими врагами къ такъ называемой *Горькой линіи*, были вынуждены признать русскую власть. Киргизы относились свободно къ своимъ султанамъ и ханамъ, признавая ихъ власть, пока ихъ интересы совпадали съ видами самоуправляющихся родовъ. Въ 1730 году султанъ младшей орды Абулхаиръ, отчасти боясь нашествія Галданъ-Цырена на свои земли, отчасти хлопоча усилить свою пошатнувшуюся отъ вражды между султанами власть, обратился къ русскому правительству съ просьбой принять его народъ въ подданство. Султаны старшей и средней орды Аблай, Абулъ-Мамбетъ и Баракъ, пользовавшіеся расположеніемъ народа, въ XVIII вѣкѣ остались правителями его. Самый популярный среди киргизовъ, названный ими ханомъ, Аблай, тщательно избѣгалъ подчиненія киргизовъ чужой власти. Нѣкоторые роды средней орды приняли русское подданство при сынѣ хана Аблая, въ 1782 году, и при сынѣ Барака, Букей-ханѣ—въ концѣ XVIII вѣка. Нѣкоторые роды старшей орды въ лицѣ своего султана Сюка-Аблайханова приняли русское подданство въ XIX вѣкѣ. Затѣмъ до третьей четверти этого вѣка постепенно признали русскую власть всѣ киргизскіе роды, за исключеніемъ найматовъ и кереевъ,

[1]) Считаемъ нужнымъ замѣтить, что ходячія названія ордъ *большая* и *малая* совершенно неправильно характеризуютъ орды, неѣрно передавая и смыслъ киргизскихъ словъ; *улы*—старшій, древній, а не большой въ смыслѣ количества (тѣмъ болѣе, что по количеству эта орда меньше другихъ), *киши*—значитъ не малая (въ смыслѣ величества), а *младшая*.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

ушедшихъ, послѣ уничтоженія китайцами въ третьей четверти XVIII вѣка Джунгарскаго царства, изъ нынѣшней Акмолинской области на свои старыя земли—на *Тарбагатай* и *Черный Иртышъ*, а оттуда въ предѣлы Китая.

Киргизы, никогда не знавшіе верховной власти, которую немыслимо было создать въ вольной степи, гдѣ исконно традиціонная форма власти сосредоточивалась въ рукахъ самоуправляющагося рода и его вожаковъ, въ XIX вѣкѣ вошли въ составъ населенія степныхъ областей. Признавъ свою зависимость отъ русскаго правительства, киргизы не сразу примирились съ этимъ положеніемъ и даже пытались потомъ снова возстановить свою независимость, но эти попытки кончились неудачей.

Въ сороковыхъ годахъ XIX вѣка Киргизская степь въ послѣдній разъ вспомнила старину. Внукъ Аблай-хана Кенесары-Касимовъ, затмившій въ народныхъ сказаніяхъ славу своего популярнѣйшаго дѣда, собралъ нѣсколько тысячъ наѣздниковъ изъ представителей недоволь-

Киргизская зимовка въ степи.

ныхъ и, объявивъ себя возстановителемъ былого величія киргизскаго народа, пытался поднять подъ свое знамя весь киргизскій народъ. Огромная масса кочевого населенія осталась, однако, равнодушной къ воззванію Кенесары. Но смѣлость и удальство, обнаруженныя его братомъ Наурзбаемъ и товарищами послѣдняго, завоевали симпатію населенія, которое, не выражая активно своего сочувствія, постоянно оказывало покровительство людямъ Кенесары, спасая ихъ отъ преслѣдованія русскихъ отрядовъ. Благодаря этому обстоятельству Кенесары втеченіе 7 лѣтъ продержался господиномъ Киргизской степи, которую исколесили его приверженцы отъ Оренбурга до Каркараловъ, отъ Петропавловска до Туркестана, предавая уничтоженію киргизскіе аулы и русскія поселенія и забирая въ плѣнъ людей. Въ 1847 году Кенесары и Наурзбай были убиты дикокаменными киргизами, и теперь объ ихъ необычайной удали и смѣлости осталась только пѣсня въ памяти народной.

На этомъ мы пока закончимъ описаніе киргизъ и вернемся къ хронологическому порядку историческихъ событій въ жизни края.

Въ XVI вѣкѣ, какъ мы видѣли, въ южной полосѣ края появился народъ, извѣстный у русскихъ подъ именемъ *калмыковъ*, которые оттѣснили киргизъ на сѣверо-западъ. Калмыки представляли изъ себя союзъ нѣсколькихъ племенъ (*торгоутовъ*, *хонзовъ*, *хошоутовъ* и *джунгаровъ*), извѣстный подъ именемъ *ойратскаго*. Въ началѣ XVII в. наступившія внутреннія усобицы и борьба съ восточными монголами расшатали его, и онъ распался. Въ 1628 г. торгоуты ушли на западъ, къ верховьямъ *Тобола* и *Урала* и далѣе къ Волгѣ (1630). Среди другихъ племенъ загорѣлась война за первенство, которое и осталось за джунгарами; по имени ихъ Джунгаріей и сталъ называться прежній союзъ. Объединенная мужественными повелителями, Джунгарія стала опаснымъ сосѣдомъ не только для восточно-монгольскихъ, алтайскихъ и барабинскихъ племенъ, но и для Китая. Послѣдній много терпѣлъ въ своихъ западныхъ провинціяхъ отъ набѣга джунгаръ, пока, послѣ нѣсколькихъ походовъ, многочисленныя китайскія войска не нанесли рѣшительнаго пораженія (въ 1696 г.) войскамъ джунгарскаго контайши (князя), извѣстнаго Галданъ-Цырена.

Это нѣсколько ослабило могущество Джунгаріи; но прикочевавшіе обратно съ Волги торгоуты снова усилили ея вліяніе на окрестныя племена. Вліяніе это было настолько значительно, что барабинскіе татары, номинально подвластные русскимъ, признавали однако могущество за джунгарами и платили дань имъ, а не русскимъ. Наконецъ и русскимъ пришлось столкнуться съ ними и сначала уступить. Въ 1714 г. русское правительство послало Бухгольца для основанія по *Иртышу* ряда крѣпостей (которыми предполагалось связать золотыя розсыпи Яркенда съ Сибирью). Послѣдній близь *Ямышевскаго* поселка (гдѣ сосредоточивалась главная мѣновая торговля русскихъ, джунгаровъ, бухарцевъ и ташкентцевъ), заложилъ крѣпость. Но джунгары не допустили основаться здѣсь русскимъ. Несмотря на то, что у Бухгольца былъ значительный отрядъ (3 тыс. чел.), его осадили и заставили съ большими потерями отступить къ устью *Омы* и отказаться отъ намѣченной цѣли. Только черезъ пять лѣтъ русскимъ удалось основать, съ согласія джунгаровъ, нѣсколько крѣпостей по Иртышу (*Омскую*, *Старо-Семипалатинскую*, *Усть-Каменогорскую*).

Въ 1723 г. джунгары покорили, какъ мы видѣли, часть старшей и средней киргизской орды (кочевавшія къ западу отъ нихъ). Малая и оставшаяся независимой часть средней орды передвинулись на сѣверо-западъ—къ сибирской границѣ русскихъ и къ башкирамъ, причемъ ханы Абулхаиръ и Семеке присягнули на подданство русскимъ, чтобы еще болѣе обезопасить себя отъ джунгаръ. Въ этотъ періодъ Джунгарское царство достигло наибольшей силы и могущества. Оно простиралось отъ Алтая черезъ южную часть теперешнихъ Семипалатинской, Акмолинской и Тургайской областей до Аральскаго моря и на югъ—до предгорій Тянь-Шаня. Въ 1739 г. джунгары напали на киргизъ и гнали ихъ до р. *Урала* (Яика), причемъ много было побито подвластныхъ русскимъ башкиръ; русское правительство не рѣшалось однако наказать джунгаръ за набѣгъ, такъ какъ признавало еще въ нихъ сильнаго врага. Джунгарскіе же контайши настолько считали себя могущественными, что не заботились о хорошихъ отношеніяхъ со своими сильными сосѣдями—Китаемъ и Россіей. Только послѣ того, какъ въ Джунгаріи снова начались ро-

довыя распри, могущество ея пало и на этотъ разъ окончательно, чѣмъ не пропустили воспользоваться китайцы и русскіе. Въ 1751 г. власти надъ Джунгаріей добивался контайша Амурасана. Не надѣясь достигнуть цѣли своими силами, онъ обратился за помощью къ китайскому правительству; послѣднее, думая извлечь пользу изъ начавшейся борьбы, послало Амурасанѣ войско, которое и помогло ему добиться власти. Но вмѣсто того, чтобъ признать себя, послѣ этого, зависимымъ отъ Китая, Амурасана, пользуясь довѣріемъ китайцевъ, неожиданно напалъ на нихъ и опустошилъ ближайшія провинціи (Хами). Возмущенный императоръ объявилъ джунгарамъ безпощадную войну. Нѣсколько разъ вступали китайскія войска въ предѣлы Джунгаріи, но были отражаемы. Только въ 1756 г. Амурасана былъ наконецъ разбитъ и бѣжалъ въ Сибирь, къ русскимъ. Китайцы прошли всю Джунгарію „огнемъ и мечемъ", безпощадно истребивъ почти все населеніе (до милліона человѣкъ), не разбирая ни пола, ни возраста. Это было не покореніе, а поголовное истребленіе націи. И дѣйствительно съ этого времени Джунгарское царство совершенно исчезло съ исторической сцены. Спаслись только нѣсколько тысячъ западныхъ олютскихъ племенъ, успѣвшихъ убѣжать въ калмыцкія орды на Волгу.

Съ уничтоженіемъ Джунгарскаго царства, въ южной полосѣ современнаго Киргизскаго края остались киргизы-казаки (старшая, средняя и младшая орда), которые то признавали надъ собой власть русскихъ, то переходили къ китайцамъ. Въ началѣ XIX вѣка бо́льшая часть киргизъ, какъ мы видѣли, признала власть русскихъ и осталась кочевать въ южной полосѣ нашего края (гдѣ и кочуетъ до настоящаго времени).

Такова, въ краткихъ чертахъ, политическая исторія кочевыхъ народовъ Киргизскаго края.

Какъ мы видимъ, Киргизскій край съ древнѣйшихъ временъ до конца XIX столѣтія не переставалъ быть ареной крупныхъ историческихъ событій. Здѣсь появлялись первобытныя племена и проходили первыя ступени своего культурнаго развитія (каменный и мѣдный вѣка), двигались десятки народовъ Средней, Внутренней и Восточной Азіи, почему южныя равнины края и извѣстны подъ именемъ „историческихъ воротъ народовъ". Разнообразные памятники, находимые всюду въ краѣ, являются нѣмыми свидѣтелями разыгравшихся здѣсь событій въ различныя эпохи. Мы уже видѣли памятники древнѣйшихъ обитателей края—сказочной „чуди". Немало памятниковъ оставлено монголами, киргизами, калмыками, джунгарами, китайцами и др. народами, жившими или проходившими по краю. Такова различныя могилы (изъ нихъ слѣдуетъ упомянуть могилу Алача-хана въ верховьяхъ р. *Сары-Су*), каменныя изваянія („баба"), фигуры и надписи, высѣченныя на камняхъ и утесахъ, слѣды укрѣпленій и арыковъ въ долинахъ горъ, развалины монастырей (знаменитый *Аблайкитскій* буддійскій монастырь близъ Усть-Каменогорска) и много другихъ мелкихъ памятниковъ—оружіе, сосуды, хозяйственныя принадлежности. Письменная исторія и памятники говорятъ, что большинство этихъ народовъ вело кочевой образъ жизни, благодаря чему смѣна одного народа другимъ, одной культуры другою происходила быстро и легко.

Со второй половины XVI столѣтія сюда сталъ надвигаться съ сѣвера новый народъ—*славяне*; его культура была выше культуры тогдаш-

нихъ властителей Киргизскаго края, и послѣдніе должны были уступить пришельцамъ господство въ своемъ краѣ. Къ разсмотрѣнію движенія сюда русскихъ и колонизаціи ими края мы теперь и переходимъ.

Въ колонизаціи края *русскими* можно различать два момента: появленіе здѣсь *военныхъ* колонизаторовъ и движеніе по слѣдамъ ихъ *частныхъ поселенцевъ* дружинъ. Вольная колонизація создалась появленіемъ крестьянъ, преступниковъ, сектантовъ и разнаго сброда, бѣжавшихъ сюда отъ тяжелыхъ условій тогдашней жизни, или ради легкаго способа наживы отъ беззащитнаго инородца. Въ этомъ отношеніи особенно излюбленнымъ мѣстомъ явились южный Уралъ и сѣверо-восточ. нашего края. Здѣсь скоплялись въ XVI, XVII и XVIII вѣкахъ тысячи такихъ безъимянныхъ людей. Здѣсь зарождалась мысль о „проѣдываніи земли", сопровождаемая движеніемъ впередъ, вглубь неизвѣдомыхъ странъ. Насколько сильно и могущественно было это движеніе, можно судить по тому, что волна безъимянной вольницы въ какія нибудь сто—полтораста лѣтъ (1560—1750) пробѣжала всю Сибирь отъ Урала до Камчатки, отъ Березова до Алтая. Одна изъ такихъ боковыхъ волнъ шла въ Киргизскій край съ сѣвера, по Иртышу и Барабинской степи, другая—съ южнаго Урала по рѣкѣ Уралу и его притокамъ. Послѣднее движеніе началось раньше, но колонизація по Иртышу совершалась скорѣе, такъ какъ эта волна была сильнѣе; Иртышскій край и Алтай, благодаря природнымъ богатствамъ, имѣли въ глазахъ колонизаторовъ большую цѣну, и сюда направлялось ихъ больше. Это сознавало и русское правительство, направляя сюда впослѣдствіи главныя военныя силы. Ниже мы увидимъ, что правительственная колонизація (и завоеваніе) шла по слѣдамъ вольной и, такъ сказать, узаконивала ее; въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ правительству приходилось просто признать извѣстный участокъ земли своимъ, такъ какъ онъ былъ уже захваченъ вольницей.

Въ дальнѣйшемъ изложеніи мы будемъ разсматривать отдѣльно завоеваніе и колонизацію *восточной* части края (современныхъ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областей) и *западной* (Уральской и Тургайской областей).

Какой годъ нужно считать годомъ появленія русскихъ людей въ Ишимо-Иртышскомъ краѣ—точно сказать трудно. Несомнѣнно, что какъ въ Сѣверной Сибири, такъ и здѣсь завоеванію края предшествовали частичныя проникновенія разнаго рода промышленныхъ людей за пушнымъ звѣремъ, а то и просто для грабежа инородцевъ. Эти отдѣльные передовые застрѣльщики русской колонизаціи, являясь сбродомъ вольницы, не объединеннымъ какой-нибудь намѣченной цѣлью (кромѣ грабежа), не могли однако послужить надежнымъ оплотомъ колонизаціи, несмотря на то, что въ первое время вѣроятно не встрѣчали дружнаго отпора со стороны инородцевъ. Когда на Ишимо-Иртышскія степи во второй половинѣ XVI в. распространилась власть Кучума, эта вольница должна была на нѣкоторое время перенести свою арену въ Сѣверную Сибирь. Тѣмъ не менѣе путь въ богатый край былъ указанъ, чѣмъ и воспользовались сибирскіе воеводы.

Въ началѣ 80-хъ годовъ XVI в. на Иртышѣ появились вслѣдъ за Ермакомъ первыя дружины изъ служилыхъ людей, которыя задались уже опредѣленной цѣлью—продолжать дѣло, начатое Ермакомъ, именно подвести инородцевъ „подъ высокую царскую руку" и завладѣть краемъ.

Двинувшіяся сюда дружины русскихъ должны были снова встрѣтиться съ Кучумомъ, который послѣ цѣлаго ряда пораженій отъ Ермака, по выраженію сибирскаго лѣтописца Ремезова, „уточе на калмыцкій рубежъ Ишима, Норъ-Ишима, Оми и Камышлова", т. е. въ современную Ишимо-Иртышскую степь. Но это ужъ не былъ прежній грозный сибирскій царь, и русскимъ не пришлось вести съ нимъ серьезной открытой борьбы. Повидимому предъидущія пораженія сильно поколебали престижъ его власти и убили надежду въ подвластныхъ ему инородцахъ на удачный исходъ борьбы, почему они неохотно подчинялись его призывамъ къ открытой борьбѣ съ русскими; а можетъ быть потому, что ихъ было мало, и, наученные горькимъ опытомъ и не имѣя огнестрѣльнаго оружія, они не рѣшались пробовать счастья въ открытомъ бою. Такъ или иначе, но втеченіе шести лѣтъ, которыя прожилъ здѣсь Кучумъ, русскіе вели мелкую борьбу и не могли двинуться впередъ, хотя и не имѣли ни одного серьезнаго дѣла съ кучумовскими сторонниками, послѣдніе-же „пиня- ша сокрытно и пакостиша русскимъ и ясач-

Перекочевка киргизъ.

нымъ зельне". Въ слѣдующіе годы Кучумъ появился на правомъ берегу Иртыша выше современнаго Омска. Здѣсь Кучумъ не давалъ покоя русскимъ дружинамъ, нападая то на русскихъ ясачныхъ инородцевъ, то на караваны бухарскихъ купцовъ, ѣдившихъ къ русскимъ.

Русскимъ воеводамъ приходилось трудно еще и потому, что у нихъ не *было* здѣсь опорныхъ пунктовъ; необходимость ихъ была скоро сознана русскимъ правительствомъ, и въ 1594 г. *было* повелѣно основать на границѣ съ тогдашнимъ Кучумовскимъ царствомъ городъ *Тару* (Тобольской губ.). Городъ сослужилъ свою службу: русскіе окончательно оттѣснили татаръ, нанеся нѣсколько сильныхъ пораженій Кучуму. Послѣдній бѣжалъ на югъ къ калмыкамъ (по нѣкоторымъ извѣстіямъ къ ногайцамъ), гдѣ и погибъ. О погибшемъ сибирскомъ царѣ и его царствѣ въ началѣ XVII в. остались лишь одни воспоминанія.

Трудно думать, чтобы завоеваніе края *было* обязано исключительно отвагѣ и силѣ казаковъ и служилыхъ людей. Несомнѣнно, что въ самомъ татарскомъ царствѣ началось уже разложеніе. Состоя изъ цѣлаго ряда волостей, подчиненныхъ ради ясака родамъ кучумовцевъ,—царство это не представляло изъ себя чего-либо цѣльнаго и прочнаго, какъ не имѣвшее глубокой внутренней связи. Это особенно

сказалось послѣ первыхъ пораженій Кучума Ермакомъ, когда за отступавшими кучумовцами почти совершенно не двигались самовольно ясачные инородцы. То-же мы видѣли и здѣсь: даже собственно татары и тѣ не сплотились вокругъ Кучума, чтобы дать дружный отпоръ московскимъ воеводамъ. Они или соглашались платить ясакъ русскимъ, или бѣжали отъ нихъ и отъ кучумовцевъ. И чѣмъ болѣе тѣснили Кучума царскіе воеводы, тѣмъ труднѣе приходилось ему удерживать въ подчиненіи татаръ и собирать вокругъ себя надежныхъ воиновъ. На Ирмени, напр., у Кучума было уже только около 500 чел., а послѣ этого пораженія въ 1598 г. онъ не могъ собрать и половины ихъ; оставалось одно—признать власть русскихъ, покориться, или бѣжать изъ своихъ владѣній; онъ выбралъ послѣднее и погибъ насильственной смертью.

Такимъ образомъ 1598 годъ можно считать годомъ покоренія послѣднихъ владѣній кучумовскаго царства (современныхъ Ишимо-Иртышскихъ степей или сѣверной половины Акмолинской обл.).

Русскимъ не удалось однако воспользоваться своими побѣдами: вмѣсто кучумовцевъ пришлось защищать завоеванную землю отъ *ногайцевъ*, къ которымъ бѣжали сыновья Кучума Алей и Канай и подняли ихъ противъ русскихъ. Не имѣя нужныхъ силъ для открытой войны, ногайцы занялись грабежами ближайшихъ русскихъ острожковъ и ясачныхъ татаръ. Наказывать и бороться съ ними было трудно, такъ какъ при появленіи русскихъ дружинъ они быстро исчезали въ степяхъ верхняго теченія Тобола, Ишима и Тургая. Въ это-же время появился на югѣ болѣе опасный врагъ—*калмыки* (джунгары), которые вытѣснили изъ южныхъ прииртышскихъ степей татаръ и ногайцевъ къ востоку и западу, а на сѣверѣ дошли до Оми, гдѣ и встрѣтились съ русскими. Несмотря на протесты русскихъ воеводъ, мѣста по Оми, Камышлову и Иртышу были захвачены калмыками. Русскимъ воеводамъ пришлось снаряжать команды и строить временные острожки для защиты пограничной полосы; но это не приносило большой пользы: полчища калмы-

Развалины Кутмурунскаго укрѣпленія (Петропавл. у.).

ковъ были слишкомъ велики, чтобы ихъ могла удержать небольшая горсть русскихъ; только вскорѣ начавшіяся внутреннія усобицы среди калмыковъ помогли русскимъ удержаться на занятыхъ мѣстахъ. Русскихъ кромѣ того заставляла держаться крѣпко на этихъ мѣстахъ и другая необходимость. Все иртышское населеніе получало соль съ *Ямышевскаго* и др. соленыхъ озеръ, лежавшихъ въ непокоренномъ еще краѣ, и русскимъ необходимо было стремиться во чтобы то ни стало къ завоеванію ихъ, или стараться хоть обезопасить къ нимъ доступъ. Частыя поѣздки русскихъ создали здѣсь впослѣдствіи нѣчто вродѣ мѣнового двора, куда стали съѣзжаться бухарцы, татары и калмыки. Это также увеличивало значеніе упомянутыхъ мѣстъ для русскихъ. Поѣздки за солью, съ появленіемъ калмыковъ, стали не всегда проходить мирно; калмыки иногда не пускали русскихъ и не давали имъ соли; приходилось силой брать или уходить ни съ чѣмъ. Въ 1624 г., съ открытіемъ здѣсь залежей алебастра (который былъ принятъ сначала за слюду)

русскіе стали еще болѣе стремиться къ удержанію въ своихъ рукахъ долины Иртыша; но привести это въ исполненіе долго не удавалось. Въ 1713 г. сибирскій генералъ-губернаторъ кн. Гагаринъ доносилъ Петру I о возможности построить по Иртышу рядъ крѣпостей. Въ 1715 г. былъ посланъ бригадиръ Бухгольцъ съ 3 тысячами человѣкъ привести это намѣреніе въ исполненіе. Ему удалось уже заложить крѣпость у Ямышевскаго озера, но, осажденный джунгарами, онъ вынужденъ былъ съ большими потерями отступить къ устью Оми, гдѣ на высокомъ лѣвомъ берегу Оми была заложена крѣпость *Омская*. Въ слѣдующіе годы стремленіе русскихъ къ завладѣнію Иртышемъ привелось въ исполненіе: джунгары разрѣшили построить крѣпость у Ямышевскаго озера и укрѣпленіе *Семипалатинское* (1718 г.)—нынѣ *Старо-Семипалатинское*. Въ 1720 г. Лихаревъ съ 440 чел. и пушками проплылъ въ оз. *Зайсанъ* и далѣе въ *Черный Иртышъ*; на обратномъ пути онъ основалъ крѣпость *Усть-Каменогорскую*. Съ этого времени движеніе по всему Иртышу стало болѣе доступнымъ, хотя бухарскіе и другіе караваны отправлялись еще съ охраной. Для усиленія русской власти къ

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

Ишшевской крѣпости велѣно было приписать ссыльныхъ въ качествѣ постоянныхъ жителей и завести торговыя сношенія съ Джунгаріей, Тибетомъ и Китаемъ. Усиленіе Джунгаріи въ 30-хъ и 40-хъ годахъ XVIII в. помѣшало прочному основанію здѣсь русскихъ, принудивъ ихъ отказаться временно отъ наступательнаго движенія и заставило обратить главное вниманіе на укрѣпленіе границъ. Въ 1745 г. правительство прислало пять полковъ пѣхоты и конницы для охраны границъ, причемъ велѣно было устроить рядъ новыхъ крѣпостей. Съ этого времени началась усиленная колонизація края военнымъ населеніемъ и постепенное расширеніе русскихъ границъ на югъ и вглубь степей.

Въ 1752 г. ген. Кондерманъ выстроилъ крѣпость *Петропавловскую* и линію редутовъ отъ Омской крѣпости до Оренбургской крѣпостной линіи; (дѣ шестиугольныхъ крѣпости, 9 четырехугольныхъ, 33 редута и 42 маяка, населяли ихъ 3.642 чел.). Мѣста для крѣпостей выбраны были неудачно (по по кратчайшему разстоянію)—близъ цѣпи горько-соленыхъ озеръ, отчего и вся линія стала называться *Горькой*. Послѣ побѣды китайцевъ надъ джунгарами русскіе хотѣли занять весь Иртышъ до Зайсана, но послѣднее озеро было уже захвачено китайцами; русскіе довели свои крѣпости только до *Бухтармы* (въ 1760 г.). Китайцы выстроили рядъ своихъ крѣпостей по р. *Нарыму* до южныхъ отроговъ *Калбинскаго* хребта, чтобы преградить движеніе русскихъ на югъ. Столкнувшись съ китайцами, русское правительство начало обращать вниманіе на внутреннія киргизскія степи, населеніе которыхъ то переходило въ подданство Россіи, то уходило къ китайцамъ.

Въ концѣ XVIII столѣтія (какъ мы видѣли выше) значительная часть кочевниковъ Киргизскаго края признала русскую власть и кочевала въ русскихъ предѣлахъ. Съ начала XIX столѣтія правительство заботилось объ укрѣпленіи завоеваннаго края; въ городахъ (*Омскѣ*, *Петропавловскѣ*, *Семипалатинскѣ*) оно старалось образовать мѣстное осѣдлое населеніе. Съ этой-же цѣлью было образовано въ 1808 г. мѣстное линейное казачье войско, надѣлено землей, жалованьемъ и продовольствіемъ. Въ 20-хъ годахъ казачье войско захватило лучшую (гористую) часть современнаго Кокчетавскаго у. и появилось на мѣстѣ современныхъ *Акмолинска*, *Баянъ-Аула*, *Кокчетава* и *Каркаралинска*. Кромѣ казаковъ въ степь проникли русскіе промышленные люди, которые открыли тамъ золото, серебряныя и мѣдныя руды. Въ 1837 г. строились пикеты между Кокчетавомъ и Акмолинскомъ; въ этомъ-же году правительство возбуждало вопросъ о перенесеніи южныхъ границъ къ р. *Чу*, но воздержалось отъ этого шага изъ опасенія усилить броженіе среди киргизъ, вызванное возмущеніемъ Кенесары [1]). Съ водвореніемъ спокойствія русское правительство окончательно удержало въ своей власти киргизскія орды, кочевавшія въ предѣлахъ современной Акмолинской и западной части Семипалатинской обл. Тѣмъ временемъ шли дальнѣйшія русскія завоеванія—въ Семирѣчьѣ. Наконецъ въ 1860 г. былъ заключенъ Пекинскій трактатъ съ Китаемъ, по которому русская

[1]) Съ 1847—56 г. въ Кокчетавскій и Петропавловскій у.у. были переселены новороссійскіе казаки и крестьяне Оренбургской и Самарской губ.—болѣе 8 тыс. душъ, а всѣ крестьянскія деревни по Горькой линіи и по Иртышу (до 14 тыс. д.) были переведены въ казаковъ и прикрѣплены къ землѣ.

граница изъ Нарымской долины отошла къ югу до оз. *Зайсана* (гора *Чакильмесъ*) и черезъ Тарбагатай къ Тянь-Шаню. Это увеличеніе территоріи вызывалось уже торговыми соображеніями: къ этому времени русскіе купцы завели милліонные обороты съ китайцами и монголами, покупая у нихъ чай и сырье и продавая фабричныя издѣлія.

Сношенія велись черезъ Зайсанскій край, гдѣ находилось два главныхъ торговыхъ пути — *Чугучакскій* и *Зайсанскій*; необходимо было имѣть ихъ въ своей власти, чтобы производить торговлю безъ риска. Кромѣ того (какъ мы увидимъ ниже) здѣсь уже поселилось много самовольныхъ переселенцевъ-крестьянъ, не признававшихъ китайской власти. Также выгоднѣе было русскому правительству держать здѣсь охрану противъ набѣговъ дунганъ и другихъ пограничныхъ народовъ, усобицы которыхъ вносили смуту и раздоры въ подвластные Россіи южные народы. Смуты конца 70-хъ годовъ въ западномъ Китаѣ заставили Россію принять участіе въ ихъ усмиреніи, а затѣмъ потребовать себѣ, въ видѣ возмѣщенія расходовъ, расширенія границъ вглубь Китая. Въ 1881 г. Петербургѣ былъ заключенъ трактатъ, по которому къ Россіи отошла полоса земли отъ горы *Кайтыма* (въ южномъ Алтаѣ) по р. *Акъ-Кабѣ* и *Алкабеку* до *Чернаго Иртыша*. Эта граница остается и до сихъ поръ нашей государственной границей съ Китаемъ.

Съ этого времени на сцену выступаетъ вопросъ о крестьянской колонизаціи края. Въ исключительно военномъ населеніи нужды уже болѣе не было; нужно было позаботиться о созданіи въ краѣ мирнаго культурнаго элемента, который оказалъ бы благотворное вліяніе на покоренныхъ кочевниковъ. Но прежде чѣмъ коснуться вопроса крестьянской колонизаціи восточной части Киргизскаго края, мы скажемъ нѣсколько словъ о завоеваніи западной его части, т. е. территоріи Уральской и Тургайской областей.

Движеніе сюда безвѣстныхъ русскихъ людей началось, по всей вѣроятности, еще съ конца XV вѣка. Въ царствованіе Грознаго здѣсь уже хорошо извѣстны были „воровскіе люди", пришедшіе съ Дона; они спустились по Волгѣ въ Каспійское море и берегомъ дошли до устья *Яика* (Урала), гдѣ и остановились, устроивъ на одномъ изъ рукавовъ рѣки небольшое укрѣпленное селеніе. Край какъ нельзя болѣе соотвѣтствовалъ желанію вольницы: онъ былъ богато одаренъ природой (рыба, соль и звѣрь) и почти необитаемъ; отсюда было удобно выходить, когда нужно, въ море и грабить торговые караваны персидскихъ и другихъ купцовъ. Бояться нападеній враговъ или наказаній отъ московскаго царя было нечего: мѣсто было слишкомъ удалено отъ Персіи и отъ Москвы. Первое время вольница тѣмъ и занималась, что лѣтомъ промышляла разбоемъ, а зимой проживала въ устьѣ Урала. Слухи о привольномъ житьѣ скоро разнеслись по Волгѣ и Дону, вызвавъ усиленный притокъ новой вольницы. Жить всѣмъ на устьѣ стало однако тѣсно: приходилось двигаться вверхъ по рѣкѣ. Въ среднемъ и верхнемъ теченіи Яика вольницѣ пришлось столкнуться съ татарами, башкирами и калмыками. Частыя столкновенія съ ними побудили вольницу попытаться узаконить свое положеніе, чтобы дѣйствовать далѣе отъ имени московскаго царя и получить отъ него поддержку. Посланные съ челобитной добились отъ Михаила Ѳедоровича признанія вольницы за служилыхъ людей, и ей оффиціально

пожаловано было все теченіе Яика отъ вершинъ до устья. Съ этого времени движеніе разнаго рода вольницы еще болѣе усилилось; сюда шли какъ на новую родину, бѣжали отъ крѣпостныхъ притѣсненій, отъ религіозныхъ преслѣдованій, отъ наказаній за преступленія. Пріѣзжали сюда, хотя очень рѣдко, и промышленники за рыбой. Одинъ изъ первыхъ такихъ промышленниковъ Гурьевъ основалъ (въ 1640 г.) даже особый городокъ на устьѣ Яика, который носитъ его имя и до сихъ поръ.

Скопленіе вольницы и разнаго рода безпокойныхъ людей на отдаленной территоріи хотя и способствовало укрѣпленію здѣсь русскаго владычества, но создало много хлопотъ правительству. Вольница представляла благодарную почву для всякаго рода волненій, чѣмъ и пользовались враги московскаго правительства. Во время междуцарствія „яицкіе" казаки оказали плохую услугу московскимъ воеводамъ, а потомъ пріютили у себя Заруцкаго и Марину Мнишекъ. Въ послѣдующіе годы броженіе не прекращалось: вольница не хотѣла признать надъ собой полной власти Москвы, а элементы, озлобленные чѣмъ-либо противъ Москвы, пользовались этимъ для достиженія своихъ цѣлей, волнуя населеніе. Здѣсь же, среди этой вольницы, зародилась у Пугачева мысль „тряхнуть" Москвой и приведена была въ исполненіе, найдя значительное сочувствіе у яицкихъ казаковъ и башкировъ. Правительство, сознавая всю опасность, какую представлялъ этотъ элементъ для государства, не стѣснялось въ крутыхъ мѣрахъ, чтобы, если не смирить, то обезвредить его.

Послѣ наказанія пугачевцевъ были введены ограниченія въ самоуправленіи яицкихъ казаковъ. Именно была введена строгая регламентація службы и даже перемѣнено было самое имя вольницы: вмѣсто „яицкихъ" казаки стали называться *уральскими* (съ 1775 года), а р. Яикъ—*Ураломъ*. Крутыя мѣры оказали свое дѣйствіе, хотя внутреннія броженія не прекращались до XIX в. Съ середины этого столѣтія уральскіе казаки оказали огромную услугу въ дѣлѣ завоеванія зауральскихъ киргизскихъ степей и въ походахъ въ Среднюю Азію: они были такими-же авангардами русскаго движенія вглубь Киргизскаго края, какими были на востокѣ иртышскіе служилые люди и мѣстная вольница.

Тотъ-же характеръ носило завоеваніе и современной Тургайской области. Небольшая, сѣверо-западная часть ея была населена башкирами, а юго-восточная—киргизами младшей и средней ордъ. Первые, т. е. башкиры, съ появленіемъ среди нихъ фанатиковъ-мусульманъ (послѣ покоренія Казанскаго царства), стали неспокойнымъ сосѣдомъ для русскихъ, что, въ связи съ волненіями яицкой вольницы, не могло не казаться опаснымъ для правительства. Но встрѣтивъ открытаго сопротивленія, русскіе стали занимать мѣста по теченію правыхъ притоковъ Урала и Тобола, гдѣ были построены и крѣпости; постройка ихъ вызвала среди башкиръ возбужденіе, перешедшее потомъ въ возстаніе. Но всѣ возстанія кончались пораженіемъ башкиръ и усиленіемъ русской власти. Въ 1731—32 г. прикочевали къ границѣ Башкиріи средняя и младшая киргизскія орды и отдались въ подданство Россіи. Это заставило усилить положеніе русской власти на границѣ, отчасти для защиты киргизъ отъ джунгаръ, отчасти для поддержанія мирныхъ отношеній между башкирами и киргизами. Послѣднее однако не удалось:

съ одной стороны мусульманская пропаганда, самозванцы и бѣглые, мутившіе среди населенія, а съ другой—вызывающій образъ дѣйствій агентовъ русскаго правительства—способствовали частому возникновенію волненій. Отдача русской администраціей башкирской земли по *Ялеку* прикочевавшимъ киргизамъ вызвала большое возстаніе (1735—40), кончившееся страшнымъ избіеніемъ башкиръ. Большую услугу правительству для упроченія власти оказалъ одинъ изъ первыхъ начальниковъ этой границы Неплюевъ. Онъ основалъ современный Оренбургъ и отъ него провелъ три линіи укрѣпленій, которыя прорѣзали край и дѣйствовали сдерживающимъ образомъ на населеніе. Одна изъ такихъ линій—*Нижне-Яицкая дистанція* шла по правому берегу *Урала* (Яика) до Каспійскаго моря: здѣсь было устроено 9 крѣпостей и 19 форпостовъ, защита которыхъ была возложена на яицкихъ казаковъ. Чтобы увеличить русское населеніе, Неплюевъ добился того, что безымянной вольницѣ было разрѣшено свободно осѣдать около форпостовъ и другихъ мѣстъ края. Значеніе этой вольницы стало замѣтно особенно послѣ того, какъ административная колонизація (русскими и татарами) не привела къ положительнымъ результатамъ. Чтобы прикрѣпить казаковъ (вольницу) къ этимъ мѣстамъ, всѣмъ служилымъ людямъ положено было жалованье и право на исключительное пользованіе рыбными богатствами въ р. Уралѣ. Впослѣдствіи къ нимъ были присоединены служилые люди изъ камскихъ поселеній и часть гарнизоннаго населенія изъ Оренбургскаго войска. Изъ нихъ составилось первое русское легальное населеніе на уральской границѣ.

Переходимъ къ *крестьянской* колонизаціи Киргизскаго края.

Акмолинская и Семипалатинская области долгое время были оффиціально закрыты для переселенія. Однако, уже за нѣсколько лѣтъ до возбужденія вопроса о возможности и разрѣшеніи колонизаціи степи земледѣльческимъ элементомъ, жизнь взяла свое. Такъ, въ 1866 г. образовались крестьянскіе поселки въ Акмолинской области, причемъ часть переселенцевъ, появившихся въ краѣ или случайно, или по вызову родственниковъ-казаковъ, осѣдала по казачьимъ станицамъ съ конца семидесятыхъ годовъ и до половины восьмидесятыхъ самовольно устраивались, арендуя земли у киргизъ.

Представителями этой самовольной колонизаціи края въ большинствѣ случаевъ являлись частью мѣщане разныхъ сибирскихъ городовъ, а главнымъ образомъ крестьяне Тобольской губерніи изъ Курганскаго и Ишимскаго уѣздовъ, прилегающихъ къ Акмолинской обл., и уже населенныхъ настолько густо, что тамъ стала ощущаться, нѣкоторая, правда очень относительная, тѣснота при вошедшемъ въ обыкновеніе слишкомъ экстенсивномъ (полухищническомъ) землепользованіи. Переселеніе это велось систематически и въ извѣстной степени раціонально. Обыкновенно желавшіе переселиться въ Акмолинскую область высылали туда ходоковъ, которые высматривали подходящія мѣста, арендовали у киргизъ небольшіе участки (изъ-полу или за небольшую плату), дѣлали распашки и посѣвы и, убѣдившись въ доброкачественности (вѣрнѣе въ полной нетронутости, дѣвственности) почвы и угодій, законтрактовывали эти земли юридическими актами на извѣстные сроки. Новоселы, убѣдившись въ высокомъ качествѣ своихъ участковъ, начинали энергично вызывать къ себѣ земляковъ или принимать стран-

ствующихъ русскихъ переселенцевъ. Такимъ образомъ среди киргизскихъ степей возникали русскіе поселки въ нѣсколько десятковъ домовъ, со всѣмъ деревенскимъ обзаведеніемъ. Съ теченіемъ времени и увеличеніемъ населенія, въ отношеніяхъ между хозяевами-киргизами и арендаторами-переселенцами (иногда заходившими слишкомъ далеко въ эксплоатаціи своихъ невѣжественныхъ хозяевъ) возникали недоразумѣнія, кончавшіяся вмѣшательствомъ администраціи. При этомъ крестьяне обыкновенно возбуждали ходатайства объ образованіи русскаго поселенія на занятой ими землѣ. До перваго (въ 1879 г.) оффиціальнаго разрѣшенія на образованіе въ краѣ русскаго населенія такихъ семей въ области проживало 317.

На почвѣ арендныхъ соглашеній была возможна и совершалась позднѣе первоначальная колонизація и другихъ мѣстностей Киргизской степи—въ Тургайской области и въ Павлодарскомъ уѣздѣ Семипалатинской области. Но естественный и необходимый переходъ отъ арендного пользованія киргизскими участками къ собственному землепользованію всюду совершался туго, доставляя русскимъ насельникамъ степи всевозможныя мытарства и лишенія (въ Павлодарскомъ уѣздѣ онъ и до сихъ поръ не завершился).

Состояніе русской колонизаціи Киргизскаго края въ 70-хъ годахъ XIX вѣка обрисовано такъ во всеподданнѣйшемъ отчетѣ за 1875 г. одного изъ наиболѣе выдающихся генералъ-губернаторовъ Западной Сибири ген. Казнакова:

„Положеніе степныхъ областей", читаемъ мы въ этомъ отчетѣ, „требуетъ особеннаго вниманія. Со времени принятія киргизами русскаго подданства, успѣхи, сдѣланные ими въ гражданственности, ничтожны. Попытки перехода къ земледѣлію остались почти только тѣ, которыя были введены китайскимъ правительствомъ. Между тѣмъ доколѣ киргизы будутъ одиноко совершать въ пустынныхъ пространствахъ степей огромныя орбиты своихъ кочевокъ, вдали отъ русскаго населенія, они останутся вѣрноподданными лишь по названію и будутъ числиться русскими только по переписямъ. Сопредѣльные съ ними по линіи казаки, по малочисленности своей, не принесли дѣлу пользы, но сами научились поголовно киргизскому нарѣчію и переняли нѣкоторыя, впрочемъ безвредныя, привычки кочевого народа".

Поднимая вопросъ о необходимости заселенія Киргизскаго края чисто-земледѣльческимъ элементомъ—крестьянами, генералъ-губернаторъ Казнаковъ ставилъ для новой колонизаціи широкія задачи и вполнѣ опредѣленно намѣчалъ ея основные принципы: „осторожное", говоритъ онъ, „безъ стѣсненія кочевого населенія водвореніе внутри степей осѣдлаго населенія, частое общеніе русскаго населенія съ киргизами и наглядный примѣръ болѣе удобной жизни представляетъ единственное средство, могущее смягчить нравы и поднять уровень благосостоянія полудикаго народа".

Этотъ взглядъ на колонизацію Киргизскаго края нашелъ себѣ поддержку въ центральной власти. Поэтому рѣшено было образовать на киргизскихъ земляхъ русскія поселенія, которыя предполагалось размѣщать главнымъ образомъ при почтовыхъ и коммерческихъ трактахъ, такъ какъ это даетъ извѣстныя удобства для передвиженія торговыхъ транспортовъ, а развитіе хлѣбопашества на пунктахъ новыхъ

поселеній должно было удешевить хлѣбъ и обезпечить существованіе кочевниковъ. Для проведенія въ жизнь всѣхъ этихъ предначертаній была образована при главномъ управленіи Западной Сибири особая коммиссія, которая должна была выработать положеніе о порядкѣ колонизаціи степи.

Вслѣдъ затѣмъ было приступлено къ работамъ по образованію переселенческихъ участковъ. Сначала были произведены предварительное обозрѣніе и изысканіе удобныхъ мѣстъ для возведенія въ степи осѣдлыхъ поселеній, а затѣмъ было приступлено къ производству надлежащихъ съемочныхъ работъ. Хотя всѣ эти подготовительныя работы продолжались четыре года (при участіи въ спеціально предназначенныхъ къ тому коммисіяхъ уѣздныхъ начальниковъ, которые должны были являться защитниками интересовъ киргизъ), но они въ значительной мѣрѣ не оправдали возлагавшихся на нихъ надеждъ, вслѣдствіе того, что не было твердой основы для выбора мѣстностей, годныхъ для образованія участковъ — не было надлежащихъ детальныхъ естественно-историческихъ и статистическихъ данныхъ, вслѣдствіе чего необходимые разсчеты зачастую приходилось производить слишкомъ грубо и приблизительно.

Элементъ, необходимый для заселенія заготовленныхъ участковъ, былъ уже въ области: то были переселенцы, такъ или иначе обосновавшіеся въ степи. Поэтому уже въ 1879 г. на двухъ участкахъ въ Кокчетавскомъ уѣздѣ были основаны поселки, заключавшіе въ себѣ до 164 ревизскихъ душъ (причемъ на душу было нарѣзано 30 десятинъ). Въ 1880 — 1881 г.г. были заселены еще 9 участковъ (435 душъ м. п.) также въ Кокчетавскомъ уѣздѣ. Съ 1882 г. было рѣшено уменьшить норму надѣла до 15 дес., такъ какъ это количество земли, по разсчетамъ центральныхъ органовъ, было признано достаточнымъ для обезпеченія крестьянской семьи. Въ 1882—1884 г.г. въ Атбасарскомъ уѣздѣ были заселены 7 намѣченныхъ участковъ (съ 210 душами м. п.). Такимъ образомъ изъ 30 заготовленныхъ участковъ остались незаселенными 12 участковъ, т. е. 40%. Эти участки повидимому пустуютъ и до настоящаго времени по своей непригодности для земледѣльческаго населенія.

Засельщикамъ участковъ при поселеніи предоставлялись слѣдующія льготы: 1) право выбора участка; 2) льгота отъ платежа податей и отъ натуральныхъ повинностей, кромѣ воинской, на десять лѣтъ, если переселенцы втеченіе двухъ лѣтъ обзаведутся постройками и приступятъ къ распашкѣ надѣла; 3) на первоначальное обзаведеніе: а) безплатно 100 корней и по 20 руб. безвозвратно на каждый дворъ и б) на земледѣльческія орудія и на пріобрѣтеніе скота по 20 руб.—также безвозвратно.

Несмотря на всѣ эти привиллегіи, новоселы перенесли немало тяжелыхъ испытаній. На большинствѣ участковъ, занятыхъ переселенцами, почва оказалась очень дурного качества и ничего не родила, лѣса и луговъ было вездѣ нарѣзано въ недостаточномъ количествѣ, а нѣкоторые участки были лишены питьевой воды. Много претерпѣли новоселы также и отъ незнакомства съ мѣстными климатическими условіями: хлѣбъ у нихъ то погибалъ отъ засухи, то вымерзалъ отъ морозовъ, то наконецъ потреблялся бичемъ степей—кобылкой (саранчей). Въ довершеніе бѣдъ новоселамъ пришлось пережить подрядъ три

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неурожайныхъ года, и доведшіе до крайности, они цѣлыми семьями стали уходить на пріиски и заводы сосѣднихъ уѣздовъ въ поискахъ за работой. Въ то-же время переселенцы ежегодно обращались съ просьбами о пособіи не только на обсѣмененіе полей, но и на продовольствіе, такъ что за четыре года—съ 1880 по 1884—имъ было выдано до 26 тыс. руб. или приблизительно по 30 руб. на каждую ревизскую душу. А около половины 1884 г. выяснилось, что новоселы десяти селеній, т. е. около 55,5% всѣхъ поселившихся крестьянъ, послѣ трехлѣтнихъ тщетныхъ попытокъ устроиться, очутились въ такомъ безнадежномъ состояніи, что администрація должна была переселить ихъ на новые участки, а нѣсколько семей тогда-же ушло на родину. Даже лучшія изъ крестьянскихъ поселеній, какъ въ этомъ пришлось при ревизіи лично убѣдиться акмолинскому губернатору Ливенцову, представляли безотрадный видъ: во всѣхъ поселеніяхъ онъ видѣлъ много наглухо заколоченныхъ домовъ; нигдѣ почти ему не пришлось наблюдать домашняго скота, а запасовъ хлѣба нигдѣ не было.

Съ бо́льшимъ успѣхомъ за тотъ-же періодъ времени шла самовольная колонизація, но ей приходилось испытывать трудности своего такъ сказать „узаконенія".

Неудачи правительственной колонизаціи начала 80-хъ годовъ заставили мѣстную власть принять мѣры къ пріостановкѣ прилива переселенцевъ со второй половины этого десятилѣтія. Но на практикѣ оказалось невозможнымъ остановить стихійное движеніе переселенцевъ въ киргизскія степи—„на Ишимъ", окрестности котораго издавна славились своими угодьями, лучшими во всей Акмолинской области: прекрасной пахатной землей, заливными лугами, достаточнымъ количествомъ лѣса и изобильными рыбою и дичью старицами (прежнія русла рѣкъ) и озерами. Количество переселенцевъ прогрессивно возрастаетъ съ каждымъ годомъ, что видно изъ нижеслѣдующей таблички, составленной на основаніи матеріаловъ, собранныхъ чинами переселенческаго отряда Западной Сибири при поземельномъ устройствѣ крестьянъ-новоселовъ Кокчетавскаго и Петропавловскаго уѣздовъ въ 1891 году:

Годы.	Число семей	Число душъ (приблизительно).
1860—1875	30	150
1876—1878	287	1.700
1879—1881	304	1.800
1882—1884	373	2.200
1885—1887	418	2.500
1888—1890	2.140	12.000 [1].

Эта таблица не захватываетъ переселенцевъ всей Акмолинской области: сюда не входятъ новоселы Атбасарскаго и Акмолинскаго уѣздовъ (въ Атбасарскомъ уѣздѣ за этотъ періодъ времени—1860—1890 г.г.—образовано 10 поселковъ, а въ Акмолинскомъ—одинъ).

Съ конца восьмидесятыхъ годовъ появились и прочно обосновавшіеся переселенческіе поселки въ Семипалатинской области. Однако здѣсь колонизація совершалась гораздо медленнѣе, также не безъ ослож-

[1]) Эта цифра, по всей вѣроятности, ниже дѣйствительности.

ненія. До 1887 г. въ Семипалатинскомъ уѣздѣ было только пять крестьянскихъ поселковъ (*Александровской* волости), которые были образованы въ 1871 г. изъ упраздненныхъ казачьей станицы *Каменирской* и четырехъ казачьихъ выселковъ съ сохраненіемъ прежняго земельнаго надѣла (т. е. по 30 десятинъ на душу). Въ 1887 г. генералъ-губернаторъ Г. А. Колпаковскій, придавая большое значеніе осѣдлому населенію сопредѣльныхъ съ Китаемъ окраинъ, командировалъ въ расположенную въ горахъ Алтая восточную часть Семипалатинской области особую коммисію для осмотра урочищъ въ долинѣ озера *Марка-Куль* и рѣки *Кара-Кобы*, уступленныхъ Китаемъ въ 1881 г. Россіи, и для выбора мѣстъ для устройства русскихъ поселеній. Вслѣдъ за коммисіей тотчасъ-же явились въ область и самовольные переселенцы изъ Томской губерніи, гдѣ быстро разнесся среди крестьянскаго населенія ложный слухъ о даровой раздачѣ земли на границѣ.

Съ девяностыхъ годовъ начался усиленный наплывъ въ Акмолинскую область переселенцевъ, съ которыми администрація первое время не знала, что дѣлать и куда размѣщать. Такъ, лѣтомъ 1890 года скопилось въ области никуда не причисленныхъ переселенцевъ болѣе 17 тыс. человѣкъ (въ Кокчетавскомъ уѣздѣ—болѣе 14 тыс., въ Атбасарскомъ—1.728 и въ Петропавловскомъ — 1.200 душъ обоего пола). Переселенцы буквально наводняли всѣ казачьи и крестьянскія поселенія; но такъ какъ вездѣ все было переполнено, то они цѣлыми массами безцѣльно блуждали изъ поселка въ поселокъ, въ тщетныхъ поискахъ пристанища. Уѣздныя власти, не видя возможности какъ-нибудь устроить всѣхъ этихъ несчастныхъ и опасаясь волненія и развитія различныхъ эпидемій, употребляли всѣ мѣры, чтобы удалить переселенцевъ изъ предѣловъ области, тѣмъ болѣе, что трудно было убѣдить невѣжественную, темную массу крестьянства въ томъ, что селиться, гдѣ придется, нельзя, хотя земли и много. Преувеличенные слухи и письма переселившихся земляковъ о привольномъ житьѣ на новомъ мѣстѣ, а съ другой стороны—неурожаи и вообще тяжелое экономическое положеніе на родинѣ—особенно побуждали крестьянство двигаться въ Киргизскій край, несмотря ни на какія запретительныя мѣры.

Саманная хата на вновь образовавшемся поселкѣ на урочищѣ Кайракъ-Куль Петропавл. у. (*По фот. Э. А. Арнгольдъ*).

Уже въ 1890 г. было образовано въ Кокчетавскомъ и Петропавловскомъ уѣздахъ 11 новыхъ поселковъ, въ которыхъ поселилось до 8½ тыс. душъ мужского пола (около 17 тыс. обоего пола).

При устройствѣ 11 тыс. переселенцевъ на долю командированнаго

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чиновника выпала чрезвычайно трудная работа. Втеченіе двухъ-трехъ мѣсяцевъ ему пришлось устраивать тысячи крестьянскихъ семей изъ 30 различныхъ губерній, большею частью уже разорившихся. Работа была спѣшная. Некогда было обращать вниманіе на то, куда выгоднѣе было бы помѣстить ту или другую семью. Требовалось только распредѣлить огромныя толпы жаждущихъ найти какое-нибудь пристанище и притомъ какъ можно скорѣе. Распредѣленіе дѣлалось упрощеннымъ способомъ. Всей массѣ наличныхъ переселенцевъ, собравшихся въ томъ или другомъ мѣстѣ, предлагались разные участки, которыхъ переселенцы заранѣе не знали.

Вслѣдствіе спѣшности распредѣленія переселенцевъ по участкамъ, поселки оказались составленными изъ переселенцевъ самыхъ разнообразныхъ мѣстностей (въ нѣкоторыхъ были представители болѣе, чѣмъ изъ двадцати губерній). Иногда даже родственнымъ семьямъ не удавалось записываться на одинъ и тотъ-же участокъ, изъ-за чего начинались потомъ долгія хлопоты, причинявшія новоселамъ много убытковъ. Въ самыхъ поселкахъ скоро дала себя почувствовать эта случайность ихъ состава, и возникная отсюда рознь среди новоселовъ мѣшала мирному теченію жизни.

Для поземельнаго устройства переселенцевъ была командирована въ 1891 г., по ходатайству степного генералъ-губернатора, въ Акмолинскую и Семипалатинскую области часть западно-сибирскаго переселенческаго отряда, которая отвела подъ неустроенныя еще 24 поселенія въ Кокчетавскомъ и Петропавловскомъ уу. (на 10.940 д. м. п.) 250 тыс. дес. земли и подъ 4 участка въ Семипалатинской области, занятые самовольными переселенцами (поселки *Тюсъ-Каинскій*, *Балакты-Булакскій* и *Чанагатинскій*—на Алтаѣ и еще одинъ, занятый повидимому позднѣе)—33 тыс. дес.

Хотя доступъ въ Киргизскую степь съ весны 1891 г. и былъ закрытъ оффиціально, однако наплывъ переселенцевъ въ Акмолинскую область безпрерывно продолжался подъ вліяніемъ недорода, охватившаго тогда Россію. Страшный неурожай постигъ и Акмолинскую область. Не успѣвъ обосноваться и зачислиться въ переселенческіе участки въ области, переселенцы, подъ вліяніемъ голода, перешли зимой изъ крестьянскихъ и казачьихъ поселковъ, гдѣ они временно поселились, въ города; въ Омскѣ насчитывалось до 6 тысячъ переселенцевъ, въ Петропавловскѣ ихъ скопилось до 800 человѣкъ, въ Акмолинскѣ и Атбасарѣ—около 600. Съ наступленіемъ весны всѣ они опять разошлись въ разныя стороны. Часть ушла въ Алтайскій округъ и дальше въ Сибирь, часть вернулась назадъ въ Россію, но большинство опять разбрелось по области по разнымъ станицамъ и поселкамъ.

Послѣ громаднаго наплыва въ Сибирь переселенцевъ подъ вліяніемъ голода, въ 1891 г. движеніе это нисколько не ослабѣло, а напротивъ даже увеличилось—съ 82 тыс. въ 1891 году до 84 тыс. въ 1892 году. Изъ этого громаднаго контингента переселенцевъ на долю Акмолинской области выпало однако очень незначительное количество, что объясняется, какъ на это было указано выше, неурожаемъ въ Киргизской степи. Высочайшія повелѣнія отъ 26 марта и 23 апрѣля, узаконившія положеніе массы сибирскихъ переселенцевъ, были распространены и на Степной край, и въ Акмолинской области было во-

дворено 4.390 д. обоего пола (915 семей); при этомъ переселенцамъ были выданы ссуды и пособія изъ переселенческаго кредита.

Съ проведеніемъ Великой Сибирской магистрали и учрежденіемъ Комитета Сибирской желѣзной дороги, въ компетенцію котораго вошло между прочимъ и „содѣйствіе заселенію и промышленному развитію прилегающихъ къ дорогѣ мѣстностей" (сначала въ 100-верстной полосѣ, а затѣмъ и далѣе на югъ), заселеніе Сибири стало на болѣе раціональную почву. Такъ, въ частности, колонизація Киргизской степи приняла съ этого времени менѣе безпорядочный характеръ, какъ было раньше, когда обыкновенно переселенцамъ отводили участки уже послѣ того, какъ они поселились на нихъ.

Первое время по проведеніи Сибирской желѣзной дороги переселеніе находилось тѣмъ не менѣе все еще въ неблагопріятныхъ условіяхъ. Переселенцевъ перевозили въ неприспособленныхъ и переполненныхъ вагонахъ; на узловыхъ станціяхъ (Петропавловскъ, Омскъ) скоплялись за лѣто десятки тысячъ и, за неимѣніемъ помѣщеній, переселенцы жили подъ открытымъ небомъ даже въ ненастную погоду [1]). Отсутствіе необходимаго продовольствія и медицинской помощи способствовало сильному развитію болѣзней и смертности. Вскорѣ однако устроены были въ Омскѣ и Петропавловскѣ „переселенческіе пункты"—больничные бараки, при которыхъ находится медицинскій персоналъ и съ переселенческими поѣздами сталъ отправляться фельдшеръ.

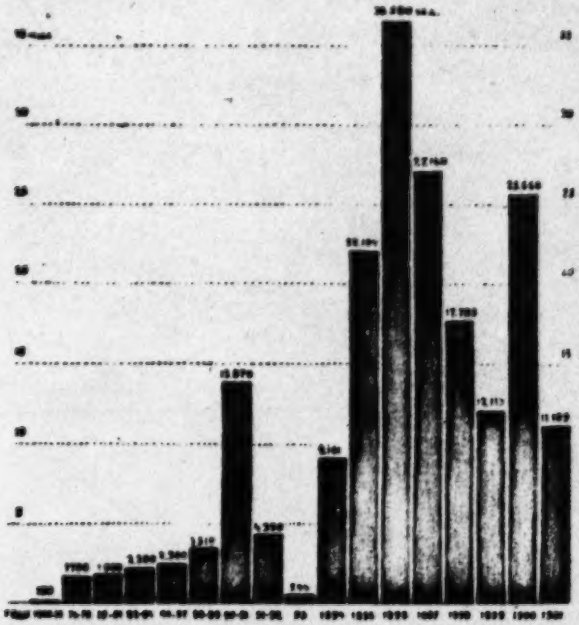
Чтобы поставить въ лучшія условія дѣло объ отводѣ переселенцамъ земельныхъ участковъ, были образованы двѣ межевыхъ партіи въ Акмолинской обл. и одна въ Семипалатинской, а для того, чтобы выдѣленіе участковъ происходило безъ нарушенія интересовъ киргизъ, произведено было статистическое и естественно-историческое обслѣдованіе Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областей особой экспедиціей. Межевыя („землеустроительныя") партіи съ 1893 г. по 1900 г. отвели въ Акмолинской обл. 193 участка на 77.837 д. мужского пола, но, какъ оказалось, эти участки не могли вмѣстить всѣхъ желающихъ. За послѣднія 5 лѣтъ (1896—1900 г.) число устроенныхъ селеній и число новоселовъ (для Акмолинской обл.) выражалось въ слѣдующихъ цыфрахъ:

въ	1896 г.	было	132	сел.	съ	99.399	жит.
„	1897 „	„	134	„	„	113.249	„
„	1898 „	„	138	„	„	122.311	„
„	1899 „	„	150	„	„	134.424	„
„	1900 „	„	200	„	„	160.080	„

На приложенной на стр. 162-й діаграммѣ показано движеніе переселенцевъ въ Акмолинскую область съ 1860-хъ годовъ; изъ нея видно, какъ росло оно сначала постепенно (до 1889 г.) и какъ рѣзко мѣнялось въ слѣдующіе годы; колебаніе это объясняется отчасти неурожаями въ Европейской Россіи, которые усиливали переселеніе, и неурожаями въ Сибири, вызвавшими *обратное* переселеніе. Главный процентъ переселенцевъ даютъ сосѣднія съ краемъ губерніи—Пермская и Тобольская (до 50% въ сѣверной части Акмолинской обл.), затѣмъ идутъ Самарская, Саратовская, Воронежская, Курская, Кіевская, Оренбургская, Орловская, Тамбовская,

[1]) Переселенцевъ перевозятъ по 0,2 коп. съ версты; дѣти до 10 лѣтъ ѣдутъ безплатно

Полтавская, Черниговская, Донская обл. и др. Изъ этого можно заключить, насколько на дѣлѣ условно понятіе малоземелья. При этомъ замѣчено, что крестьяне степныхъ губерній (Самарской, Харьковской, Донской обл.) идутъ въ южные степные уѣзды, къ природѣ которыхъ они болѣе привыкли; жителя лѣсныхъ губ. (Пермской, Тобольской) выбираютъ участки въ сѣверной части края. Съ 1893 года въ Акмолинской области образовано, какъ мы уже сказали, 193 участка на 77.837 д. м. п.; болѣе всего образовано участковъ въ Петропавловскомъ у. (49 сел. съ населеніемъ въ 21.610), затѣмъ идутъ Кокчетавскій у. (42 сел. съ нас. 19.200), Акмолинскій (46 сел. съ насел. 19.122), Омскій (37 сел. съ насел. 8.141) и Атбасарскій (10 сел. съ нас. въ 6.205 ч.). Кромѣ того образованы въ послѣднее время дворянскіе участки: въ Кокчетавскомъ у.— семь на 2.342 ч. и одинъ на 62 ч. въ Акмолинскомъ у.



Переселенческое движеніе въ Акмолинскую область.

Положеніе переселенцевъ на участкахъ является часто довольно затруднительнымъ. Большинство ихъ—бѣдняки, не имѣющіе возможности сразу поставить крѣпко свои хозяйства; это сказывается на нихъ, особенно, если первый годъ неурожайный: хозяйства совершенно падаютъ, и переселенцамъ приходится голодать. Положеніе ухудшается еще и тѣмъ, что край мало населенъ, а заработковъ на сторонѣ почти невозможно достать: отсутствіе удобныхъ путей сообщенія между прочимъ мѣшаетъ этому. Нельзя сказать, чтобы и выборъ участковъ былъ всегда удаченъ: многіе участки (Акмолинскій у.) оказались безъ воды, или съ плохой водой, другіе — съ плохой почвой и отсутствіемъ сѣнокосовъ. Переселенцы вынуждены были бросить ихъ и, разорившись, уходить на другіе участки. Статистическія изслѣдованія показали, что выгоднѣе переселяться сюда среднимъ хозяйствамъ: богатымъ часто бываетъ невыгодно, а неимущимъ и малорабочимъ трудно; послѣднимъ трудно потому, что при мѣстныхъ почвенныхъ, климатическихъ и др. условіяхъ заведеніе хозяйства требуетъ съ перваго-же года большихъ за-

тратъ денегъ и труда; богатому невыгодно подвергать себя риску потому, что неурожай перваго же года можетъ поставить его въ тяжелое положеніе. Хотя переселенцамъ и выдаются пособія лѣсомъ и сѣменами и денежныя ссуды (въ 1900 г. на всю Акмолинскую обл. было выдано ссудъ на 405.124 руб.), но ихъ нельзя назвать достаточно обезпечивающими переселенца на новомъ мѣстѣ, какъ это и показали послѣдніе три года, когда потребовались сотни тысячъ рублей на продовольствіе переселившихся въ Акмолинскую область.

Въ настоящее время Акмолинская обл. почти совсѣмъ закрыта для переселенія; допускаютъ только въ Акмолинскій у. Въ Семипалатинскую обл. переселеніе только начинается (если не считать самовольныхъ).

Переселенія послѣднихъ лѣтъ не носятъ уже случайнаго характера: большинство семей шло на участки, выбранные довѣренными лицами—„ходоками", а не куда глаза глядятъ. Съ другой стороны мѣстная администрація — на родинѣ земскіе и крестьянскіе начальники слѣдятъ за тѣмъ, чтобы не отпускать въ Сибирь тѣхъ, кто не приписался къ какому-нибудь участку; принимались мѣры и къ тому, чтобы задерживать состоятельныя семьи; были наконецъ изданы оффиціально наставленія ходокамъ при выборѣ участковъ. Все это значительно способствовало упорядоченію переселенческаго движенія.

Колонизація западной части края (Тургайской и Уральской областей) крестьянскимъ населеніемъ началась сравнительно недавно и въ скромныхъ размѣрахъ, отчасти потому, что и самыя области въ ихъ нынѣшнемъ составѣ образованы недавно, отчасти потому, что въ нихъ мало мѣстъ, пригодныхъ для земледѣлія, а Уральская область совершенно закрыта для переселенія; въ настоящее время въ ней есть небольшія крестьянскія колоніи только въ *Темирѣ*, *Уилѣ* (*Шиповскій* поселокъ) и *Жилой Косѣ* (на берегу Каспійскаго моря); но ихъ нельзя назвать земледѣльческими. Колонизація Тургайской обл. началась съ основаніемъ въ 1869 г. первой крѣпости *Акъ-Тюбе*, вокругъ которой осѣло нѣсколько вольныхъ крестьянскихъ семей. Въ концѣ 1870-хъ годовъ здѣсь уже считалось нѣсколько десятковъ дворовъ, которые и стали просить о приписке, приписаться было разрѣшено и дозволено селиться на другихъ мѣстахъ (на арендованныхъ у киргизъ земляхъ). Въ 1886 г. въ Актюбинскомъ у. было 177 дворовъ, а, по переписи 1897 г.,—28.400 чел. обоего пола. Кустанайскій у., какъ самый плодородный во всей западной части края, заселяется быстрѣе. Первые колонисты появились, по вызову администраціи, въ 1881 г., при основаніи г. *Кустаная*; въ томъ же году въ новомъ городѣ появилось 1.200 семействъ крестьянъ-земледѣльцевъ (нѣкоторыя изъ нихъ жили ранѣе на арендованныхъ у киргизъ участкахъ). Въ 1889 г. въ городѣ числилось уже 18 тысячъ жителей Затѣмъ населеніе начало убывать, благодаря неурожаямъ и переходу на другіе участки. По переписи 1897 г., въ Кустанаѣ жило 14.065 жит. Это не помѣшало однако новымъ переселенцамъ осѣдать въ уѣздѣ. Для урегулированія этого движенія были приняты мѣры къ выдѣленію опредѣленныхъ участковъ для переселенцевъ. Съ 1885—88 годовъ въ с.-з. части уѣзда было основано одиннадцать поселковъ. Но такъ какъ не былъ выясненъ вопросъ, насколько нарушаются этимъ интересы киргизъ, то поселки получили землю только въ аренду. Только уже послѣ статистическаго изслѣдованія въ

1899 г. (экспедиція Щербины) было выяснено, что безъ всякаго ущерба для киргизъ переселенцамъ могутъ быть выдѣлены большіе участки. Въ Кустанайскомъ у. было выдѣлено около 500 тыс дес., и образовано съ надѣлами 11 поселковъ. Съ этого времени переселенческое дѣло здѣсь было поставлено въ одинаковыя условія съ другими степными областями Сибири.

Нѣсколько особенный характеръ носитъ колонизація Алтая въ предѣлахъ разсматриваемаго края. До самаго послѣдняго времени она сохранила на себѣ отпечатокъ тѣхъ чертъ, какія носила вольная колонизація Сибири въ XVI и XVII вѣкахъ. Колонизаціонный элементъ не составлялся изъ казаковъ или служилыхъ людей; это были безъимянные люди, но отважные и рѣшительные, которымъ тяжело жилось на родинѣ, и они двинулись „куда глаза глядятъ" искать себѣ новую родину. Естественно, что движеніе это должно было направиться на югъ, въ горы, гдѣ природа богаче, и гдѣ можно было легко укрыться отъ всякихъ враговъ и

Временное жилище переселенцевъ въ Акмолинскомъ у.

преслѣдованій. Здѣсь мы остановимся только на исторіи заселенія юго-западныхъ алтайскихъ долинъ, входящихъ въ предѣлы Семипалатинской области.

Въ 1761 г., когда основана была *Бухтарминская* крѣпость, обнаружилось, что въ окрестныхъ горахъ есть уже русскія поселенія, образованныя русскими звѣропромышленниками, бѣглыми крестьянами и всякого рода иной вольницей. Русскому правительству приходилось такимъ образомъ ловить своихъ же русскихъ и облагать ихъ ясакомъ, или совсѣмъ высылать на мѣста приписки. Несмотря на это, съ образованіемъ южной пограничной линіи, переступать которую строго запрещалось, въ Джунгарской землѣ къ 1761 г. существовало уже 17 русскихъ поселеній (по р. *Бухтармѣ*). Очевидно, что ни строгіе запреты, ни наказанія не могли остановить русской вольницы: стремленіе къ свободѣ и приволью брало верхъ надъ страхомъ быть наказаннымъ за ослушаніе. Кто были эти передовые посты русской колонизаціи, точно выяснить трудно; часть ихъ, услышавъ о приближеніи русскихъ отря-

довъ, обыкновенно бросала поселенія и уходила дальше въ горы. Но, какъ мы увидимъ ниже, сюда бѣжали чаще всего крестьяне, особенно заводскіе, отъ тяжелыхъ условій жизни; были здѣсь и преступники, скрывавшіеся отъ наказанія, спасались сектанты отъ гоненій за свои обычаи, были наконецъ и звѣропромышленники.

Природа Алтая какъ нельзя лучше соотвѣтствовала стремленію этихъ людей: съ одной стороны цвѣтущія, плодородныя долины, обиліе звѣря и рыбы, съ другой—высокіе, недоступные хребты и очень рѣдкое туземное населеніе. Неудивительно, что въ глазахъ вольницы эти мѣста имѣли особенно притягательную силу. Нельзя однако отрицать того, что для рѣшимости идти селиться въ чужую, неизвѣдомую страну у этихъ людей было много мужества и даже геройства (нижеприведенные примѣры показываютъ это). Нельзя смотрѣть на это движеніе какъ на простое бродяжничество; какъ мы увидимъ ниже, вольные колонизаторы съ перваго же года заводили хозяйство и дѣлались осѣдлыми. Это переселеніе отчасти напоминало заселеніе Дона или Сѣчи въ Европейской Россіи или таперство и скваттерство въ первые годы завоеванія Америки. Какъ тамъ, такъ и здѣсь люди шли искать себѣ новую родину или безопасное убѣжище и находили ихъ. Необычныя условія жизни, какъ и слѣдовало ожидать, выдвинули здѣсь рядъ необыкновенныхъ личностей, окруженныхъ въ народномъ сознаніи ореоломъ особеннаго геройства и съ именемъ которыхъ теперь связанъ цѣлый рядъ легендъ; ихъ именами названы немало рѣчекъ и урочищъ въ горахъ. Вотъ одна изъ такихъ эпопей.

Въ пятидесятыхъ годахъ XVIII столѣтія содержался въ Кузнецкомъ острогѣ за цѣлый рядъ „подвиговъ" (кражи, побѣги и т. п.), нѣкто Аѳанасій Селезневъ. Много разъ сидѣлъ онъ въ острогѣ и одинъ, и съ товарищами; но обыкновенно, какъ только поступала весна, онъ убѣгалъ: „пора селезню крылышки расправить"—говаривалъ онъ, и трудно было его удержать въ неволѣ; зимой-же, не имѣя пристанища, онъ сиѣла отдавался въ руки полиціи. Уходилъ онъ въ лѣса и горы, гдѣ занимался звѣроловствомъ, а при случаѣ не брезгалъ и угономъ чужого скота. Въ послѣдній разъ Селезневъ бѣжалъ съ братомъ и товарищемъ по заключенію; но дорогой онъ поотсталъ въ одной деревнѣ, у знакомыхъ, и былъ тамъ пойманъ. Пришлось снова сидѣть въ тюрьмѣ цѣлыхъ два года; съ нимъ же посадили его девятилѣтняго сына и старика отца. За это время Селезневъ успѣлъ научить своего сына грамотѣ (по часослову) и составить новый планъ бѣгства: дѣйствительно на второй годъ всѣ трое и двое другихъ заключенныхъ убѣжали изъ тюрьмы. Сначала они скрывались въ Касмалинскомъ бору у первыхъ двухъ товарищей, бѣжавшихъ съ Селезневымъ. Здѣсь они держали совѣтъ и порѣшили на томъ, чтобы, взявъ съ собой женъ и что можно изъ хозяйства, двинуться на Бухтарму. За неимѣніемъ нужнаго числа своихъ лошадей, они угнали ихъ изъ сосѣднихъ деревень, нагрузили четыре воза мукой, захватили еще кое-что для хозяйства и двинулись „на Бухтарму", но вѣрнѣе—куда глаза глядятъ. Всего поѣхало семь мужчинъ, одна женщина и мальчикъ. Дорогой имъ пришлось пережить немало страха и лишеній. Надо было незамѣтно переѣхать границу и не встрѣтиться съ бродячими шайками урянхайцевъ; послѣднихъ они избѣжали, но избѣжать встрѣчи съ пограничной военной командой имъ не

удалось: у никоѣ Красноярскаго они натолкнулись на такую команду, отъ которой пришлось искать спасенія верхами, бросивъ всѣ запасы. Послѣ долгихъ скитаній добрались наконецъ смѣльчаки до Бухтармы, гдѣ и построили себѣ двѣ деревянныхъ избы. Селезневъ, какъ человѣкъ бывалый и предусмотрительный, построилъ себѣ избу отдѣльно и укрѣпилъ ее, такъ что она представляла собою блокгаузъ. Занялись селезневцы охотой и рыбной ловлей Но съ первыхъ же дней имъ пришлось защищать себя отъ урянхайцевъ.

Вскорѣ по пріѣздѣ урянхайцы угнали у нихъ всѣхъ лошадей. Въ другой разъ урянхайцы сдѣлали нападеніе на ихъ поселеніе, но селезневцы отсидѣлись въ своихъ избахъ, причемъ были однако двое изъ нихъ ранены. Тогда селезневцы рѣшили перейти въ наступленіе и силой избавиться отъ непріятнаго сосѣдства. Зимой, вооружившись чѣмъ только могли, селезневцы отправились на поиски врага, напали ночью на партію сонныхъ урянхайцевъ и всѣхъ перебили. Приставали къ нимъ

Русскій поселокъ Джуна-Базаръ въ пескахъ Тайсуйюнъ.

и калмыки, но селезневцы повидимому ужиться съ ними не могли. Такъ, одна партія калмыковъ, поселившаяся у нихъ, стала нарушать право гостепріимства—отнимала хлѣбъ у оставшихся, когда селезневцы уходили на охоту; это возмутило ихъ, и они убили калмыковъ. Живя въ чужой странѣ, селезневцамъ приходилось быть каждую минуту на стражѣ, чтобы не допустить внезапныхъ нападеній урянхайцевъ, калмыковъ и другихъ инородцевъ, занимавшихся здѣсь звѣроловствомъ или просто грабежомъ (угономъ скота и др.). Разъ проходила мимо нихъ партія киргизъ-кайсаковъ (до 500 чел.), занимавшаяся грабежомъ окрестнаго населенія. Селезневцы засѣли въ своихъ укрѣпленныхъ домахъ и рѣшились защищаться до послѣдней крайности; но киргизы не рѣшились нападать, очевидно признавъ въ нихъ силу. Въ другой разъ та-же партія предложила вступить селезневцамъ въ обмѣнъ, не рѣшаясь отобрать у нихъ силой нужные предметы. Оставшись безъ лошадей, селезневцамъ волей-неволей приходилось добывать ихъ тѣмъ-же путемъ у русскихъ. Весной на плотахъ спустился Селезневъ съ

тремя товарищами внизъ по Иртышу до дер. Прапорщиковой и здѣсь угналъ шесть лошадей; кража однако была замѣчена, и казаки поймали Селезнева съ однимъ изъ его товарищей, а другіе убѣжали. О дальнѣйшей судьбѣ этого, несомнѣнно недюжиннаго человѣка съ большой волей и умомъ, исторія ничего не говоритъ. Изъ слѣдственнаго показанія Селезнева видно, что у него на Бухтармѣ осталось послѣ поимки десять маральихъ и лосевыхъ кожъ, десять куницъ, пять красныхъ лисицъ, два волка, сто бѣлокъ, десять бараньихъ тулуповъ, четыре мѣдныхъ котла, три чугунныхъ, одинъ желѣзный, одинъ мѣденникъ и полтора фунта серебра. Очевидно, что Селезневъ былъ человѣкъ предпріимчивый и занимался не только охотой, но и раскопками въ древнихъ рудникахъ, а можетъ быть и въ курганахъ. По указанію Селезнева, на Бухтарму была отправлена команда казаковъ, которая и поймала селезневцевъ, за исключеніемъ одного, который убѣжалъ. Все добро, накопленное селезневцами, было захвачено казаками и ихъ командиромъ.

Разсказанный эпизодъ даетъ представленіе о томъ, какъ безъимянная вольница заселила эти края. Большее значеніе въ дѣлѣ колонизаціи сыграли старообрядцы, или, какъ ихъ здѣсь называютъ, „дюждане". Здѣсь мы коснемся этого движенія только отчасти, такъ какъ главная масса „дюжданъ" шла на югъ современной Томской губ., гдѣ оно и будетъ разсмотрѣно болѣе подробно. Появились они сначала на нижней Бухтармѣ въ сороковыхъ годахъ XVIII столѣтія. Сначала жила небольшая семья очевидно наиболѣе терпѣвшихъ гоненія за свои обычаи и бѣжавшихъ съ пограничныхъ деревень. Неприступность мѣстности защищала ихъ отъ всякихъ преслѣдованій. Достаточно было обжиться здѣсь первой семьѣ, чтобы на слѣдующіе годы сюда потянулись и болѣе рѣшительные. Скоро по Бухтармѣ и ея притокамъ образовалось нѣсколько селеній. Богатая природа и свобода способствовали скорому обогащенію трудолюбивыхъ жителей, и объ ихъ житьѣ пошли заманчивые разсказы. Это вызвало новый усиленный притокъ поселенцевъ; кто шелъ и селился около прежде поселившихся, кто шелъ дальше на новыя мѣста. Массовый побѣгъ пограничнаго населенія не могъ не вызвать стѣсненій со стороны администраціи, но это не помогало; не дали положительныхъ результатовъ и поиски командъ. Попасть въ Бухтарминскую долину съ сѣвера и теперь можно только по одному пути (изъ Усть-Каменогорска) и притомъ съ затрудненіями, а въ прежнее время это было тѣмъ болѣе затруднительно. Чтобы не потерять такъ много рабочаго крестьянства, правительство имп. Екатерины II пошло на уступки: оно обѣщало всѣмъ бѣжавшимъ („каменьщикамъ", какъ называла ихъ администрація за то, что они убѣжали и скрывались въ каменистыхъ горахъ и ущельяхъ) прощеніе съ тѣмъ, чтобы они дали себя переписать и согласились нести подати. „Каменьщики" согласились: оффиціально ихъ стало числиться тогда 318 чел., но на самомъ дѣлѣ ихъ было конечно больше: нѣкоторые не хотѣли записываться, другіе—не могли, въ виду небезупречнаго прошлаго; тѣ и другіе предпочли остаться свободными и передвинулись дальше вглубь горъ.

Присоединеніе „каменьщиковъ" въ 1792 г. не остановило и не могло остановить начавшагося движенія. Причины, создавшія его (тяжелыя условія жизни на родинѣ, особенно чаводскихъ крестьянъ, и прикрашенные разсказы о привольной жизни „каменьщиковъ") продол-

жали существовать и влекли сюда многихъ. Признаніе за „каменьщиками“ законныхъ правъ на проживаніе въ чужой землѣ скорѣе усиляло это движеніе, такъ какъ ободряло къ этому менѣе рѣшительные элементы населенія; для болѣе же отважныхъ оно давало увѣренность, что и на новомъ мѣстѣ они не будутъ наказаны за самовольный уходъ. Дѣйствительно здѣсь съ начала XVIII столѣтія и, какъ мы увидимъ ниже, до настоящихъ дней продолжается какое-то стихійное движеніе русскихъ на югъ, стремленіе найти мѣсто, гдѣ-бы жилось привольно, безъ стѣсненія. Это стремленіе, передаваясь изъ поколѣнія въ поколѣніе, укоренилось въ сознаніи пограничнаго населенія; народная фантазія прибавила къ этому разсказы о существованіи блаженныхъ странъ, гдѣ людямъ нѣтъ ни отъ кого обиды, гдѣ природа щедро разсыпала свои дары,—и вотъ въ сознаніи мѣстныхъ жителей появилось смутное представленіе о дѣйствительности такихъ сказочныхъ странъ или *Бѣловодья*. „Черезъ все XVIII столѣтіе проходитъ неустанное исканіе этого фантастическаго эльдорадо, гдѣ рѣки текутъ медомъ, гдѣ не собираютъ податей, гдѣ, наконецъ, спеціально для раскольниковъ, не существуетъ Никоновской церкви“ говоритъ проф. Шмурло. Что населеніе не давало себѣ точнаго и яснаго отчета въ томъ, гдѣ есть такая страна, видно изъ того, что въ XVIII вѣкѣ „Бѣловодья“ искали въ сѣверо-западномъ Алтаѣ, и можетъ быть первые піонеры колонизаціи и находили его, но когда сюда передвинулась русская граница, Бѣловодье перешло въ таинственныя Бухтарминскія горы, куда скоро потянулись и „бѣловодцы“. Съ появленіемъ тамъ русской власти и болѣе многочисленнаго населенія, народное сознаніе перенесло „Бѣловодье“ далѣе на югъ, въ южные, неприступные хребты Алтая, а затѣмъ еще далѣе на югъ—въ Китай. И это естественно: „Надѣляя намѣченную область идеальными качествами, русскій колонизаторъ, попадая въ нее, каждый разъ долженъ неизбѣжно убѣждаться, что и тутъ жизнь имѣетъ свою оборотную сторону, что и тутъ соціальныя отношенія зачастую выступаютъ во всей своей жестокости и неумолимой требовательности. Первоначальная мысль, что онъ нашелъ Бѣловодье, смѣнялась мыслью, что это Бѣловодье въ другомъ мѣстѣ. Такимъ образомъ наступало извѣстное разочарованіе, слабѣе, если новыя условія жизни, при всѣхъ своихъ несовершенствахъ, всетаки оказывались существенно лучше старыхъ, сильнѣе—если разница между брошеннымъ гнѣздомъ и вновь заведеннымъ оказывалась ничтожною. Въ первомъ случаѣ человѣкъ легко примирялся съ мыслью, что Бѣловодье такъ-таки и не далось ему въ руки, во второмъ случаѣ—вновь поднимался съ мѣста при первомъ же случаѣ и шелъ на его поиски“ (Шмурло). Для иллюстраціи этого движенія остановимся на нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ исканія Бѣловодья въ 20—60-хъ годахъ XIX столѣтія.

Въ 1826 г. партія въ 38 чел. (мужчинъ, женщинъ и дѣтей) бѣжала на оз. *Кинасъ* (въ китайскихъ предѣлахъ), гдѣ и думала зажить на привольѣ. За ними была послана погоня, которой, однако, не удалось вернуть бѣжавшихъ, и только обѣщаніемъ манифеста о помилованіи воротили ихъ обратно. Большіе размѣры приняло исканіе Бѣловодья въ 1828 г. въ предѣлахъ Томской губ. Въ 1832 г. бѣгали въ Китай 42 крестьянина, но были возвращены. Въ 1861 г. появились крестьяне въ Нарымской долинѣ (дер. Таловка и Медвѣдка), смущенные фантасти-

ческими разсказами бывалыхъ людей Бобровыхъ о существованіи гдѣ-то вблизи Бѣловодья: 55 чел. мужчинъ и женщинъ въ тотъ же годъ изъ пограничныхъ деревень перешли границу (р. Нарымъ), переваляли Нарымскій хребетъ и направились „въ Бѣловодье", но вожаки Бобровы сбились съ пути и вывели партію на призайсанскія пустыни и въ низовья *Алкабека* (на пески). Два года бродила партія въ китайскихъ предѣлахъ, но обѣтованной земли не нашла; да и китайцы не вездѣ позволяли селиться. Ничего не оставалось дѣлать, какъ возвращаться домой. Бобровы и нѣсколько другихъ не захотѣли возвращаться и исчезли неизвѣстно куда. Администрація посмотрѣла на воротившихся снисходительно и даже сдѣлала имъ благодѣяніе—вернула дома и часть имущества, которое было распродано, когда крестьяне задумали искать Бѣловодье. Это не остановило движенія: вскорѣ появились русскія селенія въ горахъ по р. *Кабѣ* и близь оз. *Марьа-Куля*. Хлѣбопашество, пчеловодство, рыболовство, охота—все это давало тамъ хорошіе результаты, и крестьяне, несмотря на протесты киргизъ, основали здѣсь свои деревни. Русскому правительству, при заключеніи трактата съ китайцами (1881 г.), пришлось выговаривать себѣ всю полосу земли между Нарымомъ и Кальджиромъ, какъ фактически уже захваченную русскими. Департаментъ земледѣлія въ 1885 г. включилъ эти мѣста въ число тѣхъ, гдѣ должны быть отведены участки для переселенцевъ, послѣ чего заселеніе ихъ пошло еще быстрѣе. Первые колонисты Кабинскихъ долинъ однако вскорѣ снова поднялись и пошли на новыя мѣста; образованныя деревни запустѣли, но потомъ снова пополнялись пришлымъ населеніемъ; послѣднее, проникшись стремленіемъ къ „Бѣловодью", само пополнило ряды идущихъ на новыя мѣста, усиливая такимъ образомъ вольную колонизацію края. Въ 1896 г. въ Кабинскихъ долинахъ существовало три оффиціальныхъ деревни (болѣе 500 чел. обоего пола)—*Тюсь-Каинъ*, *Чанагаты* и *Бялыкъ-Булакъ*; да можетъ быть человѣкъ до ста или болѣе, ищущихъ „Бѣловодья" и ушедшихъ въ предѣлы Китая, жило въ горахъ.

Такимъ образомъ и въ настоящее время вольная колонизація, несмотря на препятствія, продолжаетъ существовать и будетъ, пока существуютъ причины, ее создающія. Насколько сильно это стремленіе къ исканію привольныхъ мѣстъ, можно судить по тому, что крестьяне проникаютъ въ самыя глухія мѣстности, преодолѣвая всѣ препятствія: извѣстно, что Пржевальскій открылъ колонію русскихъ крестьянъ-старообрядцевъ въ центральномъ Китаѣ (у Лобъ-Нора).

Въ настоящее время еще нѣтъ возможности подвести итоги крестьянскому заселенію края, какъ потому, что оно еще продолжается, такъ и потому, что прошло еще недостаточно времени. Но во всякомъ случаѣ край много выигралъ отъ переселенія. Разнообразныя природныя богатства края, какъ мы видѣли изъ первой главы, оставались нетронутымъ, мертвымъ капиталомъ; самъ край былъ дикой, почти безлюдной страной, по которой только нарѣдка кочевали киргизы. Коренное осѣдлое населеніе—казаки оказалось неспособнымъ къ колонизаторской дѣятельности, что̀ признавала (какъ мы видѣли выше) и мѣстная администрація [1]).

[1]) Не безынтересно отмѣтить, что съ 1850-хъ годовъ у сибирскихъ казаковъ не возникло ни одного селенія.

При такихъ неблагопріятныхъ условіяхъ колонизація края и его культурное развитіе совершались бы крайне медленно, природныя богатства оставались бы долго недоступными. Съ появленіемъ крестьянъ, край получилъ довольно значительное земледѣльческое населеніе (болѣе 200 тыс. ч.), былъ прорѣзанъ въ нѣсколькихъ направленіяхъ цѣпью крестьянскихъ деревень и проселочныхъ дорогъ, въ сѣверной же части даже довольно часто. Въ краѣ развилась хлѣбная производительность настолько, что Кустанайскій уѣздъ сталъ одинъ вывозить хлѣба милліоны пудовъ. Съ проведеніемъ Сибирской желѣзной дороги колонизація прилегающихъ степей пріобрѣла еще большее значеніе для культурнаго развитія края.

Грамотность и *распространеніе знаній* опредѣляютъ собой ростъ и культурное развитіе страны. Познакомившись съ исторіей развитія просвѣщенія въ краѣ, мы можемъ составить представленіе объ его культурности въ теперешнемъ состояніи.

Киргизскій край въ этомъ отношеніи находился въ весьма неблагопріятныхъ условіяхъ. Покоривъ край, русскіе не могли перейти къ культурной работѣ потому, что первоначальное завоеваніе совершалось исключительно съ цѣлью обогащенія, и первые завоеватели были совершенно неподготовлены къ культурной роли. Это были грубые, невѣжественные люди съ первобытной нравственностью, съ сомнительнымъ прошлымъ; правда, и при всемъ этомъ, они оказались развитѣе инородцевъ, но не настолько, чтобы, покоривъ ихъ, могли сознательно перейти къ мирной культурной работѣ; они не приложили усилій даже къ тому, чтобы разумно воспользоваться богатыми дарами природы или прокормить себя своимъ трудомъ. Напротивъ, они выбрали другой, болѣе легкій способъ наживы — грабежъ покореннаго инородца и расхищеніе природныхъ богатствъ.

Просвѣтительную роль при завоеваніи восточной части Киргизскаго края могло бы играть тогда только духовенство, но оно было слишкомъ незначительно, и центръ его находился слишкомъ далеко отъ края (Тобольскъ), чтобы можно было оказывать замѣтное вліяніе на жизнь края. Московское правительство, правда, старалось посылать въ Сибирь воеводъ и другихъ своихъ представителей—грамотныхъ; но источниками просвѣщенія эти люди не были, и забота объ этомъ не вмѣнялась имъ въ обязанность; грамотность ихъ служила имъ только для донесеній и приказовъ; московскому правительству, назначая ихъ, приходилось заботиться главнымъ образомъ о томъ, чтобы они не притѣсняли народъ и исправно присылали подати. Сосланные въ тѣ времена грамотные поляки и запорожцы также повидимому не оказали въ этомъ отношеніи какого-нибудь вліянія: скорѣе они забывали здѣсь свои прежнія знанія и грамотность.

Послѣ того, какъ русское населеніе достаточно увеличилось и болѣе или менѣе осѣло на своихъ мѣстахъ (съ конца XVII в.), въ немъ началось стремленіе къ грамотности, но это стремленіе вызывалось чисто эгоистическими побужденіями небольшой сословной кучки. Воеводы, приказные, дьяки и др. служилые люди старались дать своимъ дѣтямъ (или родственникамъ) грамотность, чтобы удержать за своей семьей привиллегированное положеніе. Только въ XVIII вѣкѣ центральная власть (генералъ-губернаторы) выдвинули вопросъ объ открытіи школъ, хотя также по

для всего населенія, а только для военнаго сословія. Изъ послужныхъ списковъ 1761 г. видно уже, что на Сибирской линіи (отъ Тобола до Иртыша) изъ 78 урядниковъ и капраловъ—47 были грамотны, изъ 18 офицеровъ—всѣ были грамотны. Въ 1765 году начальникомъ сибирскихъ войскъ Шпрингеромъ были открыты „гарнизонныя школы" въ *Омскѣ*, *Петропавловскѣ* и *Ямышевѣ*; эти школы въ первый-же годъ имѣли 240 чел. учащихся. Въ 1789 г. въ Омскѣ была открыта „азіатская школа" для подготовки переводчиковъ (толмачей); въ ней, кромѣ элементарной грамоты и ариѳметики, преподавались татарскій, турецкій, арабскій и персидскій языки. Позже къ ней были прибавлены землемѣрный и топографическій классы. Въ 1813 г. въ Омскѣ было открыто первое общеобразовательное училище съ военными предметами—„войсковое училище", нѣчто вродѣ военной гимназіи. О доступномъ же всѣмъ народномъ образованіи тогда серьезно никто не заботился.

Духовенству хотя и имѣло съ начала XIX столѣтія свои церковныя школы, но ихъ было мало, и результаты обученія въ нихъ были неудовлетворительны благодаря плохому подбору учителей (малограмотные дьячки, отставные солдаты и т. п.). Казачьи школы (въ Сибирскомъ войскѣ) хотя заведены были также издавна (къ началу 50-хъ годовъ ихъ считалось 60), но въ задачу ихъ входило не распространеніе грамоты во всемъ казачьемъ населеніи: онѣ служили больше для удовлетворенія потребности въ грамотныхъ людяхъ на службѣ (подготовляли писарей, урядниковъ и т. д.). Учителями въ нихъ были также малограмотные казаки; отпускалось на такую школу по 2 р. 40 к. въ мѣсяцъ.

Дѣло народнаго образованія замѣтно двинулось впередъ въ царствованіе имп. Александра II, когда и въ сибирскомъ обществѣ стало замѣчаться стремленіе къ просвѣщенію вообще. Въ 1860-хъ годахъ въ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областяхъ существовали уже, благодаря заботамъ одного изъ наиболѣе выдающихся мѣстныхъ генералъ-губернаторовъ, ген. Казнакова, десятки низшихъ школъ (кромѣ казачьихъ), открылось нѣсколько прогимназій; преобразованы были кантонистскія училища (въ Омскѣ) и замѣнены военно-начальными [1]; у казаковъ стали отпускаться средства на стипендіи въ спеціальныя учебныя заведенія и увеличилось число низшихъ школъ. Появились частныя школы (напр. Соколова въ Омскѣ), воскресныя школы, библіотеки; уѣздныхъ и городскихъ училищъ стали доступными посторонникъ лицамъ. Параллельно съ этимъ шло открытіе среднихъ и спеціальныхъ школъ, главнымъ образомъ въ Омскѣ, какъ административномъ центрѣ. Въ 1836 г. въ Омскѣ былъ открытъ кадетскій корпусъ; въ 1852 г.—фельдшерская школа; въ 1858 г.—уѣздное училище; въ 1863 г.—Омская женская гимназія; въ 1871 г. были открыты женскія прогимназіи въ Петропавловскѣ и Семипалатинскѣ; въ 1872 г.—

[1] До 1856 г. всѣ солдатскія дѣти должны были съ 14 лѣтъ поступать въ кантонистскія школы, гдѣ они и подготовлялись, а потомъ сразу шли на службу. Съ закрытіемъ школъ солдатскимъ дѣтямъ позволено было оставить школы и идти къ родителямъ. „Монаршая милость эта", говоритъ манифестъ, „возвратила въ недра семействъ до 3.8 тысячъ малолѣтнихъ (во всей Россіи, а въ Омскѣ — до 600 чел.), которые, получивъ гражданскія права, перестали считать себя при жизни родителей сиротами".

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

учительская семинарія въ Омскѣ, въ 1876 г.—мужская гимназія въ Омскѣ. Общество начало относиться къ дѣлу просвѣщенія ревностнѣе: города ассигновали значительныя суммы на поддержку начальныхъ школъ и женскихъ прогимназій [1]).

Въ началѣ 1880-хъ годовъ открылось въ краѣ первое частное просвѣтительное общество — „попеченія о начальномъ образованіи" (въ Омскѣ). Вообще начиная съ 1860-хъ годовъ просвѣщеніе стало дѣлать въ краѣ замѣтные успѣхи. За послѣднее время обращено вниманіе на сельскохозяйственное образованіе и на распространеніе въ краѣ знаній и ремеслъ; съ этой цѣлью съ 1885 г. были открыты въ уѣздахъ низшія сельско хозяйственныя школы. Наконецъ нельзя не упомянуть объ открытіи въ Омскѣ Западно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общества, который, какъ въ дѣлѣ изученія края, такъ и въ качествѣ просвѣтительнаго общества, занимаетъ видное мѣсто въ исторіи просвѣщенія края, сплачивая около себя лучшія мѣстныя культурныя силы (открытъ въ 1877 г.).

Распространенію грамотности въ *киргизскомъ* населеніи было положено основаніе давно: первыя начальныя школы были открыты даже значительно ранѣе, чѣмъ для русскаго населенія, но русская грамотность среди нихъ весьма незначительна.

Такой неуспѣхъ русской грамоты среди инородцовъ объясняется, можетъ быть, тѣмъ, что въ этихъ школахъ вначалѣ заботились не столько о томъ, чтобы научить дѣтей русской грамотѣ, сколько о томъ, чтобы дать имъ опредѣленное идейное направленіе. Такъ, первыя школы были открыты администраціей въ 1782 г. при многихъ мечетяхъ; учителями были наняты тобольскіе татары для того, чтобы парализовать вліяніе средне азіатскихъ муллъ на подвластное русскимъ киргизское населеніе. Киргизамъ былъ открытъ имѣетъ съ тѣмъ полный доступъ въ русскія училища. Въ семидесятыхъ годахъ XIX столѣтія были открыты во всѣхъ уѣздныхъ городахъ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областей школы-интернаты исключительно для киргизскихъ дѣтей (впослѣдствіи преобразованныя въ низшія сельско-хозяйственныя школы). Въ настоящее время здѣсь открываются аульныя школы.

Въ Тургайской обл. начало народному образованію положено съ основанія области (1869 г.), на что ассигновано было 800 руб.; но первую школу, двухклассную русско-киргизскую, удалось открыть только въ 1879 г. Затѣмъ развитіе школьнаго дѣла продолжалось довольно успѣшно. Въ 1883 г. была открыта учительская школа въ *Орскѣ* Оренбургской губ. (пограничномъ съ Тургайской обл.), ремесленное училище въ *Тургаѣ*; въ 1887 г. появились русскія волостныя школы; въ 1891 г.—женскія начальныя въ *Тургаѣ*, *Актюбинскѣ*, *Кустанаѣ* и *Кара-Бутакѣ*; въ 1892 г. были спеціально для киргизъ устроены передвижныя аульныя школы, по программѣ, равной двумъ первымъ отдѣленіямъ одноклассныхъ министерскихъ школъ. Есть также около 20 школъ церковно-приходскихъ. Наибольшее число школъ (до 54) находится въ наиболѣе населенномъ уѣздѣ.—Кустанайскомъ, менѣе (до 12)—въ Тургайскомъ. Сред-

[1]) До 1856 г. въ Омскѣ, напр., была одна приходская школа, поддерживаемая двумя купцами, на которую городъ давалъ только 30 руб.; въ 1870-хъ же годахъ городъ содержалъ 4 училища, тратя на нихъ до 4 т. р.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

нихъ учебныхъ заведеній въ Тургайской области нѣтъ. Въ Уральской области начальное образованіе поставлено довольно удовлетворительно: кромѣ войсковыхъ казачьихъ школъ здѣсь есть министерскія (русскія и киргизскія) и церковно-приходскія. Статистическія данныя за 1900 г. рисуютъ намъ положеніе начальнаго образованія въ краѣ въ слѣдующемъ видѣ (см. таблицу на этой страницѣ).

Первое мѣсто по числу школъ занимаетъ Уральская обл., послѣднее — Семипалатинская. Одна школа приходится въ краѣ на 3.065 ч. Наличнаго числа школъ, какъ мы видимъ, весьма еще недостаточно, и мысль о всеобщемъ обученіи въ краѣ — пока недостижимая мечта.

Не въ лучшемъ положеніи находится край и относительно *средняго* и *спеціальнаго* образованія. Такіе значительные и сравнительно довольно богатые города, какъ Семипалатинскъ и Петропавловскъ, не имѣли до сихъ поръ ни одного средняго учебнаго заведенія (если не считать въ первомъ недавно открытой мужской прогимназіи); между тѣмъ нужда въ нихъ весьма ощущается, такъ какъ имѣющіяся среднія учебныя заведенія въ Омскѣ переполнены. Въ Уральскѣ имѣется реальное (войсковое) училище и женская гимназія — единственныя среднія учебныя заведенія на Уральскую и Тургайскую области, а первое кромѣ того и на весь Киргизскій край. Лучшее положеніе занимаетъ г. Омскъ, гдѣ находятся мужская и женская гимназіи, кадетскій корпусъ, учительская семинарія, механико-техническое, желѣзнодорожное техническое училища и фельдшерская школа. Въ селѣ *Боровомъ* (въ 60 в. отъ Кокчетава) находится лѣсное училище.

ОБЛАСТИ.	Населеніе въ 1900 г.	Приходящ. на 1 кв. пер.	Школы М. Н. П.			Духовнаго вѣдомства.			Казачьяго вѣдомства.			Другихъ вѣдомствъ и частныя.			ИТОГО.			Одна школа прих. на кв. верс.	на 1 ч.
			мужск.	женск.	школъ.	мужск.	женск.	школъ.	мужск.	женск.	школъ.	мужск.	женск.	школъ.	мужск.	женск.	школъ.		
Акмолинская.	803.694	479.300	129	6.028	2.354	—	—	—	90	2.765	1.022	22	746	272	241	9.539	3.709	13.247	36.1
Семипалат.	686.033	442.235	25	1.576	727	13	522	149	561	430	457	19	807	—	114	4.115	1.357	5.472	6.018
Уральская.	691.987	8.142	42	1.835	60	57	1.017	909	107	2.995	977	74	1.665	1.290	1.540	9.572	7.140	16.712	41.015
Тургайская.	461.516	40.830	117	2.408	775	—	1.004	247	—	—	—	—	—	—	162	3.400	982	4.382	45.271
Весь край	2.443.230	1.006.607	321	11.847	3.616	115	3.643	1.615	253	7.140	1.613	115	3.208	1.562	2.057	24.626	8.207	32.833	2.016

1) Въ тѣхъ числѣ и церковно-приходскія школы.
2) Кромѣ того 123 школы мастеровъ и мастерицъ съ 1.314 учащ. и 915 зачиш.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

Остается за Омскомъ первенство и со стороны развитія *книжнаго, типографскаго* и *издательскаго* дѣла. Въ Омскѣ есть три частныхъ типографіи (двѣ изъ нихъ съ литографіями) и двѣ правительственныхъ (съ литографіями), картографическое и литографическое заведеніе (Военно-Топографическаго отдѣла); издаются четыре періодическихъ изданія („Степной Край", „Сельскохозяйственный Листокъ"—на русскомъ и киргизскомъ языкахъ, „Епархіальныя Вѣдомости" и „Областныя Вѣдомости") и кромѣ того отдѣльные „Труды" ученыхъ обществъ (Географическаго, Медицинскаго и Сельскохозяйственнаго). Имѣется два книжныхъ магазина и четыре мелкихъ торговли книгами, двѣ публичныхъ библіотеки и двѣ народныхъ читальни. Изъ другихъ городовъ восточныхъ областей края имѣетъ типографію, одну книжную торговлю, библіотеку и періодическое изданіе („Областныя Вѣдомости") Семипалатинскъ; въ Петропавловскѣ есть небольшая книжная торговля и библіотека; въ другихъ городахъ (Акмолинскъ, Кокчетавъ, Каркаралинскъ, Павлодаръ, Усть-Каменогорскъ и Зайсанъ) есть небольшія общественныя библіотеки. Въ западной части края (Уральской и Тургайской обл.) Уральскъ имѣетъ типографію, книжный магазинъ, общественную библіотеку, народную читальню и три періодическихъ изданія („Областныя" и „Войсковыя Вѣдомости" и газету „Уралецъ"). Въ Тургайской области въ Кустанаѣ, Иргизѣ и Актюбинскѣ есть общественныя библіотеки, въ первомъ кромѣ того—народная читальня; типографій и книжныхъ магазиновъ въ области нѣтъ; „Тургайскія Вѣдомости" съ приложеніемъ „Тургайской Газеты" (на русскомъ и киргизскомъ языкахъ) издаются въ Оренбургѣ.

Все сказанное о развитіи книжнаго, типографскаго, издательскаго и библіотечнаго дѣла въ краѣ иллюстрируется нижеслѣдующей таблицей, въ которую внесено кромѣ того и число ученыхъ и просвѣтительныхъ обществъ, играющихъ замѣтную роль въ культурномъ развитіи края:

ОБЛАСТИ.	Типографій и литографій.	Книжныхъ магазиновъ и лавокъ.	Періодическихъ и ученыхъ изданій.	Ученыхъ и просвѣтительныхъ обществъ.	Библіотекъ. Общественныхъ.	Библіотекъ. Народныхъ читаленъ.	Музеевъ.
Акмолинская	10	6	7	7	6	3	1
Семипалатинская	2	1	2	2	5	2	1
Тургайская	—	—	2	1	3	1	—
Уральская	2	2	3	3	1	2	1
Всего въ краѣ	14	9	14	13	15	8	3

Изъ этой таблицы, а также изъ предъидущаго видно, что Акмолинская обл. (собственно г. Омскъ) занимаетъ въ культурномъ отношеніи первое мѣсто въ краѣ; наиболѣе отсталой является Тургайская

обл., культурный ростъ которой тормозится отчасти отсутствіемъ крупныхъ населенныхъ пунктовъ. Высшее образованіе въ краѣ удовлетворяется учрежденіемъ стипендій въ ближайшихъ высшихъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ—Томскомъ университетѣ и технологическомъ институтѣ, Казанскомъ университетѣ и ветеринарномъ институтѣ, Московскомъ университетѣ, сельскохозяйственномъ институтѣ и нѣкоторыхъ другихъ; но такихъ стипендій немного. Край нуждается въ открытіи высшаго сельскохозяйственнаго и ветеринарнаго института, такъ какъ земледѣліе и скотоводство составляютъ краеугольный камень его экономическаго благосостоянія; отсутствіе же ученыхъ и практиковъ-спеціалистовъ по этимъ отраслямъ отзывается весьма неблагопріятно какъ на ихъ теперешнемъ состояніи, такъ и на ихъ дальнѣйшемъ развитіи.

ГЛАВА V.

Распредѣленіе населенія Киргизскаго края по территоріи, его этнографическій составъ, бытъ и культура.

А. Ш. Сѣдельникова.

Пространство и административное дѣленіе края.—Сибирское и Уральское казачьи войска.—Количество населенія и распредѣленіе его въ краѣ.—Сравнительная плотность населенія.—Ростъ и движеніе населенія за послѣдніе годы.—Сравнительное количество городского, сельскаго и кочевого населенія.—Величина и ростъ городовъ; густота и людность русскихъ и киргизскихъ поселеній.—Распредѣленіе населенія по поламъ, сословіямъ и вѣроисповѣданіямъ.—Этнографическій составъ населенія.—Общія замѣчанія о „сибирякѣ", великоруссахъ, малоруссахъ и другихъ народностяхъ края.—Сибирскіе казаки.—Уральскіе казаки.—Крестьяне.—Киргизы

Киргизскій край занимаетъ обширную площадь въ 1 606.687 кв. верстъ, что равняется $^1/_3$ всей Европейской Россіи (считая Финляндію, Польшу и Кавказъ) или $^1/_2$ всей Западной Европы, такъ что пространство каждой изъ входящихъ въ его составъ областей равно пространству главныхъ государствъ Европы.

Въ административномъ отношеніи Киргизскій край представляетъ четыре военныхъ области: Акмолинскую, Семипалатинскую, Уральскую и Тургайскую. Учреждены области въ 1868 году изъ земель сибирскихъ и оренбургскихъ киргизъ и земель Сибирскаго и Уральскаго казачьихъ войскъ—для бо́льшаго удобства въ управленіи киргизами и казачьими войсками, причемъ были сдѣланы большія преобразованія. „Уставъ о сибирскихъ киргизахъ", которымъ опредѣлялась жизнь этой окраины до того, былъ отмѣненъ и было введено новое „Временное положеніе объ управленіи въ степныхъ областяхъ" (въ настоящее время нѣсколько измѣненное). Въ силу этого положенія киргизскія земли признаны государственной собственностью, предоставленной киргизамъ лишь въ общественное пользованіе, а въ управленіи введены значительныя перемѣны. Султанская власть и окружные приказы упразднены; киргизамъ предоставлено народное управленіе (выборными изъ своей среды); ясачная подать замѣнена кибиточнымъ сборомъ и введены различныя другія реформы.

Военное и гражданское управленіе ввѣрялось съ этого времени военнымъ губернаторамъ областей. Акмолинская и Семипалатинская вмѣстѣ съ сосѣдней Семирѣченской составляли (съ 1882 г.) кромѣ того Степное генералъ-губернаторство. Мелкими административными дѣленіями какъ для киргизскаго, такъ и для русскаго населенія являются уѣзды.

Акмолинская и Семипалатинская области раздѣлены на пять уѣздовъ каждая; Уральская и Тургайская—на четыре уѣзда каждая; такимъ образомъ во всемъ краѣ 18 уѣздовъ. Киргизское населеніе, какъ и русское, разбито кромѣ того по волостямъ. Въ Акмолинской обл.—55 волостей, въ Семипалатинской—84, въ Уральской—60, въ Тургайской—54 (?); волости въ свою очередь раздѣлены на *аулы*, а послѣдніе на *юбиики* (юрты). Во главѣ волостей стоятъ выборные киргизы—волостные старшины; они подчинены непосредственно уѣздному начальнику. Кромѣ того въ составъ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской обл. входитъ, какъ самостоятельное административное учрежденіе, *Сибирское казачье войско*, а въ составъ Уральской—*Уральское казачье войско*.

Основаніемъ Сибирскаго казачьяго войска послужили первые военные колонисты края—„крѣпостные казаки", состоявшіе изъ разнаго рода ратныхъ людей—городовыхъ, донскихъ, уральскихъ казаковъ, башкиръ, татаръ, малороссовъ и др. Извѣстный казачій писатель Усовъ такъ характеризовалъ Сибирское войско: „Оно не было, подобно Донскому и Яицкому, самобытнымъ продуктомъ земской колонизаціи окраинъ, но во всеоружіи вышло изъ рукъ администраціи и своимъ существованіемъ совершенно обязано правительству. Эта черта запечатлѣлась на всей его послѣдующей исторіи: во все время его существованія правительство, безъ посредства самого народа, производило въ немъ необходимыя реформы, увеличивало его составъ посредствомъ принудительной колонизаціи; открыло ему способы къ внутреннему естественному размноженію, доставляя женъ изъ ссыльныхъ, преступницъ и освобожденныхъ изъ острогомъ колодницъ; сплотило его изъ различныхъ элементовъ въ однородный организмъ, влило образованіе въ невѣжественную темную массу, дало общественныя учрежденія, мѣстное самоуправленіе; изъ общаго ультра-плебейскаго уровня массы выдвинуло на поверхность путемъ служебной выслуги и научнаго воспитанія привиллегированный классъ личныхъ дворянъ и офицеровъ; возбудило экономическую жизнь и дѣятельность хлѣбопахатную, промышленную, торговую, ремесленную и поставило эту дѣятельность въ опредѣленныя, стѣсняющія рамки въ силу военныхъ требованій отъ казаковъ". Этими немногими словами вполнѣ опредѣляется характеръ Сибирскаго казачьяго войска.

Въ 1808 г. было утверждено положеніе о *Сибирскомъ линейномъ казачьемъ* войскѣ, какъ отдѣльномъ сословіи съ особыми правами, привиллегіями и обязанностями. Въ 1846 г. было введено новое положеніе, которое въ 1861, 69 и 71 г.г. было нѣсколько измѣнено; въ 1880 г. было учреждено новое положеніе о службѣ казаковъ, которое дѣйствуетъ до настоящаго времени. Войско раздѣляется на три военныхъ отдѣла (1-й, 2-й и 3-й); изъ нихъ первые два входятъ въ составъ Акмолинской обл., послѣдній—въ составъ Семипалатинской обл. и части Томской губ. Вѣдѣнію атамановъ отдѣла подлежитъ военное, хозяйственное и администра-

[facing p. 176]

ПЛЕМЕНА
КИРГИЗСКАГО КРАЯ
ГОЛОДНАЯ СТЕПЬ

ГУСТОТА НАСЕЛЕНІЯ
КИРГИЗСКАГО КРАЯ
ГОЛОДНАЯ СТЕПЬ

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тивное управленіе поселками; дѣйствія ихъ подлежатъ наблюденію и руководству войскового правленія и наказного атамана (стоящего генералъ-губернатора). Поселковое управленіе сосредоточено въ поселковыхъ и станичныхъ управленіяхъ, атаманы которыхъ избираются изъ казаковъ. (Въ настоящее время въ войскѣ 173 поселка и 35 станицъ). Войску принадлежитъ (въ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской обл.) болѣе 5 милліоновъ десятинъ (въ томъ числѣ отданная во временное пользованіе „десятиверстная полоса"—около милліона дес.). Земли войска дѣлятся на три типа; юртовые надѣлы (земли станицъ и поселковъ, изъ которыхъ отводится на мужскую душу по 25 дес. удобной земли), потомственные участки офицеровъ и чиновниковъ и запасные (1/2 милл. дес.). Войско имѣетъ свой капиталъ (къ 1895 г. 1.008.536 руб.; за послѣдніе годы, вслѣдствіе неурожаевъ и другихъ причинъ, сумма эта значительно уменьшилась). Войско само ведетъ хозяйство, устраиваетъ школьную и врачебную часть и т. д. Въ мирное время оно обязано выставлять до 3.150 чел., въ военное—до 9.120 чел., вполнѣ снаряженныхъ къ войнѣ.

Уральское казачье войско образовано изъ Яицкаго (въ 1775 г., послѣ участія его въ пугачевскомъ бунтѣ); а 1591 г. считается годомъ основанія войска, какъ организованной военной силы. Въ настоящее время войско дѣлится на три военныхъ отдѣла (1-й Уральскій, 2-й Лбищенскій и 3-й Гурьевскій), управляемыхъ атаманами, которые подчинены, какъ и въ Сибирскомъ—войсковому правленію. Послѣднему принадлежитъ руководящая роль; въ его занятіяхъ принимаетъ участіе и съѣздъ выборныхъ отъ станицъ. Мѣстныя дѣла вѣдаются поселковыми и станичными атаманами (всего 135 поселковъ и 31 станица). Войско ведетъ разнообразное хозяйство (изъ нихъ особеннаго вниманія заслуживаетъ рыбный промыселъ); оно имѣло къ 1899 г. войскового капитала 1.874.303 руб. (изъ нихъ 601.000 р. „нѣтчиноваго" спеціально на снаряженіе казаковъ). Войску принадлежитъ около 6 милл. дес. земли, которая находится въ *общинномъ* пользованіи. Община регулируетъ пользованіе землей, сѣнокосными и другими угодьями, рыбный промыселъ, скотоводство, сборъ ягодъ и др.—вообще такъ или иначе затрагиваетъ всѣ стороны хозяйственной жизни казака. Въ мирное время войско обязано выставлять до 2.500 чел. нижнихъ чиновъ, въ военное—до 8.670 чел. Воинская повинность въ обоихъ войскахъ—одна изъ главныхъ тяготъ, тормозящихъ мирное культурное развитіе казачьяго населенія, такъ какъ до 33 лѣтъ казакъ считается на службѣ и не можетъ свободно заняться хозяйствомъ.

Крестьянское населеніе края въ настоящее время еще не устроено окончательно. Въ первое время крестьянскія поселенія и волости подчинены были наравнѣ съ киргизами уѣзднымъ начальникамъ, затѣмъ для Акмолинской обл. были учреждены особые чиновники по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ, которыхъ замѣнили (съ 1897 г.) крестьянскіе чиновники, а съ 1902 г.—крестьянскіе начальники.

Перейдемъ теперь къ болѣе подробному описанію населенія края.

Насколько Европейская Россія, а въ особенности Западная Европа оживлены тысячами богатыхъ городовъ и селеній съ десятками милліоновъ населенія — настолько безлюдны громадныя пространства Киргизскаго края; на немъ совершенно теряются десятка два городовъ, нѣсколько сотенъ селеній и стоянки киргизъ, съ населеніемъ всего

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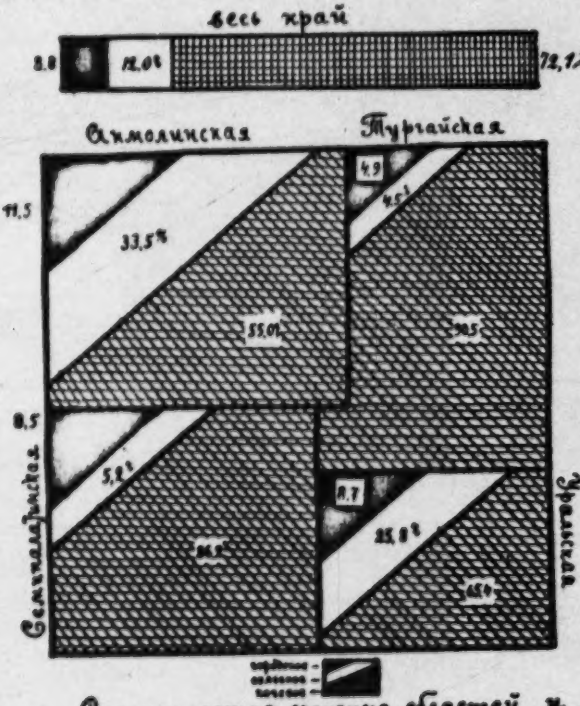
въ 2.643.250 чел., или по 1,6 ж. на 1 кв. вер. По даннымъ 1900 г., населеніе въ краѣ распредѣлялось слѣдующимъ образомъ:

ОБЛАСТИ.	Пространство въ кв. в.	Населеніе.			Жителей на 1 кв. в.
		Осѣдлое.	Кочевое.	Всего.	
Акмолинская . .	479.200	361.770	442.224	803.994	1,6
Семипалатинская	442.245	94.352	591.701	686.053	1,4
Тургайская . . .	400.830	41.224	420.292	461.516	1,1
Уральская. . . .	284.412	238.713	452.974	691.687	2,4
Весь край .	1.606.687	736.059	1.907.191	2.643.250	1,6



Сравнительная величина областей и распредѣленіе въ нихъ городского, сельского и кочевого населенія.

Наибольшее число населенія приходится, какъ мы видимъ, на Акмолинскую область, наименьшее — на Тургайскую; по плотности населенія первое мѣсто занимаетъ Уральская обл., а послѣднее — Тургайская. Въ силу естественно-историческихъ условій населеніе края распредѣлялось въ областяхъ неодинаково: наиболѣе густо населены *сѣверные* уѣзды или, вѣрнѣе, уѣзды, соприкасающіеся съ губерніями Томской и Тобольской въ Сибири, Астраханской, Самарской и Оренбургской — въ Европейской Россіи. Объясняется это тѣмъ, что здѣсь

лежатъ (какъ мы видѣли изъ первой главы) наилучшія по своимъ природнымъ богатствамъ мѣстности, что привлекало какъ аборигеновъ края, такъ и, особенно въ послѣднее время,— переселенцевъ-крестьянъ; имѣло значеніе и то обстоятельство, что прилежащія губерніи населены были гуще, и этотъ избытокъ естественно переходилъ въ предѣлы нашего края (напр. изъ Тобольской губ. въ началѣ 1880-хъ годовъ въ сосѣдніе Петропавловскій и Кустанайскій уѣзды). Наконецъ нельзя не указать и на то, что завоеватели края—служилые люди и вольница, составившіе впослѣдствіи Сибирское и Уральское казачьи войска, начали свои наступательныя дѣйствія именно въ этихъ мѣстахъ, а, завоевавъ край, не разошлись по нему, но осѣли по сѣверной, восточной и западной его окраинамъ. Вотъ почему болѣе плотно населены уѣзды Уральскій, Петропавловскій, Кустанайскій, Семипалатинскій, менѣе—такіе малопригодные, по бѣдности природы, внутренніе уѣзды, какъ Атбасарскій, Иргизскій, Тургайскій, гдѣ не только для осѣдлаго населенія, но и для кочевника условія существованія неблагопріятны. Изъ прилагаемой картограммы видно, какъ неравномѣрно распредѣлено населеніе въ краѣ. Средняя плотность населенія весьма незначительна (1,4 чел.), такъ что съ этой стороны Киргизскій край занимаетъ одно изъ самыхъ послѣднихъ мѣстъ въ Россіи.

Если сравнить современное количество населенія съ тѣмъ, какое было двадцать лѣтъ назадъ, то мы увидимъ, что оно значительно увеличилось:

Области.	1880 г.	1890 г.	1897 г. (по переписи).	1900 г.
Акмолинская	454.205	519.929	682.429	803.994
Семипалатинская . . .	525.979	595.254	686.909	686.053
Уральская	?	?	645.590	691.687
Тургайская	320.070	?	453.691	461.516

Наиболѣе значительный приростъ населенія наблюдается въ Акмолинской области. Объясняется это не столько естественнымъ приростомъ населенія, сколько колонизаціей этой части края. Историческія справки рисуютъ намъ такую картину роста населенія этой области. Въ 1869 г. (годъ образованія области) населеніе ея состояло изъ 101.910 д. русскихъ и 274.750 д. кочевниковъ. Въ 1900 году приростъ осѣдлыхъ равнялся 259.860 д., т. е. 255%, а кочевого—167.474 д., или 61%. Усиленный приростъ населенія замѣчался съ 1879 г., когда населеніе городовъ области съ 50.394 д. возрасло до 92.127, а число крестьянъ съ 1.749 д. до 167.952 д. Приростъ кочевого населенія былъ значительно меньше. Съ 1870 по 1880 г. оно увеличилось на 66 тысячъ; съ 1880 по 1890 г. только на 9.520 д. (благодаря тяжелымъ годамъ), съ 1890 по 1900 г. снова увеличилось на 83.859 д.

Естественное движеніе населенія края за 1900 г. выразилось въ слѣдующихъ цифрахъ:

ОБЛАСТИ.	Браковъ.	Родившихся.	Умершихъ.	Приростъ.
Акмолинская	5.227	30.761	20.984	9.777
Семипалатинская . . .	2.733	15.160	11.529	4.631
Тургайская	3.175	16.441	10.009	6.432
Уральская (за 1899 г.).	1.812	9.110	5.369	3 741

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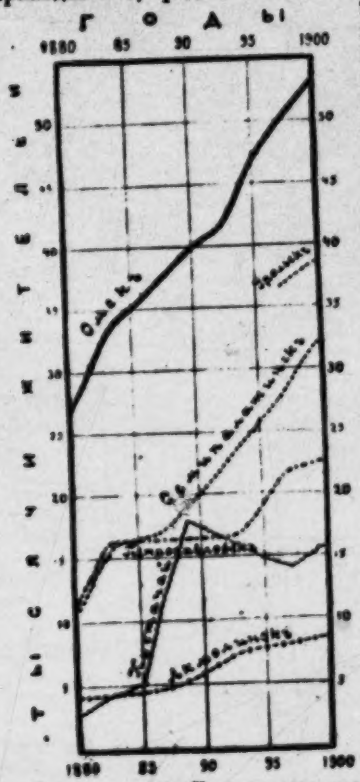
Изъ нихъ видно, что въ отношеніи брачности край стоитъ невысоко (хотя преобладаніе магометанъ, казалось, должно бы ставить край на первое мѣсто). На 100 жителей приходится въ Акмолинской обл.—0,6 брака, въ Семипалатинской—0,4, въ Тургайской - 0,7, въ Уральской—0,8. *Рождаемость* также невелика: на каждые 100 ч. въ Акмолинской обл. приходится 3,6 родившихся, въ Семипалатинской—2,3, въ Тургайской—2,2, въ Уральской—1,8. *Смертность* въ краѣ довольна значительна, особенно въ Акмолинской области, гдѣ на 100 человѣкъ приходилось 2,6 умершихъ; въ Семипалатинской—1,8, въ Тургайской—1,4, въ Уральской—1,7. Естественный приростъ за годъ остается первымъ за Акмолинской обл., гдѣ равняется 1,2; въ Семипалатинской онъ достигаетъ 0,8, въ Тургайской—0,9, въ Уральской—0,6.



Ростъ городовъ Киргизскаго края.

Главная масса осѣдлаго населенія края живетъ въ селеніяхъ; городовъ въ краѣ немного, и городскіе жители составляютъ незначительный процентъ. Въ Акмолинской обл. кромѣ областного города (Омска) существуютъ только четыре города (уѣздныхъ); во всѣхъ живетъ 92 т. ж.; въ Семипалатинской обл. кромѣ областного города есть также только четыре уѣздныхъ и одинъ заштатный, всѣ вмѣстѣ съ населеніемъ въ 58 т.; въ Тургайской—областного города совсѣмъ нѣтъ, а есть только четыре уѣздныхъ съ населеніемъ въ 23 тыс.; въ Уральской—областной, четыре уѣздныхъ и одинъ заштатный, всѣ вмѣстѣ съ населеніемъ около 60 тыс. Всего же въ Киргизскомъ краѣ 3 областныхъ города, 16 уѣздныхъ и 2 заштатныхъ, всѣ вмѣстѣ съ населеніемъ около 234 тысячъ. Отношеніе городского, сельскаго и кочевого населенія (въ процентахъ) показано на діаграммѣ на стр. 178. Городское населеніе, какъ мы видимъ, составляетъ только 8% всего населенія. Такое слабое развитіе городовъ объясняется исторической жизнью края. Современные города суть бывшія крѣпости или возникли изъ военныхъ поселеній, гдѣ сосредоточивались прежде войска, военныя и административныя учрежденія. Но когда войска выводились, военныя учрежденія закрывались, города пустѣли. Городовъ, созданныхъ экономической жизнью края (какъ центры промышленности или торговли), почти не существуетъ, если не считать Петропавловска и Кустаная, гдѣ съ основанія ихъ завелась торговля и промышленность. Ростъ городовъ, по этимъ же причинамъ, былъ

крайне ничтоженъ. Только въ 90-хъ годахъ XIX в., съ усиленіемъ переселенія въ край и особенно съ проведеніемъ Сибирской желѣзной дороги, города на пути ея начинаютъ замѣтно расти и развиваться. На діаграммѣ на стр. 180 показанъ ростъ нѣкоторыхъ сибирскихъ городовъ. Слѣдующій рисунокъ на стр. 181 показываетъ величину городовъ въ тысячахъ и количество мужского и женскаго населенія въ нихъ, по даннымъ 1900 г.

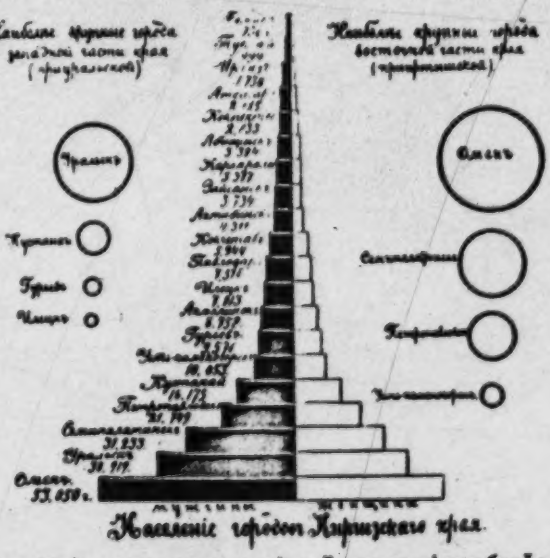
Негородское населеніе края приходится дѣлить на *сельское* и *кочевое*. По даннымъ всеобщей переписи 1897 года, оно распредѣлялось по селеніямъ, ауламъ и стоянкамъ слѣдующимъ образомъ:

ОБЛАСТИ.	Населенныхъ мѣстъ.	Жителей.
Акмолинская	6.552[1])	608.316
Семипалатинская . . .	8.913[1])	634.345
Тургайская	499	430.096
Уральская.	849	582.703
	16.813	2.255.460

Въ 1900 г. русскихъ селеній было:

Въ Акмолинской обл. . .	198	въ нихъ жителей	77.057 ч.
„ Семипалатинской . .	160	„ „ „	47.047 „
„ Тургайской.	30 (?)	„ „ „	21.781 „
„ Уральской	158	„ „ „	172.415 „

По сравненію съ тѣмъ пространствомъ края, на которомъ раскиданы эти селенія,—число ихъ весьма незначительно; въ Акмолинской обл. одно русское селеніе приходится на 2.420 кв. в., въ Семипалатинской — на 2.514 кв. в., въ Тургайской — на 13.361, въ Уральской—на 1.800 кв. в.; если же считать число всѣхъ селеній (и города), то одно селеніе приходится на 95 кв. в. Тѣхъ, кто не знаетъ, что такое киргизское поселеніе, послѣдняя цифра можетъ ввести въ заблужденіе относительно дѣйствительной плотности населенія; въ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской обл., вмѣстѣ, напр., около 13 тысячъ такихъ киргизскихъ поселеній (стоянокъ и ауловъ), гдѣ населенія не болѣе чѣмъ по 50 душъ. Для русскихъ селеній среднимъ можно считать се-

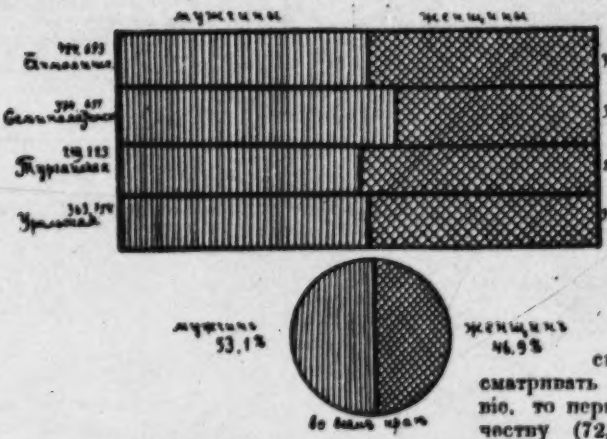


[1]) Въ томъ числѣ мелкія киргизскія стоянки въ 25, 10 и менѣе человѣкъ.

леніе въ 500—800 душъ; селеній въ тысячу жителей и болѣе—очень мало и это исключительно старые поселка.

Распредѣленіе населенія по *полу* (количество мужчинъ и женщинъ) показано на прилагаемой на этой страницѣ діаграммѣ, изъ которой видно, что въ краѣ значительно преобладаетъ *мужской* полъ (53°/₀). Разница эта особенно замѣтна въ Семипалатинской обл., гдѣ на каждыхъ 37 мужчинъ приходится 31 женщина; болѣе равномѣрно распредѣляется по полу населеніе Тургайской обл. (на 24 мужчины—22 женщины).

Распредѣленіе осѣдлаго населенія по *сословіямъ* представлено на слѣдующей діаграммѣ на стр. 183. Изъ нея видно, что первое мѣсто по количеству занимаютъ *крестьяне*, несмотря на то, что они стали заселять край лишь недавно. Наиболѣе крестьянской областью является Акмолинская, гдѣ крестьянъ 54,2°/₀, наименѣе—Уральская (16,8°/₀). Заними идутъ *казаки*; наибольшее число ихъ (относительно другихъ сословій) въ Уральской обл.—(75°/₀), менѣе—въ Акмолинской (25 °/₀); въ Тургайской обл. ихъ совсѣмъ нѣтъ. *Мѣщанъ, дворянъ* и *разночинцевъ* болѣе всего въ Тургайской (48°/₀) и Семипалатинской обл. (41,8°/₀), менѣе — въ Уральской (8,8). Если разсматривать *киргизъ* какъ сословіе, то первое мѣсто по количеству (72,1°/₀) останется за ними, что ясно видно изъ діаграммы. Другія сословія, составляющія въ совокупности 27,9°/₀ населенія во всемъ краѣ, распредѣлены между собою въ такомъ порядкѣ: крестьянъ—37,8°/₀, казаковъ—34,1°/₀, дворянъ, духовенства, купцовъ, мѣщанъ и разночинцовъ—28°/₀.

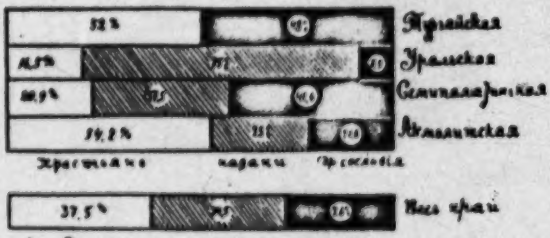


По *вѣроисповѣданію* населеніе края можно разбить на двѣ главныхъ группы: магометанъ и христіанъ; іудеи и язычники составляютъ ничтожный процентъ. *Магометане* (киргизы, татары, сарты, бухарцы) составляютъ въ краѣ 73,8°/₀; *христіане*—26,8°/₀, *іудеи*—0,0°/₀, язычники (калмыки)—0,0°/₀. Изъ христіанъ большинство *православнаго* вѣроисповѣданія; другія христіанскія вѣроисповѣданія представлены небольшимъ числомъ: протестантовъ—0,2°/₀, католиковъ—0,1°/₀.

Сектантовъ и *раскольниковъ*, сравнительно съ общимъ числомъ православныхъ, довольно много. Бо́льшая часть ихъ живетъ въ Уральской области (65.630 ч.); изъ нихъ *пріемлющихъ священство* — 30.360 ч.; одна часть ихъ — „австрійскаго" толка — признаетъ главенство бѣло-

крипицкаго епископа, другая — „московскаго“ толка — признаетъ власть московскихъ епископовъ. *Безпоповцевъ* (непріемлющихъ священства)—до 35 тыс.; бо́льшая часть ихъ признаетъ бракъ, но нѣкоторые не признаютъ. Кромѣ названныхъ есть въ области немного и сектантовъ. Въ Семипалатинской обл. сектантовъ „немоляковъ“, и другихъ—до 1.500 чел.; бо́льшая часть ихъ живетъ въ деревняхъ Усть-Каменогорскаго у. Въ Акмолинской обл. сектантовъ и раскольниковъ — до 4.000 чел.; средоточіемъ ихъ являются Акмолинскій, Омскій и Кокчетавскій у.у. Среди нихъ извѣстна секта „*новыхъ духовныхъ христіанъ*“ или „*новаго израиля*“, по ученію которыхъ люди живутъ теперь во второмъ пришествіи Христа; священства они не признаютъ, иконъ и крестнаго знаменія также. Съ переселеніемъ крестьянъ въ Акмолинскую обл. число раскольниковъ и сектантовъ въ ней увеличилось. Въ Тургайской обл. сектантовъ и раскольниковъ насчитывается всего 120 чел. Такимъ образомъ во всемъ краѣ раскольниковъ и сектантовъ живетъ до 70.700 чел.

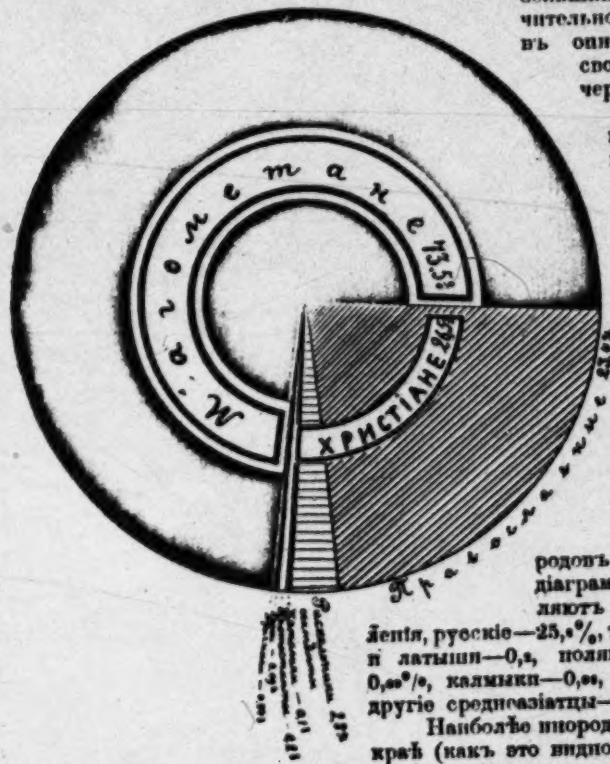
Въ *этнографическомъ* отношеніи Киргизскій край не представляетъ большого разнообразія. Изъ историческаго обзора мы видѣли, что хотя онъ съ древнихъ временъ служилъ „воротами народовъ“, двигавшихся съ востока (изъ внутренней Азіи) на западъ, но всѣ они только *проходили* здѣсь, не осѣдая, а другіе, если и останавливались на болѣе продолжительный срокъ, то непрекращавшіяся волны движенія новыхъ народовъ смывали ихъ „съ лица земли“, не успѣвъ отразить въ себѣ хотя нѣкоторыя черты ихъ жизни. Только появившіяся въ XIII вѣкѣ тюркскія племена прочно осѣли въ предѣлахъ нашего края, образовавъ коренное населеніе—*киргизъ*. Вліяніе этихъ послѣднихъ сказалось на всѣхъ послѣдующихъ народахъ, появившихся въ краѣ. За киргизами появились *монголы* и *джунгары* (калмыки), но ихъ пребываніе было также недолговременнымъ, и они сошли съ исторической арены, не успѣвъ наложить замѣтнаго отпечатка на киргизъ. Наконецъ, съ начала XVI вѣка начинаютъ подвигаться въ край представители славянскаго племени—великоруссы различныхъ оттѣнковъ на сѣверѣ, великоруссы и малоруссы—на сѣверо-западѣ. Это движеніе не только не прекратилось, но еще усилилось въ наши дни; къ нему прибавились еще латыши и эстонцы.



Относительное количество христіанъ, казаковъ и др. сословій въ %.

Въ послѣдующемъ описаніи мы остановимся главнымъ образомъ на описаніи коренного населенія края—киргизахъ, какъ господствующаго народа въ краѣ и представляющаго въ этнографическомъ отношеніи вполнѣ опредѣленную группу. *Русское* старожильское населеніе края въ этнографическомъ отношеніи можно разсматривать только какъ особую областную разновидность великоруссъ. О великоруссахъ,

малоруссахъ, латышахъ и эстонцахъ, поселившихся въ краѣ недавно, мы ограничимся лишь общими замѣчаніями, такъ какъ ни въ физическомъ, ни въ бытовомъ отношеніи они не успѣли еще слишкомъ уклониться отъ своего первоначальнаго типа на родинѣ (гдѣ они и описываются подробно), да къ тому-же и изслѣдованій этихъ областныхъ разновидностей было далеко недостаточно. На описаніи евреевъ, поляковъ, бухарцевъ, сартовъ мы не будемъ совершенно останавливаться какъ потому, что ихъ слишкомъ мало, такъ и потому, что большинство ихъ въ значительной мѣрѣ утратили въ описываемомъ краѣ свои національныя черты и образъ жизни.



Распредѣленіе племенъ, населяющихъ край, представлено на прилагаемой картограммѣ.

Изъ нея видно, что большая часть края занята *киргизами*; затѣмъ идутъ *великоруссы* и *малоруссы*, *татары*, *эстонцы* и *латыши*, *поляки*, *евреи*, *калмыки* и др. Количественное отношеніе этихъ народовъ представлено на діаграммѣ; *киргизы* составляютъ 73,4% всего населенія, русскіе—25,4%, татары—1,4, эстонцы и латыши—0,2, поляки—0,16%, евреи—0,09%, калмыки—0,08, сарты, бухарцы и другіе среднеазіатцы—0,09%.

Наиболѣе инородческой областью въ краѣ (какъ это видно изъ діаграммы распредѣленія городского, сельскаго и кочевого населенія) является Тургайская обл. и Семипалатинская, наименѣе—Уральская и Акмолинская. Опредѣлить точно количество киргизъ, русскихъ и др., при теперешнемъ по оженіи областной статистики въ краѣ, не представляется возможнымъ (что признается и губернаторскими отчетами); діаграмма показываетъ только приблизительное соотношеніе этихъ народностей.

Перейдемъ теперь къ описанію представителей русской народности въ краѣ—*сибиряка-крестьянина* и *сибиряка-казака*.

Типъ сибиряка (въ предѣлахъ нашего края) вырабатывался вте-

ченіе болѣе трехсотъ лѣтъ, и этого достаточно, чтобы мѣстная жизнь наложила на него своеобразныя черты, по которымъ его можно выдѣлить въ особый *областной* этнографическій типъ.

Кто были родоначальниками его—установить трудно, такъ какъ первые русскіе колонисты представляли сбродъ вольницы; несомнѣнно, что среди нея были и великоруссы, и малоруссы, и поляки. Съ первыхъ-же лѣтъ появленія въ краѣ они вошли въ тѣсное соприкосновеніе съ инородцами—татарами, киргизами и калмыками, неизбѣжнымъ результатомъ чего явились метисація, перемѣны въ образѣ жизни, привычкахъ, нравахъ и т. д.; все это, конечно, оставило глубокій слѣдъ какъ на физическомъ обликѣ, такъ и на всемъ складѣ жизни русскихъ колонистовъ-завоевателей. Этому благопріятствовала некультурность самихъ колонизаторовъ и нѣкоторыя другія историческія причины. Такъ, метисація многимъ обязана тому обстоятельству, что первые колонизаторы, какъ люди военные, не имѣли при себѣ женъ. Администрація, желая закрѣпить ихъ семьей на пограничной линіи, должна была озаботиться подысканіемъ имъ женъ, каковыя и набирались партіями изъ гулящихъ и всякихъ другихъ женщинъ; но и этихъ не хватало; желающимъ приходилось брать киргизокъ и жить съ ними. Нечего и говорить о томъ, что тогдашніе нравы и обстоятельства дозволяли казакамъ имѣть много женъ и часто мѣнять ихъ.

Насколько сильно развилось кровосмѣшеніе пограничнаго русскаго населенія съ инородцами (главнымъ образомъ съ киргизами)—можно судить потому, что тобольскій митрополитъ неразъ обращался въ Москву съ указаніемъ на крайнее распутство пограничнаго населенія и просилъ о самыхъ рѣшительныхъ мѣрахъ къ уничтоженію этого „грѣха".

Но подобныя попытки не прекратили метисаціи, и она продолжала существовать. Большую роль въ выработкѣ физическаго типа и характера оказали, конечно, и природныя условія страны, а также историческія, при которыхъ складывалась жизнь первыхъ колонистовъ. Жизнь въ дикой степной странѣ, съ холодной зимой, жаркимъ и сухимъ лѣтомъ, жизнь въ особыхъ соціально-экономическихъ условіяхъ, вдали

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

отъ непосредственнаго правительственнаго режима, жизнь въ роли привиллегированнаго (казачьяго) сословія, и т. п.,—все это не могло не способствовать выработкѣ изъ великоруссa или малоруссa особаго областного типа—*сибиряка-степняка*.

Характеристика сибиряка, сдѣланная этнографами (напр. Щаповымъ и Ядринцевымъ), во многомъ приложима къ живущимъ въ нашемъ краю крестьянамъ и казакамъ.

Въ *физическомъ* отношеніи этотъ типъ не можетъ назваться красивымъ: коренастый, средняго роста, смуглый, съ грубыми, круглыми чертами лица, съ черными глазами и волосами, съ медлительными или урывчатыми движеніями, онъ производитъ на первый взглядъ невыгодное впечатлѣніе; только, ближе столкнувшись, забываешь о первомъ впечатлѣніи. Женщины также смуглы, съ неправильными чертами лица; но среди нихъ встрѣчается много симпатичныхъ.

Разговоръ лѣнивъ, апатиченъ, но безъ легкомыслія, отрывчатъ и малословенъ. Выговоръ отличается грубостью произношенія и однообразіемъ тона; звуки выговариваются нечисто (гортанно), вѣроятно благодаря вліянію киргизскаго выговора; особеннаго выдѣленія нѣкоторыхъ гласныхъ звуковъ нѣтъ. Вліяніе киргизскаго языка сказалось непосредственно: съ малыхъ лѣтъ большинство казаковъ и многіе изъ крестьянъ говорятъ свободно по киргизски и даже употребляютъ его въ обиходной рѣчи. Интеллектуальныя способности соотвѣтствуютъ физическимъ особенностямъ: мысль работаетъ спокойно и медленно; разсужденія даются трудно, они коротки и отрывчаты. Идеалистическое настроеніе посѣщаетъ сибиряка рѣдко; умъ болѣе направленъ на матеріальное; утилитарныя побужденія берутъ перевѣсъ надъ идеалистическими. Религіозность и мистичность въ населеніи большей части края отсутствуетъ, особенно среди казачьяго населенія; расколъ и сектанство, несмотря на благопріятныя условія, распространяются въ краѣ медленно (увеличеніе ихъ происходитъ главнымъ образомъ черезъ естественный приростъ семей или вновь прибывшихъ); повидимому религіозные вопросы мало интересуютъ и затрагиваютъ теперешняго казака и крестьянина.

На сибиряка дѣйствовала не столько историческая жизнь, сколько окружавшая его первобытная природа и жизнь инородца; онѣ открывали широкій просторъ его натурѣ, позволяя развернуться индивидуальности, все равно, было-ли это направлено на использованіе богатствъ края собственнымъ трудомъ, или на извлеченіе выгодъ изъ своего положенія путемъ утѣсненія и обиранія инородцевъ; это была новая жизнь для колонизаторовъ, незнакомая на родинѣ. Здѣшніе крестьяне и казаки не были никогда забиты и угнетены, какъ многіе крестьяне Европейской Россіи; отсутствіе крѣпостного права, вольность, отсутствіе стѣсненій и ограниченій въ образѣ жизни и другія условія выработали въ нихъ независимый, даже подчасъ неспокойный характеръ. Яркой иллюстраціей этого можетъ служить вольная колонизація ими Алтая (см. предыдущую главу). Будь эти колонизаторы культурнѣе—жизнь края вылилась-бы въ болѣе совершенныя формы, близкія къ тѣмъ, какія создались, при такихъ-же условіяхъ, при колонизаціи Сѣверной Америки. Но условія русской жизни не благопріятствовали этому; тогдашняя русская жизнь способствовала укорененію въ населеніи лишь

хищническихъ инстинктовъ; начала общественности и мирной культурной работы подавлялись ими.

Здѣшніе крестьяне и казаки менѣе консервативны, чѣмъ крестьяне губерній Европейской Россіи; нововведенія въ хозяйствѣ, домашнемъ обиходѣ принимаются ими охотно, и съ этой стороны между ними и городскими мѣщанами нѣтъ такой разницы, какъ въ Европейской Россіи.

Между крестьянами-старожилами и казаками ни въ физическомъ, ни въ бытовомъ отношеніи рѣзкой разницы нѣтъ (напр. въ Кокчетавскомъ у.), такъ-какъ часть казаковъ образована черезъ присоединеніе

Сибирскіе казаки Кокчетавскаго уѣзда изъ татаръ.

нѣсколькихъ крестьянскихъ деревень. Только тамъ, гдѣ крестьяне и казаки соприкасаются менѣе (напр. въ Петропавловскомъ, Усть-Каменогорскомъ у.у.), разница между ними становится замѣтнѣе. Особенностью казака можно считать только нѣкоторыя черты, напр., меньшую податливость къ нововведенію въ хозяйствѣ и меньшую привязанность къ труду; но это происходитъ не потому, что они крѣпко держатся за старину, а только потому, что, по складу характера и всей своей полувоенной жизни, они менѣе привязаны къ труду. Въ сибирскомъ казакѣ еще до сихъ поръ не искоренилось предубѣжденіе противъ „чернаго" труда—земледѣлія, которымъ онъ не любитъ заниматься и при первой возможности прибѣгаетъ къ наемной рабочей силѣ. Проглядываетъ нелюбовь казака и къ другимъ отраслямъ труда. Въ семьѣ сибирскаго казака веденіе хозяйства лежитъ болѣе всего на женщинахъ и на наемныхъ рабочихъ. Эту не-

любовь къ хозяйству слѣдуетъ объяснять историческими условіями, въ силу которыхъ казаку приходилось вести полуосѣдлую жизнь, проводить ее на военной службѣ; даже въ настоящее время военная служба требуетъ поголовнаго служенія мужчинъ въ строю и въ строевомъ запасѣ до 33 лѣтъ, отнимая у семьи главныхъ работниковъ и отучая ихъ отъ хозяйства. Это настолько вошло въ плоть и кровь казаковъ, что многіе изъ нихъ и теперь смотрятъ на себя прежде всего какъ на „слугу царскаго", у котораго на первомъ планѣ не хозяйство, а служба, забота не о томъ, чтобы лучше пашню пахать, а о томъ, чтобы умѣть шашкой гладѣть. Эти условія сказались конечно и на характерѣ казака. Онъ держитъ, напримѣръ, себя свысока съ крестьянами, которыхъ считаетъ ниже себя только потому, что они—„мужики", возятся съ землей; на киргиза смотритъ презрительно, называя „собакой", и считаетъ излишнимъ имѣть съ нимъ равныя отношенія; обмануть, выругать ни за что—обыкновенныя явленія. „Цивилизуется" казакъ болѣе всего на службѣ („въ отрядѣ"). Но эта „цивилизація" чисто внѣшняя и, если можно такъ выразиться,—спеціально казачья: казакъ умѣетъ непринужденно держать себя съ начальствомъ, вести спеціальный разговоръ, критиковать даже распоряженія начальства и т. д., но вдумчиваго отношенія къ жизни, стремленія къ образованію и любознательности вообще—мало, а предпріимчивость развита менѣе, нежели въ крестьянахъ.

При одинаковыхъ условіяхъ крестьянамъ удается устроиться лучше, чѣмъ казакамъ; преимущество это берется главнымъ образомъ той способностью къ усидчивому, тяжелому труду, которая исторически выработалась въ крестьянинѣ и которая совершенно отсутствуетъ въ казакѣ. Вотъ почему въ Усть-Каменогорскомъ у., напр., крестьяне, живущіе рядомъ съ казачьими поселками, значительно богаче казаковъ, хотя послѣдніе имѣютъ лучшіе и болѣе значительные участки земли.

Въ общемъ условія природныя и историческія были однако для русскихъ колонизаторовъ богатой почвой, на которой культивировались энергичные и предпріимчивые характеры.

Теперь остановимся нѣсколько подробнѣе на образѣ жизни казаковъ и крестьянъ.

Поселенія сибирскихъ казаковъ (Киргизскаго края) представляютъ изъ себя три-четыре ряда домовъ съ неправильными улицами и кварталами. Общій видъ поселка невзраченъ; недомовитость казака видается на каждомъ шагу; видны небрежность въ постройкѣ, отсутствіе заботъ о внѣшнемъ порядкѣ и т. д. Обычный типъ строенія—пятистѣнный домъ, одна половина котораго („горница") чистая, для пріема гостей; дома съ небольшими и немногими окнами и деревянной крышей весьма рѣдки. Дворъ при домѣ большой, обнесенъ таловымъ плетнемъ (въ лѣсистыхъ мѣстахъ досчатый) раздѣляется на двѣ половины: одна при домѣ—чистая, другая—пригонъ для скота; въ ней-же дѣлаются плетеныя стойки или навѣсы для защиты скота отъ морова. Внутренность чистой комнаты содержится въ порядкѣ; стѣны или бѣлятся, или обиваются обоями. Принадлежностью такой комнаты, кромѣ мебели, являются: зеркало съ накинутымъ расшитымъ полотенцемъ, тряпичные половики, ящики съ одеждой и лубочныя картины военнаго или любовнаго содержанія. Богатые казаки обставляютъ себя по городски: вѣнская и

мягкая мебель, трюмо, ташкентскіе ковры, портьеры, сравнительно хорошія картины, музыкальные инструменты—не рѣдкость.

Одежда казака—трехъ родовъ. Повседневнымъ костюмомъ можно считать бешметъ или халатъ киргизскаго покроя, только съ менѣе длинными рукавами, обыкновенно подпоясываемый широкой лентой цвѣтной матеріи или тканой опояской. Цвѣтъ халата чаще коричневый или въ киргизскомъ вкусѣ—съ узорами и цвѣтами. Въ праздники нѣкоторые носятъ пиджаки домашняго покроя и только немногіе одѣваютъ казачью форму—длиннополый однобортный сюртукъ съ наплечниками изъ краснаго сукна. Молодые парни ходятъ въ цвѣтныхъ рубахахъ, вышитыхъ

Сибирскіе казаки изъ мордвы.

нитками или гарусомъ. Головной уборъ—всегда картузъ или обыкновенная казачья фуражка. Зимній костюмъ состоитъ изъ того-же бешмета, но болѣе толсто стеганнаго, на шерсти, или-же дубленой овечьей шубы; на ногахъ—ичиги, на головѣ—мѣховыя шапки татарскаго покроя, иногда и киргизскій малахай. Нижній костюмъ состоитъ изъ широкой и длинной холстяной, чаще ситцевой рубашки, широкихъ и короткихъ штановъ. Женскій костюмъ отличается отъ костюма мѣщанокъ мало. Обыкновенный костюмъ состоитъ изъ обтяжной или свободной кофты и широкой юбки; головы повязываютъ платкомъ и шалью; женщины въ праздничныхъ случаяхъ одѣваютъ наколки или косынки. Русскій сарафанъ и кокошникъ неизвѣстны коренныхъ казачкамъ; бусы,

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

серьги, кольца и браслеты обычны. Большинство носитъ мужскіе сапоги. Болѣе зажиточныя казачки (не говоря о казакахъ) одѣваются по городскому. Верхняя одежда лѣтомъ—жакетка домашняго покроя, зимой—прямыя шубы. Алтайскія казачки часто носятъ лѣтомъ мужской костюмъ, такъ какъ въ немъ удобнѣе работать (ѣздить верхомъ на лошади) въ горахъ.

Питаніе казака простое; онъ знаетъ обѣдъ изъ одного блюда—мясной похлебки (чаще изъ баранины) и молоко; прииртышскіе много питаются рыбой (въ разныхъ видахъ); каши рѣдки, картофель и зелень довольно обыкновенны. Большую роль играетъ въ питаніи казака кирпичный чай, безъ котораго, какъ и безъ водки, не обходится ни одно семейное празднество; чай употребляется крѣпкій, въ прикуску съ сахаромъ. Хлѣбъ—преимущественно пшеничный (ржаной очень рѣдокъ); водка въ большомъ употребленіи; на Алтаѣ приготовляется медовое хмельное пиво, которое замѣняетъ вино.

О занятіяхъ казака мы уже говорили. Обязанности службы не даютъ большого простора для развитія производительныхъ силъ казачьяго населенія. Земледѣліе, какъ требующее большой затраты труда, не пользуется его любовью и если заводится, то почти всегда съ наемными рабочими—киргизами; торговля скотомъ и товарами или даже перекупнымъ хлѣбомъ, благодаря такимъ нетребовательнымъ и податливымъ покупателямъ, каковы киргизы, предпочитается, какъ болѣе легкое и выгодное занятіе. Лучшими хлѣбопашцами считаются казаки Кокчетавскаго уѣзда (бывшіе крестьяне).

Скотоводовъ много по Иртышу и въ степныхъ уѣздахъ (Акмолинскомъ и Атбасарскомъ), гдѣ этому способствуютъ и природныя условія; нѣкоторые изъ нихъ имѣютъ десятки и даже сотни тысячъ капиталъ отъ этого занятія. Иртышскіе (и немногіе изъ кокчетавскихъ) казаки занимаются рыболовствомъ; но оно ведется довольно первобытнымъ образомъ и не составляетъ самостоятельнаго промысла, служа только подспорьемъ; рыбалка, какъ промыселъ существуетъ лишь на оз. *Зайсанѣ*, гдѣ собираются немногочисленныя рыбачьи семьи. На Алтаѣ у казаковъ ведется пчеловодство, но оно поставлено хуже и не даетъ такихъ результатовъ, какъ у рядомъ живущихъ крестьянъ. Казачки принимаютъ въ веденіи хозяйства одинаковое участіе съ мужчинами; а такія отрасли, какъ огородничество, бахчеводство, табаководство, уходъ за скотиной—ведется исключительно ими.

Громадное большинство сибирскихъ казаковъ (96%)—*православные*; небольшая часть—староверы: пріемлющіе священство и непріемлющіе, а также сектанты; магометанъ среди казаковъ 3% (они живутъ въ Кокчетавскомъ у.). Набожностью казаки не отличаются, можетъ быть потому, что церковные приходы состоятъ изъ нѣсколькихъ поселковъ, разбросанныхъ на большомъ разстояніи, такъ что церковную службу и священника казаки видятъ рѣдко (болѣе половины поселковъ не имѣютъ церквей). Обряды исполняются исправно, посты соблюдаются, особенно женщинами. Во время мѣстныхъ бѣдствій (засухи, пожаровъ и т. п.), казаки мало прибѣгаютъ къ общественнымъ *молебнамъ*, причемъ молебны носятъ не особенно усердный характеръ. Вообще казаки переносятъ общественныя бѣды довольно апатично, не ропщутъ на судьбу,

не ищутъ такого утѣшенія въ молитвѣ, какъ крестьяне; ихъ повидимому не покидаетъ увѣренность въ хорошемъ походѣ.

Суевѣрія среди казаковъ распространены менѣе, нежели среди крестьянъ.

Изъ *обрядовъ* наибольшей сложностью отличаются *свадьбы*. Законная свадьба, т. е. не убѣгомъ, а съ согласія родителей слагается изъ слѣдующихъ моментовъ: сватовства, заручения (рукобитья), дѣвичника, бранья, большого, похмельнаго и другихъ столовъ. Въ сватовствѣ участвуютъ отецъ, мать и ближніе родственники жениха вмѣстѣ съ по-

Казаки—калмыки Уральской области.

слѣднимъ; дѣло ведетъ бойкая сваха. Отецъ невѣсты отвѣта отъ себя обыкновенно не даетъ, а проситъ подождать рѣшенія своего родственнаго совѣта; рѣшеніе послѣдняго сообщается невѣстѣ, а, при согласіи ея, извѣщаются родители жениха. Послѣ этого являются къ невѣстѣ сваты и свахи и дарятъ родителей невѣсты. Вечеромъ у невѣсты собираются родственники, приглашаются сваты, женихъ и его родители; всѣ они угощаютъ родственниковъ невѣсты виномъ, а женихъ дѣлаетъ подарокъ невѣстѣ (ситецъ на платье). Послѣ этого обыкновенно поются свадебныя пѣсни, вродѣ такой:

Заручена красна дѣвица,
Любезна наша подруженька (имя),
Заручилъ-то тебя родимый батюшка
За удалого добра молодца (имя).

Тутъ же рѣшаются подробности свадьбы (сколько времени гулять, у кого и т. д.); родители жениха послѣ этого берутъ иногда у родителей невѣсты подписку, что они не откажутся отъ свадьбы. Съ этого времени въ домѣ невѣсты начинаются сборища молодежи обоего пола, которая веселится, а невѣста оплакиваетъ свое дѣвичество, прощается съ родными, „съ трубчатой косой—дѣвичьей красотой". Затѣмъ назначается дѣвичникъ, во время котораго невѣста и дѣвушки идутъ въ баню, а въ домъ невѣсты пріѣзжаютъ женихъ, сваты и др. родственники жениха; они угощаютъ родителей и родственниковъ невѣсты; когда приходитъ невѣста, то женихъ обязанъ дарить и ее (серьгами, головнымъ убоpомъ), а родственники его—родителей, сестеръ и братьевъ невѣсты. Послѣ этого ѣдутъ всѣ къ жениху, гдѣ происходитъ также обильное угощенье. Во все время дѣвушки поютъ пѣсни жениху, невѣстѣ, дружкѣ, свахѣ и др., за которыя послѣдніе обязаны дарить ихъ деньгами.

Наканунѣ вѣнчанья происходитъ омовенье жениха и всѣхъ, кто составляетъ съ нимъ свадебный поѣздъ; обставляется это нѣкоторыми церемоніями. На слѣдующій день женихъ получаетъ благословеніе родителей (во время котораго происходитъ обыкновенно пальба изъ ружей). Дружка выводитъ его и провожатыхъ на дворъ, гдѣ происходитъ прощаніе и благословеніе отъѣзжающихъ. У невѣсты, при входѣ въ домъ, читается три раза „Іисусова молитва", послѣ чего отецъ невѣсты впускаетъ поѣздъ въ комнаты; невѣста сидитъ за столомъ, окруженная родными (братомъ и сестрой) и дѣвицами, которые не пускаютъ пріѣзжихъ къ невѣстѣ. Дружка, шутя, начинаетъ пугать ихъ плетью, но получаетъ отвѣтъ, что получитъ невѣсту только тогда, когда задаритъ ихъ. Дружка даритъ и угощаетъ ихъ, послѣ чего они выходятъ изъ-за стола, а вмѣсто нихъ садятся женихъ и всѣ прибывшіе; начинается снова угощеніе и дареніе родныхъ невѣсты; дѣвушки поютъ прощальныя пѣсни, напр.:

Разлучаютъ (имя)
Со всѣмъ родомъ, со всѣмъ племенемъ,
Что со батюшкой, со матушкой,
Что съ братцемъ—яснымъ соколомъ...
Не клади (имя),
Не клади пени-жалобы
Ни на отца, ни мать свою...
Какъ чужая-то сторонушка
Она горюшкомъ усѣяна и т. д.

Затѣмъ родители благословляютъ молодыхъ; дружка выводитъ ихъ и усаживаетъ въ экипажъ; послѣ чего, читая „воскресную молитву", обходитъ три раза вокругъ экипажа, чтобы отогнать нечистую силу; затѣмъ уже ѣдутъ въ церковь. По пріѣздѣ въ домъ жениха молодые снова благословляются родителями, затѣмъ свахи расплетаютъ у молодой косу, подаютъ обоимъ зеркало и заставляютъ цѣловаться. Потомъ молодые уходятъ въ спальню; остаются они тамъ недолго, послѣ чего начинается уже полное веселье. Во время угощенія молодою отца, послѣдній „кладетъ" ей приданое—лошадь, корову и т. д.; тоже дѣлаетъ мать и родители молодого. Такъ составляются ихъ приданое. На другой день, а также и на слѣдующіе бываютъ „похмельный столъ" и другія гуляньки. Благодаря такимъ церемоніямъ и обычаю обязательно дарить въ извѣстныхъ

Урялскіе заманы.

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

случаяхъ, свадьба обходится среднему казаку въ сто и болѣе рублей [1]). Совершаются браки чаще въ молодомъ возрастѣ, причемъ экономическіе разсчеты играютъ видную роль. *Разводъ* допускается въ очень рѣдкихъ случаяхъ, но случаи ухода женъ отъ мужей и сожительство мужей—явленія довольно обыкновенныя. Положеніе женщины въ семьѣ довольно сносное, благодаря самостоятельному веденію ею нѣкоторыхъ отраслей хозяйства (огородничество, маслодѣліе и др.).

Раздѣлы въ семьѣ совершаются довольно часто; большія семьи у казаковъ рѣдки; „старики" или сходъ въ дѣлежъ не вмѣшиваются; все дѣло рѣшаютъ отецъ и мать. При дѣлежѣ братьевъ въ спорныхъ случаяхъ прибѣгаютъ къ жребію.

Тяжелый трудъ въ жизни казака, какъ мы уже упоминали выше, не занимаетъ такого положенія, какъ у русскаго крестьянина; „тяготой" является воинская повинность, которая требуетъ отъ казака полнаго снаряженія (на сумму 150—200 руб.); если въ семьѣ нѣсколько мужчинъ, то снаряженіе ихъ ставитъ семейство иногда въ безвыходное положеніе. Вотъ почему у казаковъ отсутствуетъ въ бытовыхъ пѣсняхъ „тягота земельная", составляющая характерную черту крестьянскихъ пѣсенъ, а главное мѣсто отводится событіямъ военной службы, въ которой проходила прежде вся жизнь казака; да они и теперь еще накладываютъ на нее замѣтный отпечатокъ. Однѣ изъ пѣсенъ воспѣваютъ удаль и безпечность казака, напр.:

Мы давно сжились съ степями
И давно привыкли къ нимъ
Перетъ дикими ордами
Мы не въ первый разъ стоимъ и т. д.

или:

Вспомнимъ братцы про былое,
Какъ мы въ оны времена
Крѣпко бились, брали съ бою
У коканцевъ знамена....
Гремитъ слава трубою,
Мы дралися за Царьевъ;
Но хозяинъ тюнимъ, Чиназъ,
Разнеслась слава про насъ и т. д.

Изъ старинныхъ военныхъ пѣсенъ въ большомъ ходу „Старый пушкарь":

Рано утромъ весной
На рассвѣтъ крѣпостной
Рать поднялся пушкарь восѣдѣлый,
Брякнулъ сабли кольцомъ,
Дернулъ синимъ усомъ
И раздулъ свой фитиль догорѣлый и т. д.

Въ другихъ пѣсняхъ, позднѣйшихъ, проглядываетъ уже недовольство теперешней службой, отрицательныя стороны которой даютъ себя чувствовать, особенно семейнымъ и бѣднымъ. Такова, напр., пѣсня казачки, оставшейся одинокой послѣ ухода мужа въ отрядъ:

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[1]) Интересно, что почти въ такую-же сумму обходится свадьба сравнительно болѣе бѣднымъ крестьянамъ центральной земледѣльческой полосы Европейской Россіи. *Ред.*

Погасло солнце за горой,
Сидитъ казачка у дверей,
Она сидитъ и горько плачетъ
И льются слезы изъ очей и т. д.

или:

Соберитесь мы казаченьки
Во единый во кружокъ.
Запоемте мы казаченьки
Пѣсню нову про себя.
Хорошо житье казаченькамъ,
Только служба тяжела.
Ходя наѣдимся, стоя выспимся и т. д.

Изъ историческихъ пѣсенъ въ большомъ ходу „пѣсня Ермака" (слова Рылѣева), которую казаки поютъ съ особеннымъ увлеченіемъ:

Гремѣла буря, ложь шумѣлъ,
Во мракѣ молніи блистали,
Безпрерывно громъ гремѣлъ
И вѣтры въ дебряхъ бушевали...
Ко славѣ страстію дыша,
Въ странѣ суровой и угрюмой
На дикомъ брегѣ Иртыша
Сидѣлъ Ермакъ, объятый думой.
Товарищи его трудовъ,
Побѣдъ и громозвучной славы
Среди раскинутыхъ шатровъ
Безпечно спали близь дубравы...
Кто жизни не щадилъ своей
Въ разбояхъ злато добывая,
Тотъ думалъ будетъ-ли о ней,
За Русь святую погибая и т. д.

Однообразіе пѣсенъ, воспѣвающихъ главнымъ образомъ удаль казаковъ, какъ нельзя болѣе передаетъ главную характерную черту казачества, указывая въ то-же время на отсутствіе въ ихъ жизни болѣе глубокаго содержанія. „Тягота военная" дѣйствуетъ не только непосредственно при снаряженіи, но и на всю жизнь казака. Экономическое положеніе казаковъ, несмотря на богатство лучшими земельными участками, незавидно.

Въ составъ казаковъ входятъ, кромѣ преобладающихъ великоруссовъ: малоруссы (около 6 %), мордва (5 %), бѣлоруссы (3 %), киргизы (1 %), татары (1 %) и въ незначительномъ числѣ черемисы, чуваши, пермяки, вотяки, зыряне и др. Но эти племена въ значительной степени утратили свои національныя черты, а послѣдніе (черемисы и др.) совершенно ассимилировались съ коренным народомъ—великоруссами.

Какъ этнографическую разновидность, можно разсматривать и *уральскихъ* казаковъ.

Историческія условія ихъ жизни во многомъ сходны съ такими у сибирскихъ казаковъ, благодаря чему въ характерѣ и образѣ жизни уральцевъ много сходства съ сибирскими казаками. Родоначальницей уральцевъ была вольница—бѣглые крестьяне (великоруссы, малоруссы) раскольники, донскіе и волжскіе казаки, поляки, а позже даже татары и калмыки. Эта вольница была проникнута стремленіемъ создать свой, независимо отъ правительства, независимую жизнь, сохранивъ свои обычаи, порядки и свободу. Это горячее и упорное стремленіе къ свободѣ и вол-

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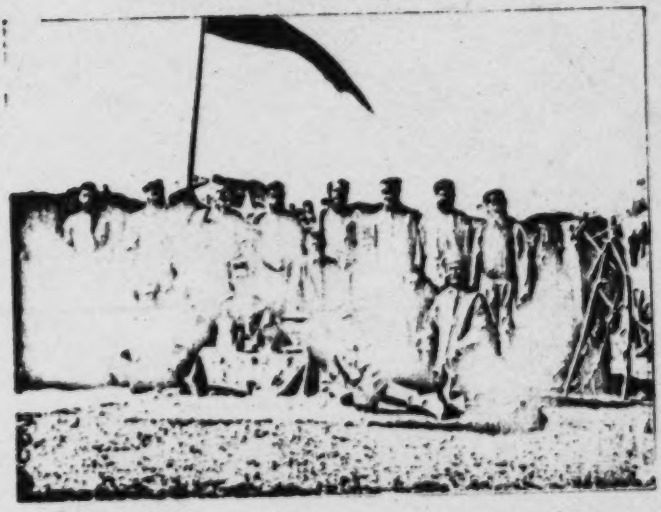
ности, а съ другой—безпрерывныя, втеченіе почти трехсотъ лѣтъ, столкновенія съ сосѣдями, наложили на уральца замѣтный отпечатокъ, опредѣливъ въ значительной мѣрѣ его теперешній характеръ и образъ жизни. При общемъ сходствѣ характера жизни уральцевъ и сибиряковъ-казаковъ, жизнь первыхъ проходила однако въ болѣе сложной обстановкѣ. Уральцы съ первыхъ-же лѣтъ занялись мирнымъ промысломъ—рыболовствомъ, которое, составляя главный источникъ ихъ благосостоянія, какъ у крестьянъ земледѣліе, наложило на ихъ жизнь глубокія черты. Бытовыя пѣсни отводятъ много мѣста восхваленію мѣста главнаго рыболовства—р. *Урала*—„Яикушки, сына Горыновича". Одна изъ нихъ, наиболѣе любимая казаками, начинается такъ:

Яикъ ты нашъ, Яикушка,
Яикъ, сынъ Горыновичъ!
Про тебя-ли, про Яикушку
Идетъ слава добрая
Про тебя-ли про Горыныча
Идетъ рѣчь хорошая:
Золочено у Яикушки
Его было донышко,
Серебряны у Яикушки
Его были краешки,
Жемчужные у Горыныча
Его круты бережки и т. д.



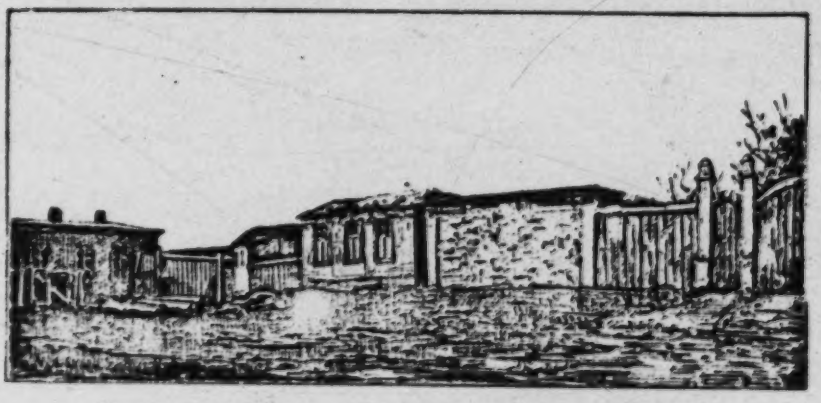
Осенняя плавня уральскихъ казаковъ: плавный атаманъ, братъ и войсковые депутаты.

Живя на окраинѣ, почти совершенно независимо отъ центральной власти и вдали отъ общерусской жизни, уральцы не оставались однако безучастными къ крупнымъ явленіямъ русской политической жизни; достаточно указать на ихъ двуличную роль въ междуцарствіе и на большое участіе ихъ въ пугачевскомъ бунтѣ. Преданія о Пугачевѣ, пѣсни и сказанія, связанныя съ этимъ событіемъ, эти „крупицы, оставшіяся отъ старинного пированія", по выраженію уральскаго бытописателя Же-

лѣзнова, распространены и теперь въ народѣ, что говоритъ о томъ, что въ характерѣ и складѣ жизни казаковъ отмѣченное явленіе нашло благопріятную почву. Ничего подобнаго въ средѣ сибирскихъ казаковъ не замѣчалось.

Народный эпосъ у уральцевъ также богаче, чѣмъ у казаковъ сибирскихъ (по крайней мѣрѣ если судить объ этомъ по имѣющимся литературнымъ даннымъ). Правда и въ немъ удаль и молодечество казаковъ занимаютъ центральную роль, но отведено немало мѣста и чисто бытовымъ особенностямъ (часть такихъ преданій, сказаній и пѣсенъ собраны Желѣзновымъ).

Въ *физическомъ* отношеніи уралецъ частью (въ особенности, когда въ немъ есть примѣсь киргизской крови) подходитъ къ сибиряку, а частью значительно отличается отъ него. Среди уральцевъ можно подмѣтить два характерныхъ типа: одинъ—коренастые, невысокіе,



Типы построекъ въ южныхъ станицахъ уральскихъ казаковъ.
(*По фот. Вен. П. Семенова*).

круглолицые, свѣтлые блондины съ довольно грубыми и неопредѣленными чертами и густой, но короткою растительностью, а другой—высокіе, съ тонкими чертами лица и густой, длинной растительностью, красивые брюнеты, отличающіеся своей стройностью. *Одежда* уральскаго казака мало отличается отъ одежды сибирскихъ казаковъ. У уральцевъ можно замѣтить любовь къ клѣтчатымъ рубашкамъ подъ пиджаками. *Поселенія* (станицы и поселки) уральцевъ болѣе богаты постройками. Характерны на деревенскихъ улицахъ деревянные высокіе кресты (формы могильныхъ), выставляемые нерѣдко казаками у оконъ (врываютъ въ землю) по обѣту, подобно тому какъ великорусскіе крестьяне ставятъ свѣчи къ образамъ. Въ южныхъ станицахъ Уральскаго войска преобладаютъ небѣленныя, саманныя и земляныя избы съ плоской земляной крышей, какъ это видно на прилагаемомъ рисункѣ. Въ составъ уральскихъ казаковъ входятъ, какъ мы уже сказали, кромѣ великоруссовъ, *татары, башкиры* (до 6 тыс.), *калмыки* (около 1 тыс. чел.).

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образъ жизни ихъ, подъ вліяніемъ русскихъ, измѣнился, и большинство ихъ занимается земледѣльческимъ хозяйствомъ и рыболовствомъ. Подробныя описанія этихъ народностей см. въ VI томѣ „Россіи".

На *крестьянахъ-старожилахъ* края (почти всѣ исключительно жители Акмолинской и Семипалатинской обл.) мы не будемъ останавливаться, такъ какъ часть ихъ, войдя въ составъ сибирскихъ казаковъ, передала имъ многое свое, такъ что многое изъ вышесказаннаго о нѣрнихъ можно отнести и къ крестьянамъ.

Крестьяне-старожилы, какъ мы видѣли изъ предъидущей главы,— потомки вольныхъ колонизаторовъ края, потомки тѣхъ рѣшительныхъ, отважныхъ и свободолюбивыхъ людей, которые по своему желанію шли въ дикій край, преодолѣвали всѣ препятствія и клали прочное основаніе здѣшней русской колонизаціи. Несомнѣнно, что такими колонизаторами могли быть только наиболѣе рѣшительные, энергичные элементы русскаго крестьянства. Условія жизни въ новомъ краѣ способствовали развитію и закрѣпленію этихъ качествъ, чѣмъ и отличаются они отъ недавнихъ пришельцевъ изъ Европейской Россіи.

Главнымъ отличіемъ здѣшняго крестьянина отъ казака нужно считать не столько физическія и бытовыя его особенности, сколько общій складъ характера, опредѣлившійся историческими условіями жизни тѣхъ и другихъ. Въ основѣ крестьянскаго заселенія края лежало главнымъ образомъ стремленіе найти здѣсь земельный просторъ, съ которымъ связывались самыя завѣтныя надежды. Желаніе исполнялось, крестьянину представлялась возможность углубиться въ хозяйство и вообще построить свою жизнь такъ, какъ хотѣлось бы. И крестьянинъ весь ушелъ въ земледѣльческое хозяйство, вкладывая въ него всю свою жизнь. Дѣйствительно, въ сравненіи съ казаками, его хозяйство можетъ считаться образцовымъ. Это тяготѣніе къ землѣ кладетъ отпечатокъ (какъ и въ Европейской Россіи) на всѣ стороны его жизни. Общая характеристика сибиряка, сдѣланная выше, болѣе всего подходитъ именно къ здѣшнему старожилу-крестьянину, нежели къ казаку, среди которыхъ такія черты, какъ развязность, безпечность, самоувѣренность, можно считать характерными, а у крестьянъ — рѣдкими. Крестьянинъ несомнѣнно болѣе положительный типъ, а какъ экономическая сила и болѣе сильный и желательный элементъ въ замирённомъ краѣ, нежели казакъ; послѣдній сознаетъ превосходство крестьянина въ веденіи хозяйства, его опытъ и знаніе жизни и вѣрно объясняетъ свою отсталость условіями своей жизни.

Въ *физическомъ* отношеніи крестьяне-старожилы имѣютъ много общихъ чертъ съ казаками. Отличаетъ съ виду крестьянина скорѣе костюмъ; на нихъ тѣ же россійскіе зипуны, шапки, войлочныя шляпы, холщевыя и шерстяныя рубахи, сермяжныя поддевки, цвѣтные пояса, большіе сапоги („бутылы"), зимой — овчинныя шубы и т. д. у женщинъ — красные сарафаны, холщевыя станушки (рубахи), наколки, ленты, причемъ почти все собственнаго приготовленія. Киргизскій халатъ, который носитъ большинство казаковъ, на крестьянинѣ можно увидѣть развѣ изрѣдка.

Крестьянскія деревни въ общемъ имѣютъ болѣе приглядный и домовитый видъ, нежели казачьи поселки; даже въ постройкахъ сказался степенный, положительный характеръ крестьянина: онѣ сдѣланы болѣе

основательно, чѣмъ у казака; плетеныя постройки, къ которымъ охотно прибѣгаютъ казаки даже лѣсистыхъ мѣстъ, у крестьянъ рѣдки. Отношенія между казаками и крестьянами не близки; случаи родства довольно рѣдки. Это особенно приложимо къ крестьянамъ алтайскимъ. Раскольничьи же деревни живутъ совершенно обособленно, своимъ міромъ.

Малорусы (Харьковской, Полтавской, Кіевской и другихъ губерній) поселились за послѣдніе годы главнымъ образомъ въ южныхъ степныхъ уѣздахъ Акмолинскомъ и Атбасарскомъ. Ихъ деревни можно сразу узнать по бѣлымъ саманнымъ (сырцоваго кирпича) хатамъ съ соломенными крышами. Вообще „хохлы" устраиваются на новой родинѣ такъ, какъ жили и на прежней; новую деревню можно всегда сразу отличить отъ старой, на которой уже сказалось мѣстное вліяніе. Съ великоруссами селятся они только въ крайности, предпочитая отдѣльныя поселенія.

Нѣмцы-колонисты (менониты, баптисты и пр.), а также эсты и латыши появились въ Акмолинской обл. лишь въ 90-хъ годахъ XIX в; часть ихъ живетъ на арендованныхъ участкахъ близь Омска, другая — въ Акмолинскомъ у. на надѣльной землѣ (пос. *Преображенскій*, *Романовскій*, *Канкринскій*), какъ и крестьяне. Занимаются они земледѣліемъ. Съ русскимъ населеніемъ не имѣютъ близкихъ отношеній; въ п. Романовскомъ отношенія были настолько прохладны, что дѣло не обходилось безъ вооруженныхъ столкновеній, и администрація впослѣдствіи совершенно отдѣлила русскихъ на новый участокъ. Какъ земледѣльцы, они не уступаютъ крестьянамъ въ умѣньѣ обработывать пашню; устроились они на участкахъ даже лучше, чѣмъ крестьяне. Они имѣютъ свои школы и молитвенные дома. Общій видъ нѣмецкаго селенія близокъ къ малороссійскому; такихъ строеній, какія бываютъ, напр., въ Лифляндской губ., здѣсь нѣтъ. Но одежда (шляпы, пиджаки), экипажи (парныя телѣги, шарабаны) — сохранились.

Поляки, *евреи*, *бухарцы*, *сарты* живутъ исключительно по городамъ; послѣдніе занимаются торговлей и другими коммерческими предпріятіями. *Башкиры* и *калмыки* иногда живутъ въ деревняхъ Уральской и Тургайской обл., гдѣ ведутъ хозяйство.

Теперь перейдемъ къ разсмотрѣнію главнаго народа края — *киргизъ-казаковъ*. Этотъ народъ, какъ по количеству, и такъ по обширности занятой территоріи, занимаетъ первое мѣсто среди всѣхъ тюркскихъ народностей азіатскаго материка (и второе, послѣ турокъ-османовъ, на землѣ). Для этнографа киргизъ-казаки представляютъ большой интересъ, такъ какъ до сихъ поръ сохранили кочевой образъ жизни и родовой бытъ, близкій къ первоначальному. По своему этническому составу они являются также наиболѣе интересными изъ всѣхъ азіатскихъ тюрковъ, какъ заключающіе въ себѣ представителей всѣхъ главнѣйшихъ и древнѣйшихъ тюркскихъ племенъ. Рядомъ съ типичными чертами тюрковъ среди киргизъ можно наблюдать въ нѣкоторыхъ племенахъ ихъ и большую метисацію съ древними обитателями края (нетюрками) и монголами.

Разсмотримъ прежде всего этническій составъ киргизъ-казаковъ, составляющихъ въ предѣлахъ нашего края Среднюю и Малую (младшую) орду.

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Главная масса принадлежитъ къ *Средней* ордѣ; въ составъ ея входятъ нѣсколько племенъ, изъ которыхъ наиболѣе важными (считая съ востока) будутъ: *киреи, найманы, аргыны* и *кипчаки;* они занимаютъ Семипалатинскую, Акмолинскую области и части Семирѣченской, Сырдарьинской и Тургайской обл. Киреи занимаютъ область *Черныя Иртыша*; состоятъ они изъ многихъ родовъ (*сарыбасъ, джадыкъ, чиреучи, джастабанъ, джантыкей, итемъ, каракасъ, мулку, чубаръ-айгыръ, итенемъ, чилонъ, мерки*зъ, *курсаты* и др.). Происхожденіе киреевъ, какъ и другихъ тюркскихъ племенъ, окончательно не установлено; несомнѣнно, что они произошли отъ смѣшенія тюрковъ съ древними обитателями края (усунями?). Найманы кочуютъ по *Тарбагатаю*, близъ *Балхаша* и *Улу-Тау*; въ составъ ихъ входятъ роды: *бура-найманъ, семизъ-найманъ, акъ-найманъ, сарыджулартъ, кокджарлы, баюналы, кожембетъ, мурунъ* и др. Найманы, по мнѣнію нѣкоторыхъ этнологовъ (Аристовъ), состоятъ изъ древнихъ найманскихъ родовъ. Племя *аргынъ* образовано союзомъ многихъ родовъ: *бесентенъ, атагай, канджигли, тобуклы, чакчанъ, алтай, карныкъ, калкаманъ, айдобыль (суюнотыкъ), козганъ, туки* и др. и особаго племени *каракиякъ*. Кочуютъ они по среднему теченію *Иртыша, Ишима*, верховьямъ *Тобола* и по *Уралу*. Союзъ родовъ существовалъ уже до появленія въ краѣ Чингисидовъ. Племя *кипчакъ* имѣетъ въ своемъ составѣ роды: *танабуга, карабалыкъ, турайгыръ, узунъ, кунделенъ, бултукъ, кокборъ*нъ, *туючка, кытабакъ* и др.; живутъ эти роды въ предѣлахъ Тургайской области и отчасти Оренбургской губ. Нѣкогда кипчаки составляли многолюдное и могущественное племя, но съ XII вѣка они выдѣлили изъ себя значительныя массы на западъ, которыя вошли въ составъ казанскихъ, волжскихъ, крымскихъ татаръ, башкиръ и ногайцевъ; часть же ихъ ушла на ю.-в., составивъ главную массу узбековъ Ферганы, Хивы и Зеравшана. Къ Средней же ордѣ относятъ небольшое племя *байджигитъ* и *уванъ-киреи*, остатки прежнихъ союзовъ, обитавшихъ въ области Зайсана.

Малая орда составилась изъ племени *алчинъ*, въ составъ котораго вошли роды: *корасакалъ, дюрткара, чикли, кизя, каракиеянъ, чумекей* и двухъ союзовъ—*бадулы* и *джитыру*; первый образовался изъ родовъ *адай, джайнасъ, алача, байбакты, маскаръ, берчъ, тазларъ, исенгемиръ, черкесъ, така, кизылъ-куртъ, шейхларъ, алтинъ* и *исыкъ*; второй сложился изъ родовъ *табыкъ, тама, кердери, джагалбайлы, киреизъ, тлеу* и *рамоданъ*. Эти роды кочуютъ въ предѣлахъ Уральской обл. и частью въ Тургайской, Сыръ-Дарьинской обл., Оренбургской и Астраханской губ. Основное племя *алчинъ*, по мнѣнію этнологовъ, представляло собой помѣсь тюрковъ съ древними динлинами и угро-финскими племенами; вообще вся Малая (младшая) орда представляетъ болѣе пестрый этническій составъ, чѣмъ Средняя и Большая орда.

Букеевская или *Внутренняя* орда выдѣлилась въ 1801 г. изъ Малой орды за р. Уралъ (въ предѣлы современной Астраханской губерніи) послѣ бѣгства оттуда торгоутовъ; состоитъ она почти изъ тѣхъ же родовъ, какъ и Малая.

Такимъ образомъ во всемъ киргизъ-казацкомъ (кайсацкомъ) народѣ можно отличать слѣдующія главныя, основныя, тюркскія племена: *ченгли* и *дулатъ* (р. Чу)—въ Большой (старшей) ордѣ; *кипчакъ, аргынъ, найманъ, киреи*—въ Средней ордѣ и *алчинъ*—въ Младшей ордѣ.

Физическій типъ этихъ племенъ можно считать характернымъ для тюрковъ нашего края, но свести къ нему всѣ племена киргизъ-казаковъ края нельзя. Изъ перечисленныхъ выше родовъ и племенъ (среди которыхъ нѣкоторые ведутъ свое происхожденіе отъ монголовъ или отъ усуней и другихъ древнихъ народовъ) видно, какой сложный и пестрый конгломератъ представляютъ собой киргизъ-казаки, а слѣдовательно не можетъ быть и рѣчи объ его цѣльности въ этнологическомъ и антропологическомъ отношеніяхъ. Цѣльность здѣсь скорѣе политическая, основанная на родствѣ языка, обычаевъ, вѣры и невольно созданная степью—этой ареной жизни всѣхъ кочевыхъ народовъ. Степь не только объединила всѣ племена киргизъ-казаковъ, но и оказала на нихъ нивеллирующее вліяніе, наложивъ на всѣ разнородныя племена болѣе или менѣе однообразный характеръ.

Киргизъ.

Въ нижеслѣдующемъ описаніи *физическаго типа* киргизъ-казаковъ цыфровыя данныя отнесены къ опредѣленнымъ племенамъ и не могутъ быть обобщены на всѣхъ киргизъ-казаковъ края.

Ростъ коренныхъ тюрковъ считаютъ выше средняго. Цыфры для отдѣльныхъ народностей таковы (Харузинъ). Для киргизъ Букеевской орды—1.629 м.м., Малой орды — 1.669 м.м. Киргизы Средней орды — 1.647 м.м., изъ нихъ родъ муруновъ—1.611 м.м., найимановъ—1.626 м.м., байджигитовъ — 1.643 м.м. и киреевъ—1.685 м.м. Такимъ образомъ наряду съ ростомъ выше средняго (1.650—1700 м.м.) есть племена съ ростомъ ниже средняго (1.600—1.650 м.м.). Средній ростъ киргизъ-казаковъ выведенъ въ 1.646,8 м.м. Величина головы равна: у киргизъ Средней орды—192 м.м.; мурунова рода—192 м.м., найимановъ—181 м.м., байджигитовъ—192 м.м. и киреевъ—197 м.м., у Букеевской орды—238 м.м. Величина лица: малыхъ размѣровъ (119 м.м. и меньше), у киргизъ Букеевской орды—117 м.м., у Средней орды—116, мурунова рода—116, найимановъ—114, байджигитовъ—117, киреевъ—115. У киргизъ Малой орды лицо среднихъ размѣровъ достигаетъ 121 м.м. Головной указатель (отношеніе длины черепа къ его ширинѣ) даетъ слѣдующія цыфры для отдѣльныхъ племенъ: въ Букеевской ордѣ—86,8, въ Малой—87,8, Средней 89,8, въ родѣ муруновъ—89,8, найимановъ — 89,8, байджигитовъ—89,8 и киреевъ—89,0. Послѣдніе цыфровые показатели даютъ основаніе отнести киргизъ (всѣхъ перечисленныхъ племенъ) къ брахицефаламъ (коротко-головымъ).

Изъ всѣхъ приведенныхъ данныхъ видно, какъ значительно колеблются цифровые показатели для разныхъ племенъ. Это показываетъ, что съ антропологической стороны тюрки нашего края, какъ уже сказано, не составляютъ одного цѣлаго. Съ внѣшней стороны киргизъ можно охарактеризовать такъ: тѣлосложеніе довольно стройное; грудь хорошо развита, шея не толстая и не короткая; ноги слегка согнуты (отъ частой верховой ѣзды), съ короткими голенями, кисти рукъ и ногъ небольшія. Цвѣтъ тѣла—желтовато-блѣдный, у лица нѣсколько темнѣе; волосы на головѣ черные, прямые и густые; носъ при основаніи расширенный, иногда горбатый; скулы выдаются слегка; ротъ небольшой; глаза каріе съ густыми черными бровями. Мышечная сила довольно значительна (не менѣе, чѣмъ у русскаго крестьянина). Жизнь съ малыхъ лѣтъ въ степи, подъ открытымъ небомъ, закаляетъ киргизъ и дѣлаетъ ихъ организмъ весьма выносливымъ и мало чувствительнымъ къ внѣшнимъ вліяніямъ (перемѣнѣ температуры, ушибамъ, пораненіямъ и пр.); благодаря этому-же киргизы имѣютъ мало развитое чувство вкуса, обонянія и притупленное осязаніе, но зато богато развитые зрѣніе и слухъ. Температура тѣла у киргизъ въ среднемъ выше (на 0,75° С) таковой у русскихъ. Половая зрѣлость приблизительно начинается въ то-же время, какъ и у русскихъ, у женщинъ же—нѣсколько ранѣе. При всей сравнительной крѣпости организма, киргизы не отличаются долговѣчностью: 80-лѣтніе старики среди нихъ рѣдки.

Женскій типъ въ общемъ близокъ къ мужескому, лишь нѣсколько слабѣе и мельче; нерѣдко голова относительно тѣла представляется болѣе, чѣмъ у мужчинъ (что свидѣтельствуетъ объ умственномъ развитіи); черты лица болѣе правильны и выразительны, нежели у мужчинъ; красавицы среди киргизокъ не составляютъ особенной рѣдкости.

Изъ умственныхъ способностей киргизъ на первое мѣсто слѣдуетъ поставить память на окружающую его жизненную обстановку (природа, люди, событія); въ этомъ отношеніи киргизъ стоитъ значительно выше крестьянина. Память высшаго порядка, особенно на усвоеніе отвлеченныхъ понятій,—слаба. Любознательности менѣе, чѣмъ любопытства; ученіе (особенно математика) дается не трудно; среди учащихся лица съ хорошими способностями нерѣдки. Образованія киргизы не получаютъ: они почти всѣ безграмотны. Среди народа извѣстенъ счетъ только до 10 тысячъ—„тмень" (русская „тьма"); больше киргизы чиселъ не знаютъ (въ обиходѣ ихъ жизни и до десяти тысячъ приходится, впрочемъ, считать очень рѣдко). Время считается такъ, какъ считалось у древнихъ монголовъ (отъ которыхъ и было принято). Годъ начинается съ марта; въ мѣ-

Киргизка.

сяцѣ 28 дней. Время считается періодомъ, состоящимъ изъ 12 годовъ, имѣющихъ, каждый, названіе особаго животнаго. Первый годъ—„тишанъ" (родъ мышей), второй—„сіиръ" (корова), третій—„барсъ", четвертый—„коянъ" (заяцъ), пятый—„лу" (наукообразное), шестой—„джиланъ" (змѣй), седьмой—„джиланы" (лошадь), восьмой—„кой" (баранъ), девятый—„мешинъ" (многоножка), десятый—„таукъ" (курица), одиннадцатый—„итъ" (собака) и двѣнадцатый—„донгзъ" (свинья). 1902 г., напр., есть годъ зайца (съ марта), 1903 г. (съ марта) есть „лу" и т. д.

Образъ жизни способствовалъ развитію у киргизъ живого, общительнаго характера; въ связи съ этимъ находятся добродушіе, гостепріимство, сострадательность и честность. Къ слабымъ сторонамъ характера слѣдуетъ отнести лѣнь, безпечность, склонность къ сплетнямъ и утопленіямъ. Эти черты создались и поддерживаются нѣкоторыми современнымъ складомъ киргизской жизни. Въ лѣтнее время киргизъ живетъ исключительно животной жизнью—ѣстъ, пьетъ, ѣздитъ и принимаетъ гостей; работа по хозяйству, забота о семьѣ—лежитъ на женѣ. Только зимой киргизу приходится заботиться о хозяйствѣ (главнымъ образомъ о благополучіи скота), но и тутъ онъ находитъ время „тамыричать"—т. е. ѣздить изъ кетау въ кетау (зимовки) по гостямъ, много ѣсть, разносить и слушать новости.

Среди тюрковъ, кочующихъ въ Азіи, киргизъ-казаки—наиболѣе культурный народъ, и несомнѣнно, что ему предстоитъ лучшее будущее: количество его увеличивается, и онъ оказывается воспріимчивымъ къ культурнымъ пріобрѣтеніямъ.

О сравнительной культурности киргизъ-казаковъ можно судить отчасти по характеру языка, по способности и формѣ излагать свои мысли, по богатству народной литературы и наконецъ по состоянію развитія искусствъ.

Нарѣчіе киргизъ-казаковъ одни изъ русскихъ этнологовъ (напр. Патканов) относятъ къ восточной группѣ тюркскаго языка, другіе (Радловъ)—къ западному и именно къ особому виду его—киргизскому (на которомъ говоритъ всѣ тюрки нашего края). Азбука у киргизъ—арабская, которая стала распространяться среди тюрковъ Средней Азіи съ VIII вѣка вмѣстѣ съ исламомъ. До этого (съ IV в.) у нихъ была сирійская азбука (занесенная христіанами несторіанской секты). Загадочныя руническія письмена, открытыя археологами въ Восточной Сибири, оказались принадлежащими также тюркамъ, а не древнимъ славянамъ, финнамъ, евреямъ или другимъ народамъ, какъ думали многіе. Видоизмѣненная сирійская азбука сохранилась теперь только у монголовъ и маньчжуръ, остальные же тюрки держатся арабской азбуки.

Тюркскій языкъ относится къ типу несовершенныхъ (какъ имѣющій мало развитыя грамматическія отношенія словъ). Онъ построенъ изъ *сложенія* словъ, т. е. грамматическая зависимость между словами выражается не измѣненіемъ начальной формы слова, а прибавленіемъ къ ней приставокъ (аффиксовъ) и вставокъ (инфиксовъ); при этомъ связь корней съ ними настолько слаба, что всѣ составныя части слова легко выдѣляются. Такіе языки извѣстны у однихъ ученыхъ подъ именемъ агглутинирующихъ, у другихъ—несовершенныхъ, безформенныхъ и пр.; такъ какъ на нихъ говорятъ урало-алтайскія племена, то чаще называютъ ихъ урало-алтайскими. Подъ вліяніемъ ислама и сосѣдей (русскихъ, монголовъ и др.) въ киргизскомъ языкѣ наблюдается при-

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мѣсь чужихъ словъ—арабскихъ, монгольскихъ, русскихъ, особенно-же татарскихъ и нѣкоторыхъ другихъ.

Народное творчество довольно богато, хотя и однообразно; выразилось оно главнымъ образомъ въ произведеніяхъ лирическаго и эпическаго содержанія. Первыя сводятся къ описанію любви, переживанію различныхъ чувствъ и положеній влюбленными; много мѣста занимаютъ въ нихъ сравненія внѣшнихъ и внутреннихъ качествъ героя и героини. Эпическія произведенія содержатъ описанія былой жизни киргизъ, подвиги и широкіе пиры „на всю степь" видныхъ героевъ и богатыхъ хановъ—Кобыла, Науробая и др. Изъ нихъ наибольшаго вниманія заслуживаетъ поэма „Курпечъ (Кузу) и Баянъ (Солу)"—древнее произведеніе, повидимому не одного автора, а собирательное. При несложной фабулѣ (Курпечъ любитъ Баянъ и по завѣту отца думаетъ на ней жениться, но является другой претендентъ на Баянъ—Тологой и убиваетъ Курпеча, Баянъ же убиваетъ Тологоя и себя), произведеніе это представляетъ большой интересъ по художественному описанію природы и особенно тогдашнихъ быта и нравовъ; съ этой стороны она не имѣетъ собѣ равныхъ среди другихъ киргизскихъ произведеній. Популярность ея среди киргизъ велика. Съ именами ея героевъ связано много названій мѣстностей—горъ, рѣкъ, урочищъ и пр. (гдѣ происходили описываемыя событія); могила Курпеча и теперь сохранилась (недалеко отъ Сергіополя).

Кромѣ того существуетъ цѣлая серія бытовыхъ пѣсенъ, пріуроченныхъ къ различнымъ обрядамъ и событіямъ жизни,—свадебныя, похоронныя и проч. Какъ созданіе позднѣйшаго времени слѣдуетъ назвать произведенія извѣстнаго народнаго поэта Могойбая и его послѣдователей,—пѣвцовъ народнаго горя, выразителей нуждъ и положенія бѣднѣйшей части киргизовъ—джетаковъ; въ то же время пѣсни ихъ носятъ и обличительный характеръ (притѣсненій и несправедливостей со стороны власть имущихъ). Какъ сатирическое произведеніе позднѣйшаго времени можно указать „Заръзаманъ" (Плачъ времени) Чорманбая, довольно удачно обличающее недостатки киргизъ, поскольку они создавались подъ вліяніемъ русской власти. Наконецъ, какъ представителя новаго теченія въ киргизской поэзіи, слѣдуетъ назвать Кнонбая (въ Семипалатинскомъ у.)—автора многихъ стихотвореній, изящныхъ по формѣ и поэтическихъ по содержанію (особенно описанія природы). Этому же автору принадлежатъ хорошіе переводы „Евгенія Онѣгина" и многихъ стихотвореній Лермонтова (который оказался наиболѣе понятнымъ для киргизъ); такимъ образомъ у семипалатинскихъ „оленгчи" (пѣвцовъ) можно слышать, напр., „письмо Татьяны", распѣваемое, конечно, на свой мотивъ.

Лирическія произведенія являются однако наиболѣе характерными для киргизской поэзіи: они также просты и незамысловаты, какъ и ихъ кочевая жизнь.

При отсутствіи грамотности, всѣ произведенія передаются устно; эту роль несутъ спеціальные люди—„акыны" и „оленгчи" (какъ гусляры и кобзари въ прежней Руси). Первые не только передаютъ старинныя пѣсни, но и сочиняютъ новыя; „оленгчи" же обыкновенно занимаются „рифмоплетствомъ", но столько обращая вниманіе, сколько на то, чтобы была рифма и удачное [illegible]

Всѣ перечисленные типы народнаго творчества не разсказываются,

а поются. Пѣніе (преимущественно одноголосое) въ жизни киргиза играетъ видную роль: безъ него не обходятся важнѣйшіе моменты жизни.

Въ музыкальномъ отношеніи киргизская пѣсня на первое впечатлѣніе кажется непріятной; но если въ нее вслушаться, то оригинальность, простота и содержательность мотива произведутъ обратное впечатлѣніе. Въ общемъ въ ней преобладаетъ растянутость и заунывность. Киргизы цѣнятъ умѣнье пѣть, и „оленгчамъ" (пѣвцамъ) живется хорошо: ихъ зовутъ какъ почетныхъ гостей на всякое семейное и общественное празднество и щедро дарятъ за доставленное удовольствіе. Обыкновенно передача пѣсни сопровождается подыгрываніемъ на инструментѣ; изъ послѣднихъ распространены: домра—родъ треугольной балалайки съ тремя струнами (бараньи жилы) и кобызъ—овальная балалайка съ

На ярмаркѣ въ Темирѣ. (*По фот. А. Н. Чанова*).

колышкомъ внизу (какъ у віолончели), на которой играютъ смычкомъ; изъ духовыхъ можно назвать зурну—деревянный длинный рожокъ.

Существуетъ среди киргизъ и живопись, выражающаяся въ раскрашиваніи фигуръ и узоровъ на дверяхъ юртъ, посудѣ, сѣдлахъ и проч. и въ тканьѣ различныхъ узорчатыхъ шерстяныхъ надѣлій. Искусство это находится еще на низшей ступени развитія.

Остановимся теперь на болѣе подробномъ описаніи сначала внѣшняго, а затѣмъ внутренняго быта киргизъ.

Жилищемъ киргизъ служатъ: лѣтомъ—юрта (точнѣе—уй, т. е. жилище; юрта же—монгольское слово), зимой—кстау, т. е. зимовка. Въ рѣдкихъ случаяхъ (у бѣдныхъ) лѣтнимъ и зимнимъ жилищемъ является юрта; на югѣ края, гдѣ зимы не такъ суровы, въ юртахъ живутъ и среднія семьи.

На описаніи юрты мы остановимся нѣсколько подробнѣе, такъ какъ она сосредоточиваетъ въ себѣ всю жизнь кочевника: въ ней скла-

ливается его міросозерцаніе и происходятъ всѣ важнѣйшіе моменты его домашней и общественной жизни. Зимовка же—печальная необходимость, вызываемая мѣстными климатическими особенностями.

Юрта представляетъ собой деревянный, конусообразной формы, рѣшетчатый остовъ, обтянутый кошмой. Благодаря своей легкости и простотѣ устройству она скоро разбирается и также скоро составляется, что весьма важно при частыхъ перекочевкахъ киргизъ. Остовъ юрты состоитъ изъ „керегe"—деревянной рѣшетки, служащей основаніемъ юрты (часть ея изъ 12—17 паръ палокъ называется канатомъ), и „ченгарака"—деревяннаго круга съ выгнутыми поперечными дугами—„кульдереушъ". Кереге и ченгаракъ связываются между собой деревянными дугами—„уками", которыя вставляются однимъ концомъ въ отверстія ченгарака и другимъ привязываются къ кереге. Число укъ въ юртѣ различно: въ небольшихъ—до 100, въ большихъ—150—200. Высота кереге, длина укъ и размѣръ ченгарака у различныхъ юртъ различны; высота юрты—4—6 арш. Дверь юрты состоитъ изъ прямоугольной рамы въ 1½ арш. выс.; боковыя части рамы называются „босага" или „таяныпъ", нижняя „табалдырыкъ", верхняя—„мандайга". Дверь—„есыкъ" дѣлается изъ толстаго кошемнаго подотника или дерева. Все это привязано къ „кереге". Для того, чтобы вѣтеръ не сорвалъ „ченгаракъ", его привязываютъ къ центру юрты арканомъ—„джиль-бау" или подпираютъ на это время особымъ шестомъ—„баканъ". Съ наружной стороны кереге обставляется плетеной сѣткой изъ стеблей чія (Lasiagrostis splendens), передко красиво переплетеннаго цвѣтными нитками; этотъ плетеный поясъ употребляется кромѣ того и въ самой юртѣ, какъ ширма. При постановкѣ юрты употребляются многоразличныхъ веревокъ—„аркановъ"; изъ нихъ главную роль играетъ „баскуръ"—тканый шерстяной поясъ (до двухъ четвертей ширины), который охватываетъ верхнюю окружность кереге, придавая этимъ крѣпость и красоту юртѣ. Совершенно составленный остовъ изъ перечисленныхъ выше частей покрывается кошмой. Изъ нея приготовляются четыре прямоугольныхъ куска—„туурлыкъ", которыя охватываютъ кереге и налегаютъ на нижнюю часть укъ; двѣ трапецевидныхъ части „узокъ" покрываютъ „уки" до ченгарака и прикрываютъ верхнюю часть туурлыка; къ узоку привязываются шесть аркановъ „бау", которыми онъ плотно притягивается; наконецъ ромбовидный кусокъ „тюндукъ" прикрываетъ ченгаракъ; его открытое замѣняетъ окно въ юртѣ и трубу для выхода дыма (костеръ раскладывается всегда подъ нимъ). Дверь юрты ставится на сѣверо-востокъ, въ виду господства южныхъ и юго-западныхъ вѣтровъ, а также какъ на противуположную „святой" сторону (на юго-западѣ находятся Мекка и Медина). На юрту употребляютъ самую лучшую (бѣлую) кошму; у богатыхъ она расшивается цвѣтными нитками и даже шелкомъ и позументами; красными узорами ткутся баскуръ, есыкъ и плетется чія; шиповка. Всѣ деревянныя части красятся, чаще въ желтый, коричневый и синій цвѣтъ.

Приготовленіемъ деревянныхъ частей занимаются особые мастера „уйте", которые дѣлаютъ все при помощи топорика (чапаготъ) и бурав-

чика (ускеу, кошмы Ахмет, кошмы изготовляются женщинами (чаще всего цѣлаго аула). Ими же обыкновенно ставится и юрта. Хорошая юрта стоитъ до [illegible] („улку

150 руб., обыкновенная—80—100 руб. (въ Акмолинской обл.).

Описанная юрта не является однако единственнымъ типомъ. Кромѣ него есть другія, употребляемыя въ опредѣленныхъ случаяхъ; изъ нихъ мы назовемъ: конгъ, джолумъ-уй и аблайчу. Всѣ онѣ представляютъ упрощенный типъ описанной юрты, болѣе удобный въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ. Конгъ состоитъ изъ трехъ „канатовъ" (связокъ) кереге; чангарака онъ не имѣетъ, уки скрѣпляются верхними концами. Употребляется конгъ при частыхъ переѣздахъ для пріѣзжихъ гостей, пастухами же—при стадѣ. Джолумъ-уй есть походная юрта, отличающаяся меньшими размѣрами: она покрывается только туурлукомъ и тондукомъ. Эти юрты стали входить въ употребленіе среди русскихъ войскъ, передвигающихся въ южной полосѣ края; извѣстны они подъ именемъ „джоломейки".

Аблайча состоитъ только изъ укъ, воткнутыхъ въ землю, а на верхнемъ концѣ ихъ укрѣпляется чангаракъ; она закрывается однимъ кускомъ кошмы. Наиболѣе употребительна она при дальнихъ перекочевкахъ и поѣздкахъ; происхожденіе свое аблайча ведетъ отъ хана Аблая (XVIII стол.), войско котораго имѣло такія юрты. Среди обыкновенныхъ юртъ различаютъ два типа — конусообразный или торгоутскій и киргизскій — куполообразный; первый встрѣчается рѣдко и ставится въ исключительныхъ случаяхъ.

Киргизскія дѣти у юрты. (По фот. Бебенова).

Какъ въ избѣ крестьянина есть „красный уголъ"—почетное мѣсто, такъ и въ юртѣ киргиза мѣсто, противуположное двери, уставленное ящиками и устланное коврами, считается почетнымъ; сюда на кошмы, сырмакъ (распитая кошма) или одѣяла проводится почетный гость. Собственно хозяйской половиной служитъ правая, ближайшая къ двери часть юрты, отгороженная чіевой ширмой или занавѣской; тамъ хранятся пищевые продукты, казанъ (котелъ на треножникѣ), „саба"—мѣшокъ изъ прокопченой кожи, „баурсаки", холодное мясо и др. Рядомъ у стѣны стоитъ „тюсекъ-орукъ"—постель (низкая кровать съ подушками), здѣсь мѣсто хозяина; рядомъ—„кебеже"—ящикъ съ лучшей посудой, чаемъ, сахаромъ. Лѣвая часть юрты (при входѣ) считается черной: тутъ отводится мѣсто собакѣ, молодому барану, беркуту; тутъ-же сидятъ у богатыхъ киргизъ бѣдняки-просители. У лѣвой-же стороны отводится мѣсто взрослымъ или женатымъ дѣтямъ. Мебели, кромѣ невысокаго (въ одну четверть) круглаго стола для ѣды, нѣтъ. Очагъ, вокругъ котораго любятъ сидѣть киргизы не только за ѣдой, но и за разговоромъ, называется „отбосы"; съ нимъ связано представленіе о благополучіи, почему въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ ему приносится жертва (см. свадьбу.).

Въ жизни киргиза юрта играетъ важную роль. Отцовская юрта

кунъ чангаракъ") считается священной; обсужденіе важныхъ во-

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

просовъ, касающихся цѣлаго рода, происходитъ въ ней. Жена отдѣленнаго сына послѣ рожденія ребенка обязана прийти въ отцовскую юрту, сдѣлать тамъ три поклона и вылить масло въ очагъ. Киргизы нерѣдко божатся юртой („коттукадамъ уюмде анзъ этеменъ, арь кимнен уль де узике мешетъ"—„клянусь священной юртой, своя юрта—храмъ божій").

Находящійся въ юртѣ считается подъ защитой хозяина; обидѣть перваго значитъ оскорбить хозяина. Къ дверямъ юрты принято, напр., привязывать подаренныхъ животныхъ, причемъ, если оно сдѣлаетъ даже какое-нибудь несчастіе (напр. лошадь ушибетъ проходящаго), хозяинъ не отвѣчаетъ за это; если-же недоброе случится отъ лошади пріѣзжаго, послѣдній отвѣчаетъ за это передъ судомъ біенъ, такъ какъ обязанъ привязывать лошадь къ задней стѣнѣ юрты.

Вообще юрта играетъ въ жизни киргиза видную роль, какъ мѣсто, гдѣ проходитъ вся жизнь, складываются ея семейныя и общественныя отношенія.

Постоянныя жилища не являются для киргизъ такими необходимыми, какъ юрта; только климатическія условія заставляютъ его промѣнивать житье въ юртѣ на зимовку. Житье киргиза въ зимовкѣ есть даже не жизнь, а скорѣе прозябаніе, такъ какъ оно связано обыкновенно съ большими стѣсненіями, неудобствами, лишеніями и непріятностями. Самъ киргизъ смотритъ на житье въ зимовкахъ, какъ на временную, печальную необходимость въ своей жизни.

Съ другой стороны эти жилища, какъ одно изъ звеньевъ, составляющихъ переходъ кочевника къ осѣдлой жизни, заслуживаютъ вниманія: зимовая стоянка представляетъ собою ядро современнаго киргизскаго землевладѣнія и землепользованія.

Въ „кстау"—въ этихъ зимнихъ жилищахъ киргиза—можно наблюдать самыя разнообразныя строенія, въ зависимости какъ отъ климатическихъ и естественно-историческихъ условій края, такъ и отъ экономическаго состоянія владѣльца. Въ горахъ южнаго Алтая и Тарбагатая зимовки киргизъ дѣлаются изъ камня и дерева и располагаются въ долинахъ и логахъ горъ. Въ степной, южной (безлѣсной) полосѣ зимовки строятся изъ дерна; въ сѣверной, лѣсной—чаще изъ дерева, рѣже изъ дерна.

На описаніи зимовокъ двухъ послѣднихъ типовъ, какъ наиболѣе распространенныхъ, мы и остановимся.

Какъ осѣдлые народы выбираютъ для своихъ поселеній такія мѣста, которыя представляютъ наибольшія удобства и выгоды для ихъ жизни, такъ и киргизскія зимовки расположены въ такихъ мѣстахъ, которыя прежде всего благопріятны для содержанія скота—главнаго источника ихъ жизни. Въ виду этого зимовки располагаются у подножья горъ, на берегахъ рѣкъ и озеръ, у опушки лѣсовъ, т. е. въ такихъ мѣстахъ, гдѣ зимой скотъ можетъ легче достать кормъ; поэтому подобныя мѣста охраняются лѣтомъ отъ потравы, чтобы сохранить траву на зиму. Въ кстау бросается въ глаза прежде всего тѣсная связь людского помѣщенія со скотнымъ дворомъ и отсутствіе планомѣрнаго расположенія строеній. Стѣны жилого помѣщенія строятся изъ пластовъ дерна, до аршина и болѣе толщиной; сверху такихъ стѣнъ укладывается рядъ деревянныхъ брусьевъ, на которыхъ укрѣпляются нѣсколько перекладинъ, служащихъ для настилки потолка. Послѣдній дѣлается изъ хво-

роста, камыша и травы; сверхъ ихъ накладываются дерновые пласты. Крышъ кстау не имѣютъ. Въ стѣнѣ, обращенной на дворъ, дѣлается деревянная дверь; на противуположной стѣнѣ устраивается одно или два незначительныхъ окна—нѣрнѣе двери съ однимъ стекломъ или пятипудовымъ пузыремъ [1]). Помѣщеніе дѣлится на двѣ половины: передняя, большая, въ которой помѣщается печь (обыкновенно старинная, состоящая изъ двухъ ящиковъ, причемъ въ первый вдѣланъ казанъ, а во второмъ пекутся баурсаки, топится сало и пр.); въ этой же половинѣ находятся молодые бараны и телята, конская сбруя и порохи другихъ хозяйственныхъ принадлежностей. Дальняя половина (2—3 саж. длины, 2 саж. ширины и 1 саж. высоты) почти вся занята нарами, на которыхъ киргизы ѣдятъ и спятъ. По стѣнамъ набиты колья, на которыхъ развѣшиваются платье, лучная сбруя, кумыс и пр. Ночью землянка освѣщается сальникомъ (фитиль съ бараньимъ саломъ въ чашкѣ). Изъ всего сказаннаго о зимовкѣ можно судить, въ какой тѣ-

Степная зимовка и мечеть киргизскаго рода Ту[illegible] въ [illegible]ибѣ.

снотѣ, грязи и духотѣ приходится проводить киргизамъ зиму. Зимовки болѣе богатыхъ киргизъ безлѣсныхъ мѣстъ въ общемъ мало отличаются отъ описанной, только чище.

Вплотную со своимъ помѣщеніемъ строятъ киргизы [illegible] стойла для барановъ. Они имѣютъ такое-же устройство, какъ и жилье, только безъ оконъ и печи. Кромѣ нихъ пристраиваются еще два деревянныхъ помѣщенія: одно—нѣчто вродѣ кладовой и другое—для джатаковъ-рабочихъ. Затѣмъ идутъ болѣе легкія постройки, составляющія собственно дворъ киргизскаго дома. Дворъ обносится валомъ изъ земли навоза, камыша и пр.; къ нему упираютъ концы жердей, укрѣпленныхъ другими концами или на особыхъ стойкахъ, или также на валу; на этихъ жердяхъ устраивается камышевая крыша надъ всѣмъ дворомъ. Крыша въ степныхъ зимовкахъ является необходимой въ виду частыхъ вѣтровъ и бурановъ. Внутри дворъ разбивается на нѣсколько частей, причемъ

[1]) На лѣто обыкновенно оконныя рамы со стеклами или пузырями вынимаются и убираются куда-нибудь, во избѣжаніе пробоевъ или поломки.

наиболѣе теплыя отводятся для мелкаго и рогатаго скота, менѣе теплыя—для лошадей.

Общее впечатлѣніе отъ степныхъ кстау невыгодно: съ виду это куча тѣсно сплоченныхъ, заваленныхъ навозомъ, землянокъ. Сплоченность построекъ однако весьма удобна для степного населенія въ виду частыхъ снѣжныхъ бураноъ.

Зимовки киргизъ лѣсныхъ мѣстъ отличаются большимъ удобствомъ. Жилое помѣщеніе состоитъ изъ небольшой избы съ небольшимъ окномъ и дверью, поломъ и потолкомъ, но чаще также безъ крыши. Большая часть помѣщенія занята нарами, на которыхъ лежатъ кошмы, циновки, ковры, подушки; подъ нарами ставятся ящики и другіе хозяйственные предметы. Печка также болѣе совершеннаго типа, скорѣе красивая, нежели удобная. У средняго киргиза для варки мяса и для работниковъ дѣлается на дворѣ отдѣльное помѣщеніе—„чучела". Это—куполообразное, наполовину дерновое, наполовину кошемное строеніе, грязное и холодное. Дворъ лѣсной зимовки не представляетъ такой скученности, какъ степной. Здѣсь у жилья дѣлается изъ дерна только помѣщеніе для барановъ; другой скотъ зимуетъ въ плетеныхъ или камышевыхъ загонахъ, построенныхъ гдѣ-либо вглубь лѣса. Такимъ образомъ видъ лѣсныхъ кстау напоминаетъ отчасти русскую деревню.

У южныхъ (чуйскихъ и др.) киргизъ рядомъ съ землянными зимовками остаются юрты, поставленныя среди камышей и обложенныя снизу дерномъ и снѣгомъ; для скота дѣлаются простыя загороди изъ камыша и саксаула. У киргизъ южнаго Алтая и Тарбагатая зимовки строятся изъ камня и лѣса; рѣже встрѣчаются дерновыя; для скота же совсѣмъ не дѣлаютъ помѣщеній, а держатъ его въ защищенныхъ логахъ и долинахъ.

Одежда киргизъ довольно разнообразна. Нижняя состоитъ у мужчинъ изъ одной ситцевой, рѣже холщевой, рубахи („куйлюкъ"), длинной и широкой и короткихъ, но широкихъ штановъ („дамбалы") изъ сѣрой или цвѣтной матеріи. Сверху надѣваются халатъ изъ шерстяной, у богатыхъ изъ шелковой матеріи, всегда съ рисунками или вышивкой, широкіе штаны или „шелбары" изъ бумажной матеріи, иногда изъ дубленой кожи. Поверхъ ихъ носится бешметъ—широкій кафтанъ изъ цвѣтной матеріи, или вышитый, иногда изъ армячины домашняго приготовленія. На головѣ киргизъ носитъ „аракчинъ", а сверхъ его круглую шапку „боркъ". На ноги надѣваются широкіе кожаные сапоги „сантама" съ деревянными высокими каблуками; легкая обувь—„ичиги" (сапоги изъ тонкой кожи безъ каблуковъ) носятся всегда съ галошами. Поясомъ служитъ широкая ситцевая лента, или же кожаный „ксе". Послѣдній состоитъ изъ узкаго ремня, изукрашеннаго съ внѣшней стороны металлическими, у богатыхъ серебряными бляхами; на ремнѣ обыкновенно висятъ: небольшая сумка, въ которой прежде хранили трутъ и кремень, а теперь кладется на дорогу сыръ „куртъ", чехолъ для ножа (который теперь употребляется при ѣдѣ мяса) и пороховница (пустая). Съ внѣшней стороны эти придаточныя части также изукрашены бляхами. Зимой киргизы одѣваютъ сверхъ бешмета „купу" — шубу изъ войлока, сбитаго естественнымъ путемъ, т. е. на кожѣ барана или верблюда; это легкая, но очень теплая одежда. Кромѣ того носятъ дубленыя шубы и стеганые бешметы. Рукава у всѣхъ одеждъ мужскихъ и женскихъ дѣлаются длинными, что замѣняетъ киргизамъ перчатки и рукавицы.

Ноги одѣваютъ въ стеганые или овчинные штаны—„шелбары" и толстые (воловьей кожи) сапоги съ конскими чулками. На голову надѣвается „малахай"—конической формы мѣховая шапка съ длинными и широкими наушниками, закрывающими сзади шею. Цѣлъ матерій для костюмовъ выбирается всегда пестрый съ крупными цвѣтами и узорами.

Костюмъ женщинъ во многомъ сходенъ съ мужскимъ. Онѣ носятъ такія же широкія и длинныя рубахи, какъ и мужчины, широкія дамбалы, а сверху—свободное платье; на ногахъ—тѣ же сапоги или ичиги съ тонкими лаковыми калошами; халаты и бешметы дѣлаются въ талію. Дѣвушки на головѣ носятъ круглыя шапки съ мѣховой оторочкой; женщины надѣваютъ „кимешекъ"—бѣлый капюшонъ, который закрываетъ голову и спускается на плечи, причемъ спереди въ немъ дѣлается

Зимовка (кстау) состоятельнаго киргиза въ лѣсной мѣстности (дворъ, надворныя постройки и домъ).

разрѣзъ для лица. Верхняя часть головы закрывается бѣлымъ платкомъ—„джаулыкъ" (лицо у киргизокъ не закрывается).

Невѣста надѣваетъ на голову „саукеле"—высокую, острую, конусообразную шапку, расшитую позументомъ, серебряными бляхами и другими украшеніями; верхушка ея состоитъ изъ пучка перьевъ. Изъ другихъ особенностей свадебнаго костюма невѣсты можно назвать цвѣтную шаль „джилекъ", которой покрывается вся невѣста сзади (прикрѣпляется джилекъ къ саукеле). Остальная одежда — обыкновенная, только болѣе богатая. Костюмъ жениха отличается отъ обычнаго еще меньше — только перьями на шапкѣ; но и это нельзя считать постояннымъ отличіемъ или принадлежностью костюма жениха.

Одежда мальчиковъ и дѣвочекъ въ общемъ одинакова, за исключеніемъ аракчина, который носится мальчиками съ малыхъ лѣтъ.

Главнымъ *питаніемъ* у киргизъ слѣдуетъ признать кумысъ — кобылье молоко, пришедшее въ молочнокислое и спиртовое броженіе. Для приготовленія и храненія кумыса употребляется особенный мѣшокъ „турсукъ" изъ прокопченой кожи; въ него вставляется деревянная бол-

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

Оселіе киргизъ. Киргизка, доящая кобылу.
(*По фот. Бебенина*).

тушка, которой перебалтываютъ кумысъ во время приготовленія и всякій разъ передъ употребленіемъ. Лучшій кумысъ имѣется у киргизъ южнаго Алтая и Кокчетавскаго уѣзда, какъ обладающихъ лучшими пастбищными мѣстами для скота. Въ лѣтнее время большинство киргизъ живетъ главнымъ образомъ на кумысѣ, пивая его большое количество. Изъ другихъ молочныхъ кушаній употребляются: „айранъ" — кислое коровье молоко и различные виды сыра: „курутъ"— поджаренный бараній сыръ небольшими колобками, „еремчикъ"—кислый коровій сыръ и др. Мясо употребляется главнымъ образомъ зимой и больше баранье, какъ дешевое; конина же появляется только въ видѣ исключенія, какъ лакомое блюдо. Мясо почти всегда варится (въ казанѣ), рѣже жарится: ѣдятъ сначала мясо (причемъ берутъ его руками), а затѣмъ запиваютъ изъ большихъ деревянныхъ чашекъ наваромъ — „сурпой"; употребляютъ мясо и въ копченомъ видѣ. Дичь и рыба употребляются рѣдко, зелень—также.

Изъ хлѣбной пищи наиболѣе распространенной является просо, или немного поджаренное (тогда прямо грызется), или въ видѣ каши. Изъ муки приготовляютъ „баурсаки"—прѣсное тѣсто, которое рѣжется на мелкіе кусочки и жарится въ бараньемъ салѣ (напоминаетъ масляничные оладьи у русскихъ). „Баламыкъ"—жидкое кушанье, сваренное въ казанѣ изъ муки, поджаренной въ салѣ проса и воды. „Каурдакъ"—кусочки жареного мяса изъ разныхъ частей животнаго, причемъ особенно вкусными считаются почки. Въ знакъ особеннаго вниманія и любезности къ гостю хозяинъ самъ вкладываетъ ему въ ротъ кусочки каурдака [1]); это называется—ѣсть „бишь-барманъ" (пять пальцевъ). Кумысъ, баурсаки и каурдакъ — главная пища киргизъ и наиболѣе любимая, особенно кумысъ, который считается при этомъ такимъ же священнымъ, какъ у крестьянина хлѣбъ. О распространеніи среди киргизъ любви къ кумысу можно судить отчасти по такому факту, какъ существованіе распивочной продажи кумыса, какъ водки у русскихъ (такъ называемые „кумысные кабачки"). Въ Акмолинскѣ, Уральскѣ и другихъ степныхъ городахъ, населенныхъ отчасти киргизами, есть немало такихъ распивочныхъ кумысенъ, гдѣ за 2 — 3 коп. можно получить большую чашку (3—4 чайныхъ) хорошаго кумыса.

Питательныя и возбудительныя качества кумыса извѣстны хорошо

[1]) Отсюда повидимому и происходитъ русское слово „каюрдакъ".

и мѣстному русскому населенію. Не говоря уже о посѣтителяхъ лѣчебныхъ станцій (*Боровое*, *Щучье*, *Баянъ-Аулъ*, *Улабинское* и др.) и дачникахъ, которые пьютъ кумысъ по совѣту врачей, немало его выпиваетъ лѣтомъ русское населеніе окраинныхъ городовъ, какъ напр. Омска, гдѣ на это время открывается наѣзжими киргизами торговля кумысомъ (30—50 коп. четверть). Киргизы приготовляютъ изъ кумыса (перегонкой) опьяняющій напитокъ „араку", но онъ не имѣетъ большаго распространенія. Пьютъ киргизы охотно и чай съ сахаромъ, преимущественно кирпичный. Водки и вина не употребляются. У прегородныхъ киргизъ печеный русскій хлѣбъ обыкновеннѣ.

Выше было сказано, что главнымъ занятіемъ киргизъ, какъ народа кочевого, служитъ скотоводство, а за послѣднее время стало распространяться и земледѣліе. Здѣсь мы остановимся только на домашнихъ занятіяхъ киргизъ.

Изъ нихъ первое мѣсто занимаютъ издѣлія изъ шерсти (овечьей и верблюжьей), а именно приготовленіе войлока, армячины, тесьмы и веревокъ. Армячина („шекенекъ") приготовляется изъ тонкихъ нитокъ верблюжьей и овечьей шерсти. Тканьемъ занимаются исключительно женщины (при участіи трехъ-четырехъ дѣтей); станокъ, основа и пр. приготовляется каждый разъ мастерицей. Армячина употребляется на одежду и по хозяйству (мѣшки и пр.). Изъ верблюжьей шерсти ткутъ узорчатыя широкія и узкія тесьмы („бесъ-куръ" и „уй-бау"). Эта работа у хорошихъ мастерицъ выходитъ не только прочной и чистой, но и красивой по рисунку. Много приготовляется также войлокъ (изъ овечьей шерсти), которая находитъ, какъ и всѣ предыдущія издѣлія, широкій сбытъ среди киргизъ. На войлокахъ выкатываются иногда цвѣтные рисунки. Приготовленіе ихъ самое первобытное: шерсть кладется слоемъ на цыновку, свертывается въ трубку, поливается горячей водой и катается по землѣ. Вьютъ также волосяныя и шерстяныя веревки. Но болѣе тонкой ткацкой работы киргизы еще не знаютъ. Всѣ перечисленныя работы производятся только женщинами; мужчины иногда только обстригаютъ шерсть животныхъ.

Мужчины занимаются выдѣлкой кожи, шитьемъ изъ нея обуви и столярно-слесарнымъ мастерствомъ. Главными издѣліями послѣдняго является приготовленіе остова (кереге и др. частей) юрты, посуды, сѣделъ и экипажей — арбъ и телѣгъ (послѣднее производство — недавнее). Слесаря изощряются на отдѣлкѣ сѣдла, стремянъ и прочихъ принадлежностей сбруи; есть искусные накладчики изъ желѣзныя вещи серебра и мелкихъ мозаичныхъ работъ (инкрустація) при выдѣлкѣ посуды и др. роговыхъ и костяныхъ вещей.

Киргизскій аулъ вблизи Омска. (*По фот. Боброва*).

У призайсанскихъ, чуй-

7: Sedel'nikov et al RQ2 Kazak

скихъ и отчасти уральскихъ киргизъ существуетъ рыболовство, но большого значенія для нихъ оно не имѣетъ. У всѣхъ киргизъ есть страсть къ охотѣ, особенно съ соколомъ или беркутомъ, но не какъ къ промысловому занятію, а скорѣе какъ къ интересному спорту и развлеченію; промысловый характеръ охота носитъ лишь у незначительной части населенія.

На заработки, требующіе значительнаго напряженія физическаго труда, киргизы не нанимаются; но обѣднѣвшіе киргизы (джетаки) составляютъ главный контингентъ рабочихъ на горнозаводскихъ и сельско-хозяйственныхъ промыслахъ края и предпочитаются русскимъ, какъ болѣе дешевые и крѣпкіе въ работѣ.

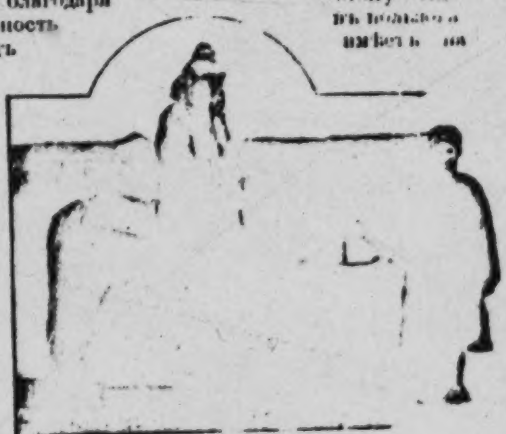
Общественная жизнь киргизъ развита, но сводится къ угощенію, поѣздкамъ и увеселеніямъ; различныя семейныя событія и праздники сопровождаются всегда угощеніемъ цѣлаго аула и даже ближайшихъ, безконечными разсказами новостей, играми молодежи и пѣснями „аленгчи".

Общественный строй киргиза можно назвать демократическимъ, такъ какъ древніе султанскіе роды (Валиханъ, Аблай, Вукей и др.) и хаджи (потомки Магомета), хотя и считаются свѣтской и духовной аристократіей, но особенными привилегіями не пользуются; вліяніе ихъ на народъ становится незначительнымъ. Въ прежнее время (до половины XIX столѣтія) среди киргизъ существовало рабство (рабъ—„кулъ"), созданное тогдашней политической жизнью (частыя племенныя усобицы и войны съ сосѣдними народами — башкирами, калмыками и др.); въ концѣ XVIII столѣтія рабство было узаконено и русскимъ правительствомъ. Въ *Ямышевской* и *Семипалатинской* крѣпостяхъ производился долгое время торгъ рабами изъ киргизъ, которыхъ пріобрѣтали и русскіе въ качествѣ рабочей силы. Первая попытка къ ограниченію рабства была сдѣлана въ 1822 г., съ образованіемъ въ степи киргизскихъ округовъ; по закону этого года всѣ невольники, находившіеся у киргизъ, оставлялись при владѣльцахъ, но пріобрѣтать ихъ вновь строго запрещалось. Положеніе рабовъ было тяжелое, какъ и крестьянъ у русскихъ помѣщиковъ; владѣльцы распоряжались ихъ жизнью и смертью, не неся за это отвѣтственности. Какъ особый видъ добровольнаго рабства, существовалъ цѣлый разрядъ людей—тюленгутовъ (чаще обѣднѣвшихъ киргизъ), составлявшихъ то челядь, то свиту, которой окружали себя знатные султаны и цѣлые богатые роды. Эти люди считали себя независимыми отъ своихъ патроновъ, но долговременное проживаніе у послѣднихъ давало патронамъ поводъ заявлять на нихъ свои права, какъ на рабовъ. Недоразумѣнія съ тюленгутами и тяжелое положеніе куловъ продолжались до 1859 года, когда, по предложенію западно-сибирскаго генералъ-губернатора, султаны, біи и старшины всѣхъ округовъ рѣшили дать свободу своимъ рабамъ; послѣдніе переходили съ этого времени на положеніе свободныхъ киргизъ. По оффиціальнымъ даннымъ, въ Акмолинской и Семипалатинской обл. было освобождено 400 чел., но число это далеко ниже дѣйствительнаго числа бывшихъ рабовъ.

Но если исчезло среди киргизъ оффиціальное рабство — оно продолжаетъ еще фактически существовать въ не менѣе тягостной формѣ экономическаго рабства—кабалѣ. Среди многихъ ауловъ можно встрѣтить обѣднѣвшихъ киргизъ—„джетаковъ" (лежачихъ, т. е. не имѣющихъ скота

для кочевки), которые живутъ на положеніи «временныхъ» и безплатнаго рабочаго у богатыхъ киргизъ. Положеніе ихъ крайне тягостно; за кусокъ хлѣба и жалкіе обноски они исполняютъ всѣ работы. Надежды чем-либо заработать и скопить, чтобы начать самостоятельную жизнь, для нихъ нѣтъ, такъ какъ хозяинъ всегда считаетъ джетака должникомъ, хотя долги чаще фиктивны. Особенно замѣтно джатачество среди иртышскихъ киргизъ; въ каждомъ казачьемъ поселкѣ можно встрѣтить джетаковъ, ютящихся по землянкамъ и хлѣвамъ казачьихъ дворовъ и влачащихъ жалкую жизнь. Обыкновенно за это джетакъ исполняетъ у казака всю хозяйственную работу и нерѣдко закабаляетъ себя и семью, въ лучшихъ случаяхъ получаетъ въ зиму 5—10 руб.

Экономическое неравенство существуетъ среди киргизъ издавна и обусловливалось въ значительной мѣрѣ ненормальностью формы землевладѣнія. Киргизы владѣютъ землей на правѣ захвата установленномъ обычнымъ правомъ; благодаря этому существуетъ большая неравномѣрность въ количествѣ имѣемой ими землей; такъ, одинъ родъ кибитку тысячу десятинъ земли, другой—десятки, много если сотни десятинъ; усиленная колонизація степей обострила эту ненормальность. Наконецъ не могъ не способствовать этому и общій ходъ развитія экономической жизни киргизъ, именно появленіе земледѣлія, мѣстами переходъ отъ натуральнаго (скотоводческаго) хозяйства къ денежному, и, въ связи съ этимъ, разложеніе патріархальнаго строя. Современный аулъ не представляетъ уже равноправныхъ семей: въ каждомъ можно выдѣлить нѣсколько зажиточныхъ семей, въ экономической зависимости отъ которыхъ находится все остальное населеніе аула. Подобное явленіе (и джатачество) усиливается съ каждымъ годомъ и особенно въ годы „джута" (голода).



На ярмаркѣ въ Уилѣ (*По фот. А. Н. Чанова*)

Прежнія патріархальныя отношенія сохранились (отчасти) въ обычномъ правѣ и семьѣ.

Судъ у современныхъ киргизъ состоитъ изъ „біевъ" (старѣйшинъ въ родѣ, которые прежде наслѣдовали эту должность по роду изъ поколѣнія въ поколѣніе); теперь же бій избирается отъ 100—200 кибитокъ (можетъ имъ быть однако только лицо не моложе 25 лѣтъ и не состоящее подъ судомъ и слѣдствіемъ). Суду біевъ подлежатъ всѣ дѣла цѣнностью чужой собственности и вообще тяжбы до 500 руб. (по не уголовныя); притомъ окончательныя рѣшенія могутъ быть постановлены по искамъ не свыше 30 руб.; по дѣламъ свыше этой нормы судящіеся могутъ апеллировать къ съѣзду волостныхъ біевъ (подъ предсѣдатель-

ствомъ уѣзднаго, теперь крестьянскаго начальника); послѣдніе разбираютъ дѣла на всякія суммы, но окончательное постановленіе могутъ дѣлать по дѣлу на сумму не свыше 500 руб.

Попытки русскаго правительства (1830 и 50-хъ годовъ) реформировать народный судъ кончились неудачей и ухудшили его постановку настолько, что реформа 1868 г., вернувшаяся къ старому выборному началу судей, не могла вернуть къ суду должнаго уваженія; теперешній бій—это ставленникъ извѣстной партіи, дѣйствующей въ ея интересахъ. Судъ біевъ происходитъ публично, причемъ большую роль играетъ присяга свидѣтелей-поручителей тяжущихся. Кромѣ суда біевъ есть судъ домашній (остатокъ патріархата) изъ выбранныхъ родственниковъ или одного „аксакала"; они вѣдаютъ дѣла рода и не подлежатъ контролю біевъ; есть наконецъ и третейскій судъ, къ которому обыкновенно обращаются до народнаго суда.

Здѣсь же слѣдуетъ упомянуть о *барантѣ* — возстановленіи нарушенныхъ правъ силой или „своимъ судомъ". Заключается она въ угонѣ скота обидчика. Въ барантѣ принимаютъ участіе лучшіе джигиты аула, и нужно много смѣлости и ловкости, чтобы угнать лошадей изъ аула обидчика. Въ свою очередь потерпѣвшій аулъ предпринимаетъ въ отместку нападеніе на аулъ нападавшихъ; бываетъ, что въ барантѣ принимаютъ участіе цѣлыя волости [1]).

Патріархальныя отношенія внутри рода и семьи также держатся. Аксакалъ (начальникъ рода) — самое почетное и уважаемое лицо, рѣшеніе котораго равносильно постановленію біи. Въ семьѣ центральное положеніе занимаетъ отецъ: онъ полный и единоличный хозяинъ; женщина и дѣти находятся на положеніи слугъ. Условія жизни ставятъ однако женщину значительно выше, чѣмъ она должна была бы быть юридически. Она фактически является главнымъ хозяиномъ, такъ какъ на ея плечахъ лежитъ воспитаніе дѣтей, приготовленіе пищи и одежды, уходъ за приаульнымъ скотомъ, приготовленіе издѣлій для домашняго обихода, постановка и поддержаніе въ порядкѣ жилища (юрты) и др.; вообще она принимаетъ большое и даже главное участіе во всѣхъ хозяйственныхъ дѣлахъ семьи и этимъ самымъ выходитъ изъ того незавидного положенія, въ которое ставитъ ее законъ. По закону она простая собственность мужа, которая послѣ его смерти поступаетъ въ собственность брата или семьи мужа (послѣднее впрочемъ стало уже выводиться).

Скажемъ нѣсколько словъ о главныхъ обрядахъ киргизъ.

Бракъ у киргизъ нельзя считать таинствомъ или священнымъ обрядомъ — какоемъ онъ, напр., у насъ: у нихъ это гражданская сдѣлка. Современные браки возникаютъ преимущественно на почвѣ такихъ соображеній, какъ породниться съ родомъ, богатымъ землей, или съ родомъ, вліятельнымъ на выборахъ, или наконецъ путемъ калыма поправить свое хозяйство. При такихъ основаніяхъ личное участіе жениха и невѣсты становится излишнимъ, и сговоръ возможенъ когда они, женихъ и невѣста, еще лежатъ въ колыбели. Въ прежнее время калымъ былъ двухъ родовъ—султанскій и киргизскій; первый со-

[1]) Съ барантой пришлось столкнуться переселенцамъ Акмолинской обл. въ первыхъ же дней жизни на новомъ мѣстѣ; киргизы уводили лошадей не только съ поля, но разбирали конюшни. Этимъ киргизы и встали за стѣненіе ихъ въ землѣ.

стоялъ изъ 47 головъ разнаго скота (верблюдовъ, лошадей, коровъ и мелкаго), второй—изъ 37 головъ такого-же скота; при этомъ въ составленіи калыма принималъ участіе весь родъ невѣсты, а въ полученіи—весь родъ жениха. Теперь-же въ составленіи калыма участвуетъ только отецъ невѣсты, почему величина его стала сильно колебаться: у богачей онъ доходитъ до 300 головъ, у бѣдняковъ же случается, что даютъ только одну корову.

Свадьба слагается изъ слѣдующихъ моментовъ: сговора и поѣздки родителей, посѣщенія женихомъ невѣсты, поѣздки невѣсты къ жениху и молитвы муллы. Все это обставлено различными церемоніями и особенно подарками.

Съѣздъ для выбора волостныхъ бѣевъ въ степи.

Послѣ того, какъ состоялся неоффиціальный сговоръ, отецъ жениха съ богатыми и наиболѣе родовитыми родственниками ѣдетъ къ родителямъ невѣсты. Гости предоставляются заботамъ женщинъ-родственницъ невѣсты, которыя угощаютъ и ходятъ за пріѣхавшими; послѣдніе должны „откупиться“ отъ нихъ подарками или остроумнымъ разговоромъ; если этого не бываетъ, то гостямъ грозитъ не только насмѣшки, но и опасности; такихъ гостей женщины насильно одѣваютъ въ женское платье, купаютъ со всей одеждой въ водѣ, брѣютъ усы и бороду, запрягаютъ въ экипажъ, привязываютъ къ вертящемуся колесу и пр.; все это продѣлывается на глазахъ всего аула. Отецъ невѣсты угощаетъ прибывшихъ самымъ вкуснымъ блюдомъ—„куйрюкъ-бауръ“ (лучшія части конины, курдючное сало и печень, все подъ соусомъ изъ курта—„аудукомъ“); съѣсть это блюдо значитъ завязать первый брачный узелъ.

Послѣ этого винта отецъ и родственники невѣсты ѣдутъ къ отцу жениха за полученіемъ калыма или его большей части. Пріѣздъ сопровождается гуляникой. Женихъ посылаетъ при нихъ отъѣздѣ въ аулъ невѣсты „улетры"—конину или другое мясо въ подарокъ женщинамъ аула.

Послѣ сговора и уплаты калыма женихъ получаетъ право посѣщать невѣсту. Эти посѣщенія имѣютъ существенное значеніе, являясь началомъ брака; такъ, въ случаѣ смерти жениха или невѣсты, послѣ того какъ между ними были свиданія, возвращается не весь калымъ, а только половина его, тогда какъ до свиданій удерживается незначительная часть; если женихъ думаетъ жениться на сестрѣ невѣсты, послѣ того какъ имѣлъ съ послѣдней свиданія, то обязанъ къ калыму приплатить новую часть. Свиданія эти должны носить невинный характеръ; если же невѣста окажется матерью, это считается позоромъ для нея и всего ея рода. Первое посѣщеніе женихъ дѣлаетъ съ массой подарковъ и въ сопровожденіи своихъ друзей. Въ юртѣ отца невѣсты происходитъ гулянье; невѣста-же уходитъ, чтобы избѣжать встрѣчи, въ юрту ближайшаго родственника. Ночью товарищи жениха и подкупленныя женщины аула являются къ родственнику, гдѣ во время пированья стараются похитить невѣсту. Происходитъ борьба двухъ партій—невѣстиной и жениховой; послѣдняя почти всегда побѣждаетъ, и невѣсту на коврѣ переносятъ въ юрту отца (это событіе называется „кызъ кашаръ"—бѣгство дѣвы). Здѣсь ее посѣщаетъ женихъ; при этомъ свиданіе ограничивается разговоромъ и держаніемъ руки черезъ рѣшетку юрты и называется „колъ статаръ" (держать руку); женщинъ, устроившихъ свиданіе, женихъ даритъ.

Киргизская молодежь. (*По фот. Бобчинова*).

На слѣдующій день женихъ дѣлаетъ оффиціальное посѣщеніе невѣсты; при этомъ онъ долженъ откупиться отъ различныхъ родственницъ невѣсты, преграждающихъ ему доступъ; эти подарки извѣстны подъ именемъ „кемнъ ульде" (пропала старуха, т. е. одна старуха должна уступить мѣсто новой женщинѣ или „итъ-ирдаръ"—„собака рычитъ", т. е. его, какъ чужого, нельзя впустить) и др. При входѣ жениха на очагъ льютъ масло; женихъ дѣлаетъ родителямъ невѣсты три поклона на од-

номъ колѣнѣ („тижмъ"). Невѣста обыкновенно сидитъ за чевой перегородкой (влѣво), куда и пропускается женихъ; это посѣщеніе невѣсты составляетъ главный моментъ свадьбы; называется оно „корне кіймылъ-датаръ". Всѣ посѣщенія и пріѣзды жениха сопровождаются вниманіемъ съ него подарковъ; можно сказать, что женихъ не можетъ сдѣлать шага безъ того, чтобы за это не взяли съ него подарка родственники невѣсты, не говоря о спеціальныхъ и обязательныхъ, какъ напр. „лю"—подарокъ отцу невѣсты и родственникамъ, „сюзаны"—семьѣ „за молоко матери", и др. Черезъ нѣкоторый періодъ времени (годъ, иногда болѣе или менѣе) женихъ пріѣзжаетъ за невѣстой. Онъ привозитъ остальную часть калыма и скотъ въ даръ („той малъ") въ возмѣщеніе расходовъ, вызванныхъ свадьбой; кромѣ того привозятся кошмы на юрту, которая ставится при его пріѣздѣ особо; деревянныя же части ея даетъ невѣста въ приданое. Въ новую юрту приводится невѣста, и начинается гулянье, причемъ поется наставительная пѣсня „Жаръ, жаръ" (буквальный переводъ „о двухъ половинахъ"), въ которой дается совѣтъ, какой женой должна быть молодая. Затѣмъ юрта и все приданное невѣсты навьючивается, и молодые (невѣста въ брачномъ нарядѣ) въ сопровожденіи матери ѣдутъ въ аулъ жениха. При входѣ въ юрту дѣлаются поливаніе масла на очагъ и колѣнопреклоненія; мать жениха читаетъ наставленіе молодой и палочкой поднимаетъ съ ея лица покрывало (обычай новый; простые киргизы не знаютъ его). Послѣ этого начинается новое гулянье, игры и особенно скачки. Подъ вліяніемъ ислама, послѣ пріѣзда въ юрту жениха происходитъ обрядъ вѣнчанія: надъ чашкой съ водой, куда спущена монета, мулла читаетъ на арабскомъ языкѣ молитву (которой слѣдовательно никто не понимаетъ), затѣмъ спрашиваетъ молодыхъ о согласіи, даетъ имъ пить воду, а затѣмъ и всѣмъ присутствующимъ, монету же оставляетъ себѣ. По пріѣздѣ въ аулъ молодая не имѣетъ права называть мужчинъ ихъ именемъ, а должна дать имъ новыя имена (пережитокъ, указывающій на подчиненное и низшее положеніе женщины въ семьѣ).

Бо́льшая часть браковъ совершается въ возрастѣ 14—18 лѣтъ для невѣсты и 18—20 лѣтъ для жениха; бываютъ и 75-лѣтніе женихи, и женихи въ люлькѣ. Хотя мусульманскій законъ разрѣшаетъ киргизамъ многоженство, послѣднее не распространено, такъ какъ требуетъ большихъ расходовъ и подъ силу только богатымъ; бо́льшая часть киргизъ имѣетъ двухъ женъ (старую и молодую).

Роды происходятъ при такихъ-же условіяхъ, какъ и у крестьянокъ глухихъ угловъ нашего отечества: присутствуетъ бабка, которая въ трудныхъ случаяхъ прибѣгаетъ къ грубымъ пріемамъ, ведущимъ за собой нерѣдко смерть роженицы. На пятый день ребенку дается имя, чаще бабкой (обыкновенно названіе какого нибудь предмета—удочка, нагайка, посуда, веревка и пр., вообще какое придетъ въ голову); рѣже имя даетъ аксакалъ; тогда оно дается въ память какого-нибудь извѣстнаго предка рода; или же имя дается муллой; тогда новорожденные нарекаются именемъ людей, такъ или иначе связанныхъ съ Магометомъ. На пятый годъ производится обрѣзаніе. По случаю благопріятныхъ родовъ киргизы не забываютъ устроить угощеніе и отпраздновать это событіе.

Похороны довольно просты. Умершаго кладутъ въ лѣвой сторонѣ юрты (при входѣ) за чевую перегородку и посылаютъ гонцовъ по ауламъ съ извѣщеніемъ. Всѣ сколько-нибудь знакомые умершему считаютъ

сѣмей обязанностью непремѣнно посѣлить покойника, такъ-какъ при этомъ (по магометанскому закону) облегчаются грѣхи покойнаго и самого посѣтителя. Сверстники-друзья покойнаго производятъ омовеніе, за что получаютъ одежды покойнаго; остальные обыкновенно громко плачутъ и выражаютъ соболѣзнованіе семьѣ покойнаго. Покойника закутываютъ въ бѣлую простыню (или шелковую)—„ахретъ" (т. е. „конецъ свѣта", или одежда того свѣта) и перевязываютъ на головѣ, на поясѣ и въ ногахъ шнуркомъ. Затѣмъ его выносятъ за аулъ на открытое мѣсто, кладутъ на землю такъ, чтобы покойникъ лицомъ смотрѣлъ на юго-западъ (гдѣ находится Мекка), т. е. головой на сѣверо-востокъ и по на спину, а слегка на бокъ (на лопатку). Здѣсь читается на арабскомъ языкѣ молитва „джаната" (освобожденіе души). Мулла обыкновенно спрашиваетъ: „онъ (покойникъ) былъ безгрѣшенъ?", на что присутствующіе отвѣчаютъ: „безгрѣшенъ". Если грѣшенъ, то мулла предлагаетъ выкупить грѣхи покойника скотомъ. Прежде этотъ выкупъ шелъ бѣднымъ, теперь поступаетъ въ пользу муллы. Могилы дѣлаются неглубокими (1—2 арш.), иногда съ боковой нишей, куда и кладется покойникъ (въ „ахретѣ"), нѣсколько на бокъ, взглядомъ къ Меккѣ. Нишу закладываютъ камнями или деревомъ, а сверху засыпаютъ землей; присутствующіе бросаютъ въ могилу горсти земли. Для могилъ выбираются видныя и людныя мѣста у большихъ дорогъ и непремѣнно на холмѣ, сопкѣ или горѣ; этимъ выражается почетъ умершимъ. Сверхъ могилы воздвигаются памятники, самыхъ разнообразныхъ формъ и различной стоимости; большинство изъ нихъ деревянные, но есть и цѣлые мавзолеи, напр. могила Алача, Курнеча, Аблая и др. Могилы чтутся киргизами, какъ священныя мѣста.

Киргизы исповѣдуютъ исламъ. Большая часть ихъ приняла его въ первой четверти XIV вѣка, въ царствованіе хана Узбека (въ Золотой Ордѣ). Проповѣдниками ислама были хивинскіе, бухарскіе и ташкентскіе муллы. Киргизы считаютъ себя суннитскаго толка, т. е. признаютъ, кромѣ корана, священными книгами жизнеописаніе Магомета и другія. Извѣстно, что истинные сунниты весьма ненавидятъ шіитовъ (непризнающихъ этихъ книгъ), болѣе даже, чѣмъ христіанъ; киргизы же не только не отличаются такой нетерпимостью, но скорѣе даже равнодушны къ своей религіи; для нихъ религіозныя распри чужды, и обряды исполняются ими мало; вообще киргизы плохіе магометане. Прежде духовное сословіе составляли хаджи (потомки четвертаго поколѣнія Магомета-Али, носящіе зеленую чалму) и муллы. Позже духовными руководителями (муллами) были малограмотные бѣглые казанскіе татары, спасавшіеся въ степяхъ отъ солдатчины; у безграмотнаго и невѣжественнаго народа этимъ людямъ было нетрудно показать себя истинными муллами. Въ настоящее время киргизы имѣютъ муллъ изъ своей среды. Для подготовки ихъ существуютъ *медресе* (школы при мечетяхъ, въ Петропавловскѣ и Семипалатинскѣ), гдѣ получается первоначальное образованіе; затѣмъ, для пополненія образованія ѣздятъ въ ученые центры мусульманства—Бухару, Хиву, Ташкентъ, Самаркандъ [1]). За послѣднее время, съ усиленіемъ сношеній съ магометанами Средней Азіи,

[1]) Волостной мулла называется ахуномъ. Главное духовное лицо (съ властью нашего архіерея)—муфтій живетъ въ Европейской Россіи.

мусульманство начинаетъ пускать болѣе глубокіе корни. Объ этомъ можно конечно судить по усиливающемуся паломничеству въ Мекку. Въ 1901 году было выдано въ Омскѣ до 300 паломническихъ билетовъ.

Изъ праздниковъ называемъ „курбанайтъ" („жертвоприношеніе", символизирующее принесеніе Исаака въ жертву). Въ этотъ праздникъ должно рѣзать (приносить въ жертву) лучшаго самца (лошадь или быка для того, „чтобы на томъ свѣтѣ, когда грѣшниковъ погонитъ черезъ адъ по тонкой веревочкѣ, острой, какъ сабля, было на чемъ переѣхать"). Рѣжутъ обыкновенно одного животнаго на семь человѣкъ; по старому обычаю, къ столу приглашаются богачами всѣ бѣдные въ аулѣ. Шкуры животныхъ идутъ муллѣ. Праздникъ сопровождается играми и развлеченіями; изъ нихъ популярными считаются скачки, причемъ въ нихъ принимаютъ участіе и дѣвушки; зрѣлище любуются бѣгомъ своихъ лучшихъ скакуновъ, молодежь веселится въ погонѣ другъ за другомъ; если юноша нагонитъ дѣвушку, то ему разрѣшается поцѣловать ее; если-же ему не удастся догнать, то дѣвушка будетъ гнать его обратно. Праздникъ этотъ переходящій.

Типъ городской киргизской мечети.

Въ воспоминаніе поста Магомета установленъ тридцатидневный „уразa" (постъ); мѣсяцъ этого поста называется „Рамазанъ". Въ это время киргизъ обязанъ съ появленіемъ дневного свѣта („какъ только можно видѣть нитку") и до заката солнца отказываться отъ принятія пищи и питья; ѣсть можно только ночью. Киргизы приспособились къ этому такъ, что всю ночь ѣдятъ и пьютъ, а днемъ спятъ. Зимой этотъ постъ проходитъ легко, но лѣтомъ, когда день достигнетъ 18—20 час., поститься составляетъ большой подвигъ, въ особенности для бѣдныхъ, которымъ приходится весь день работать; поэтому несоблюденіе его у послѣднихъ встрѣчается часто. Законъ разрѣшаетъ только для стариковъ, больныхъ, роженицъ, родильницъ и дѣтей три дня или три раза по три дня принимать пищу.

Послѣ „уразы" начинается праздникъ „Рамазанайтъ (Уразайтъ); какъ и предыдущій, онъ проходитъ въ обильномъ потребленіи мяса (баранины, конины) и кумыса, устройствѣ разныхъ развлеченій (борьба, скачки и др.). Кромѣ этихъ двухъ праздниковъ киргизы празднуютъ поминки наиболѣе чтимыхъ покойниковъ; они сопровождаются разнообразными угощеніями, обычными скачками, состязаніями въ верховой ѣздѣ и др.

Киргизы еще не вышли изъ-подъ власти природы; это замѣтное чувствуется въ каждомъ шагѣ киргиза; всѣ сколько-нибудь выдающіяся событія его жизни связаны съ примѣтами, совершеніемъ нѣкоторыхъ обрядностей и др. Закоренѣлый киргизъ не выйдетъ, напр., въ дальнюю дорогу въ субботу и во вторникъ, изъ боязни несчастья, такъ какъ эти дни считаются „тяжелыми". Въ крайнемъ случаѣ онъ долженъ совершить нѣкоторыя церемоніи, которыя обезпечили-бы его отъ неизбѣжности несчастья, напр., отойти наканунѣ на сорокъ шаговъ отъ юрты по направленію предполагаемой поѣздки и зарыть горсть соли въ мѣшечекъ. Выѣзжая въ тяжелый день, киргизъ закапываетъ мѣшечекъ и берет его съ собой, вѣря, что это застрахуетъ его отъ несчастья. Довольно распространены амулеты, которые навѣшиваются какъ на любимыхъ животныхъ, такъ и на дѣтяхъ (у мальчиковъ на груди, у дѣвочекъ иногда въ косахъ).

Отъ прежняго язычества киргизы сохранили вѣру въ *бакси* (шамана обыкновенно старика, къ которому прибѣгаютъ при лѣченіи болѣзней. Христіанство прививается къ киргизамъ весьма туго; дѣятельность сомипалатинской и тургайской киргизскихъ миссій не принесла заметныхъ результатовъ; нѣкоторый успѣхъ, имѣетъ проповѣдь только среди бѣдняковъ (джетаковъ или байгушей), для которыхъ въ числѣ побудителей къ принятію христіанства не послѣднее мѣсто составляютъ чисто матеріальные разсчеты; случаи обратнаго перехода въ магометанство нерѣдки.

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Technical Report 23

THE KAZAKHS

A Background Study for Psychological Warfare

by

Lawrence Krader and Ivor Wayne

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[Title Page]

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Task KAZPO
A research project conducted by
BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, American University
under HumRRO Subcontract Number 650-022

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Technical Report 23
November 1955

Copy 20

The George Washington University
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[P. i]

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[P. ii]

Published
November 1955
by
The George Washington University
HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH OFFICE
Post Office Box 3596
Washington 7, D.C.

Distributed under the authority of the
Chief of Research and Development
Department of the Army
Washington 25, D.C.

S:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 179 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [171]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [154]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

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THE KAZAKHS
A BACKGROUND STUDY
FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

PART I
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

[P. I]

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic.

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace."

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples.

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare.

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

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121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [233] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [521] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. [462] The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [569] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs 648 their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

"FAMILY RELATIONS"

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The organization of Kazakh society by kin groups, bound together by strong ties of blood relationship into disciplined and cooperative units, has both interfered with Soviet planning and increased the extent of Kazakh suffering. The resistance of one person involves all his relatives in the ensuing punishment. At the same time these large family groupings do not fit into the Soviet conception of social and economic organization. The Soviets have, in fact, an explicit policy against "family relations." This phrase has two meanings, one literal, the other figurative. Literally it means nepotism, the use of his position by a man in power to obtain a good post for a relative. Figuratively, it denotes personal relationships on the job, relationships which the Soviet regime feels may permit one person to cover up the failings of another, and which may even become conspiratorial.

In Kazakh society all action and decision take place within the framework of very literal "family relations," and this pattern inevitably is carried over into Soviet-sponsored activities. The bulk of the membership of a collective farm in Kazakhstan today is likely to comprise a single group of blood relatives, its leaders the older men of the group. This is particularly true of those areas in which herding remains important. The retention of kin group solidarity, where it has been permitted, has had two important effects. It has eased the adjustment of the Kazakhs to collectivization, while at the same time making possible maximum cooperation between collective farm members in covering up violations of Soviet directives and policy.

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The problem becomes even more acute when Kazakhs are drawn into industry and into the Party and government. They naturally try to surround themselves with their relatives. Paradoxically, Soviet policy has often tended to foster this tendency; political affiliation, like everything else among the Kazakhs, tends to be a family matter, and a willingness to cooperate with the Communists is confined to certain—usually a very few—families in a given locality. Yet, political (Communist) reliability is necessary for admission into governmental, Party, and technical fields. Hence if Kazakhs are to be utilized at all in these activities, the chances are good that many of them will be related, whether through deliberate nepotism or not. And with this go all the hazards the Soviets see in "family relations."

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[156]

SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

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In general, the Kazakhs participate only to a restricted degree in higher-level activities, particularly those which the Soviets feel are vital for the building and consolidating of the USSR—industry, transport, the Party, and government. There appear to be two reasons for this. The first is that the Slavs do not extend to the Kazakhs equal opportunity for training and advancement. Experiences reported by Turkic soldiers captured from mixed units in World War II suggest that they are generally looked upon as inferiors. Furthermore, in a society in which political

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and pro-
K [562] moted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women
[181] in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and
K where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way
[154] of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will
K increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Neverthe-
[177] less, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide
KN assurance that the process is far from complete.
665

The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework
KN of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.
665

The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—
563 their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth
K only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest
[154] in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

The fact that positions of responsibility are filled by Slavs means that they are almost the only ones in Kazakhstan to be seen enjoying the material rewards so conspicuously granted to members of the Soviet elites. Regardless of whose fault this may be, it must at times breed resentment among the Kazakhs. Similarly, the preponderance of Slavs in higher governmental, Party, executive, and judicial positions means that the Kazakhs are almost never governed, judged, or defended by their fellows. It must often happen that Kazakhs who feel they are the victims of injustice identify this as discrimination. KN 665 563 559 K 648

NATIONALITY POLICY

Soviet policy toward the minority nationalities within the USSR has also created a long-standing dilemma in the case of the Kazakhs—a dilemma which appears to provide an important vulnerability for psychological warfare exploitation. This policy strives to create national political units which are "socialist in content, national in form." This means in effect that the political structure and economy of the various national groups are organized along standard Soviet lines and their energies are directed toward Soviet objectives, but the symbols of nationality (particularly the local languages) are retained to grant a sense of continuity with past traditions. The devising and implementing of this policy was the earliest responsibility assumed by Stalin under Lenin's guidance. It has had varying degrees of success in different areas, but in the balance has proved to be a very useful tool of Soviet administration. KN 563

The Kazakhs, however, are a people still too deeply attached to their old life and its traditions and values to accept mere lip service to their national heritage. Every time an effort has been made to raise Kazakh morale and productivity by permitting public attention to national heroes and literature, the result has been an enthusiasm the Soviets have viewed as threatening. This was particularly true when, during World War II, national patriotism was extensively exploited throughout the USSR to inspire the people to defend their homeland. Among the Kazakhs this developed into a cult glorifying their native heroes and culture, a phenomenon which had also appeared during the 1920's and had grown until it became such a threat that it was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviets. After the war Kazakh nationalism, left unsuppressed, continued to grow in strength until finally in the 1950's a purge was required to check its growing force. K [186] [668]

It seems certain that these sentiments will lie for a long time close beneath the surface, available for mobilization through psychological warfare, regardless of the turns Soviet nationality policy might take in the event of another war. For this reason, considerable attention has been devoted in this report to Kazakh history, including its national heroes, and to Kazakh cultural values and traditions. K 121

One method which the Soviets employ to make the minority republics "national in form" is the utilization wherever possible of native Communists to fill positions in the local Party and government. As might be expected, in the Kazakh SSR there is a chronic shortage of KN 563 665

KN 563 665 Kazakhs who are tried-and-true Communists. Moscow, however, repeatedly criticizes the local Party for the small proportion of natives in positions of administrative responsibility. One result of this pressure is that the Party is forced to accept into its own ranks and those of government and industry marginally reliable persons who, if put to the test, would very possibly prove more loyal to their Kazakh nationality than to their Soviet citizenship. These marginal people—Kazakh and Communist at the same time—deserve particular attention as targets for psychological warfare, because of their psychological vulnerability and also their crucial position as mediators between two cultures. K [121]

RELIGION

KN 798 The religion of the Kazakhs provides the Soviets with yet another problem of policy, at both the local and the Moscow level. Totalitarian governments in general seem to view religion as a threat which must be either neutralized or made captive to serve their own ends. The Communists are no exception. In the Soviet Union they have developed an approach to each of the major organized religions, which has proved more or less successful in attaining these ends.

Most of the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia are thoroughgoing and conservative Moslems. Toward them the Soviets have adopted the familiar procedures of installing puppet leaders and attacking those aspects of the religion which they view as potentially dangerous. But their established techniques and procedures fail to fit the Kazakh pattern. The Moslem religion has had some influence on the Kazakhs, but the aspects of Islam which they have adopted are largely superficial in nature; they still believe in what is essentially a folk religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. During the Tsarist era this fact was apparently never clearly recognized. One assumes that the Communists know better, but their knowledge evidently has not equipped them to deal adequately with the unusual religious blend of Kazakh beliefs and practices. Also, because Kazakh religion is largely local in nature, it has no strong "commanding heights" of organization which can be subverted in order to deliver believers to Communist control. K [171]

As a result of this dilemma, most Kazakhs have been singularly free of attack on religious grounds. Actually, since the Soviets are forced for lack of a better designation to treat the Kazakhs administratively as Moslems, they are in effect in the paradoxical position of encouraging rather than discouraging the Islamic aspect of Kazakh religion. However, although continuing contact with Uzbeks in Southern Kazakhstan has increased the strength of the Moslem religion among some Kazakhs, the old folk religion has retained much of its strength and integrity, and it promises to remain for many years another bulwark of the traditional Kazakh way of life. K [177]

This summary has stressed those aspects of Kazakh culture and recent history most likely to be of pertinent use in planning divisive psychological warfare intended to deflect Kazakh energies away from the objectives of the Soviet regime. The manner of future psychological K 12

warfare exploitation of Kazakh vulnerabilities must depend upon an evaluation of conditions current at the time. However, it seems fairly certain that these vulnerabilities will center primarily about resistance to collectivization, Kazakh loyalties to their own nationality and culture, the strength of Kazakh ties to their kinsmen, and the persistence of their folk religion. 131

RESEARCH METHOD

The Kazakhs were selected as the subjects for this study because the great loss in Kazakh population in the 1930's suggested serious difficulties between them and the Soviets, and also because Kazakhstan is one of the more inaccessible and little known areas of the Soviet Union. Consequently, particular attention has been given to the analysis of demographic data in an attempt to define more exactly the extent and the causes of the population loss. At the same time, every effort has been made to develop techniques for exploiting all possible sources of information in order to provide a methodology applicable to the study of other inaccessible areas. 137

The report relies heavily on the use of local Kazakhstan newspapers, in addition to normally available sources of information. The local materials of the region have been systematically searched, and the analysis of their contents has permitted the composition of a picture of Kazakh life which could be constructed by no other means. Use of local sources of information was first regarded as only one of several research techniques; in the course of the project it developed into a systematic and productive methodology to depict the fabric of life of a region to which we have no direct access—a methodology not limited in its usefulness to the study of Kazakhstan. These day-to-day problems of life under the Soviets are not revealed in the more general sources of information emanating from the USSR, such as the Moscow press and radio. The local press, on the contrary, supplies detailed data on the relations between the ethnic minorities and the central regime in Moscow; it provides a gauge of the strengths and weaknesses of the economy, and points to trouble spots in the political structure, in education, and in cultural affairs.

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PART II
DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

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Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 1

THE SETTING: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY[1]

KN 131 133

The steppes of Asia form a region in which extremes abound. The steppes themselves are a tremendous sweep of climatically and geographically continuous terrain, broken only by the upthrust of mountain chains in the center—the Altai, the Tian-Shan, and the Pamirs. This mountain complex, one of the highest in the world, divides the eastern steppe from the western. The eastern steppe, which lies between Manchuria and the mountain ranges, comprises western Manchuria, both Inner and Outer Mongolia, northeastern Tibet, and most of Sinkiang. In terms of elevation it is "high steppe," lying mostly between a mile and two miles' altitude (1,500 to 3,000 meters). The western steppe, stretching from the Caspian in the west to the Altai-Pamir chain in the east, is "low steppe," lying for great stretches at or below sea level. Whereas the eastern steppe is populated mostly by Mongols, the western is inhabited predominantly by Turkic peoples.

K 101 181

The Kazakhs take their place among the Turkic peoples of the western or low steppe. They are by tradition (i.e., past occupation and present orientation and preference) a nation of herders. Although today not all of them live the life of pastoral nomadism, the Kazakhs still constitute the single largest traditional herding group in the world.

GEOGRAPHY OF KAZAKHSTAN

KN 131 [101]

The Soviet republic that is named for the Kazakhs, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic or Kazakhstan, occupies the central and northern parts of the region formerly known as Turkestan (including Russian and Western Turkestan) or Central Asia (see Figure 1). It includes a large portion of the low steppe and covers an area of more than a million square miles (2,744,300 sq. km.).

KN 133 131

The western boundary of Kazakhstan is formed by the Caspian Sea and the marshy lowlands which stretch along the lower Volga between

[1]The non-Russian sources utilized in this study are listed in the annotated bibliography at the end of this report. References to works in this list are designated by the parenthetical inclusion of the bibliography number of the work. Other references are to Russian-language sources; a selected bibliography of such sources is available upon request from the Human Resources Research Office. The methodology used in the study is discussed in Appendix A.

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ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS OF KAZAKH S S R

Figure 1

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

the Caspian and the southern Ural mountains. This region of rich, grassy steppe comprises some of the best grazing land in the world. It is watered by three large rivers flowing into the Caspian Sea: the Volga in the west, the Ural in the center, and the Emba in the east.[1] A number of lakes, both fresh and salty, are part of the water system. 133 131

The northern perimeter of Kazakhstan lies in the transition zone where the steppe verges into the Siberian black-earth region (north of 52° N and eastward along the Irtysh River). This is good farming country, where typical European produce is grown by Russian and Ukrainian peasants. [563]

The northeastern regions of Kazakhstan, where one also finds Russians and Ukrainians concentrated, are dominated by the Altai Mountains. This vast chain, reaching into the heart of Mongolia, is rich in mineral resources. The old and famous Ridders lead works (now Leninogorsk) are here, gold is mined in the Kalbinsk Mountains to the south, and there is wolframite in the nearby Uba River district. [135]

The eastern border of Kazakhstan is formed by a series of high ranges lying between the Altai and the Tian-Shan, which are traversed by a few passes. Three of these passes, all of them east-west oriented, were important trade and invasion routes. The first is cut by the Irtysh River, which flows from the high steppe into the Siberian plain. Farther south along the Sino-Soviet frontier, the Chuguchak pass serves the important Ayaguz-Chuguchak road. The third pass lies between the Ala-Tau and Tian-Shan systems; it is cut by the Ili River which flows northwest into Lake Balkhash. This mountain complex divides Sinkiang and China from Kazakhstan and Russia. The political boundary was frequently breached, or shifted in response to momentary balances of forces, in the struggles between Russia, China, and England in the 19th century, but the border is mainly a natural one, defined by the crest-lines of the interposing mountain ranges. [487] [439] [648]

Both the eastern and western boundaries of Kazakhstan, falling as they do along natural geographic divisions, are relatively stable. By contrast, the southern frontier is an arbitrary line drawn between Kazakhstan and the other Turkestan republics. These republics are, from east to west: Kirgizia, Uzbekistan,[2] and Turkmenistan. This boundary line, which cuts through a rich region of fertile valleys and oases, has caused the Soviets many problems, and it has been changed from time to time, according to fluctuations in Soviet policy.

Surrounding the fertile valleys and oases in the southern districts and reaching into the central parts of the republic are deserts and steppe deserts (i.e., regions which are not as arid as deserts but are drier than steppes). Scattered through the steppe are pockets of true desert of varicolored sands, the Red Sand and the Black Sand. The northernmost desert—Bet-Pak-Dala, the Hungry Steppe—pierces into the central region between Lake Balkhash and the Aral Sea. Farther north, between 47° N and 50° N, the climate and topography ameliorate 133 134

[1]See Figure 3 in Chapter 5.

[2]Including the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which was transferred from Kazakhstan in 1931. See discussion on pages 17 and 26.

133 134 to the extent of forming true, life-supporting steppe, which in turn gives way to the farming black-earths in the northern edge of the republic.

The lakes of Kazakhstan—which include some of the greatest inland 133 seas in the world—are mainly salt; the largest are the Caspian, Aral, 135 and Balkhash. The northern Caspian littoral area, at the mouths of the Ural and Emba rivers, is not far behind Baku in oil production. There has been a lowering of the level of the Caspian Sea, a process most evident in its shallow parts in the north and east. Many towns which [361] were hitherto ports are now several miles inland, and a crisis in transportation has been created. The rich mineral salt deposits around Kara-Bogaz have been likewise affected.

Exploration and exploitation of the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan 135 gives that republic a high place in the economy of the Soviet Union. [652] This natural wealth accounts for its budgetary position—third among all the republics of the Soviet Union, behind Russia and the Ukraine but ahead of Belo-Russia, the Baltic countries, Uzbekistan, and others. In oil Kazakhstan ranks third, behind only Baku and the North Caucasus.

The coal deposits are concentrated in the Karaganda basin, in the east-central part of Kazakhstan, with minor deposits on the Mangyshlak peninsula on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, at Dzhezkazgan and Baykonur in the center of the republic, and at Lenger, near Tashkent, where lignite resources are tapped. Kazakhstan is poor in iron, and early economic plans called for the combination of its coal with the Urals ferrous developments at Magnitogorsk to form a vast coordinated enterprise. However, the distance and cost of transportation either way, of [397] coal or of iron is great; there are now minor smelters at Temir-Tau near Karaganda which use some of the coal locally, although the bulk is still shipped to the Urals.

There is a good deal of nonferrous metallurgy, partly carried for- 328 ward from prerevolutionary days, partly developed in the Soviet era. [648] The lead mines at Leninogorsk (Ridders), in the Altai Mountains, were initially developed by British capital prior to World War I. Other prerevolutionary developments in nonferrous metals were scattered throughout the region, in the steppe north of the Aral Sea—at Belousovka, Zyryanovsk, Uspenskiy, Dzhetygara, and so forth. The very scattering of these mines means that the Soviet Union had an excellent basis of geological exploration and surveying on which to build. They have added lead mines in the vicinity of Chimkent, in the extreme south, and copper mines in the Balkhash-Kounradskiy area, north of Lake Balkhash. [464] Karaganda coal was developed with forced labor under the NKVD in the 1930's. The Chimkent lead mines were developed in the same way; Kirov, the commissar of Leningrad, assassinated in 1934, was responsible for having Leningrad workers rounded up and shipped to the mines in the midst of a desert in Central Asia.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

563 361 The Slavic, Kazakh, and other Turkic groups in Kazakhstan are by no means smoothly blended together. Rather there appear to be little

pockets of various ethnic groups scattered about the republic and even localized in sections within cities. The most important reasons for this uneven ethnic distribution are, first, the extensive utilization of Slavs in mining and other industries requiring skilled labor, and second, the establishment of political and administrative divisions with little regard for ethnic relationships. KN 563 361

The distribution of mining towns (coal, oil, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, tin, wolframite, and chromite) creates small groups of Russians and Ukrainians among the native Turks throughout Central Asia. Some of these Slavic centers antedate the revolution; some have been created by forced labor, by deportations, and by resettlement policies during World War II. During the 1940's, miners and factory workers were transported from Moscow, Baku, and the Don basin to Kazakhstan. (During the same period, the lands of the Slavic Cossacks along the Ural River were confiscated and the settlements dispersed; this was the only important countertrend to Slavic immigration.) Russians, Ukrainians, and other Slavic groups predominate in the black-earth farming in the north, in truck farming generally, in the extractive industries, and in urban commercial and light industries. KN [135]

Turkic Uzbeks predominate near the southern border, in the cotton-growing regions contiguous to their own republic. As a result, the Kazakhs have been hemmed in by Slavic black-earth farmers in the north, Uzbek irrigation farmers in the south, and Slavic laborers in the urban and mining centers developing in the Caspian region (oil), around Karaganda and Chimkent (coal), and around Balkhash and in the Altai Mountains (minerals). The native Kazakhs have been gradually squeezed into the arid center of their republic, in an arc to the west, north, and east of the Aral Sea. K [101] K [131]

There is no free intermingling of nationalities on the land. Peoples tend to stay within regions determined by their economic specialization and traditional occupation, a tendency already described for the principal populations, the Kazakhs, Russians, and Uzbeks. The smaller populations of the republic present the same pattern. The rural Tadzhiks in Kazakhstan are gathered into one district in the region of Dzhambul, in the south. The Uigurs and Dungans live only in the eastern part of the Ili River valley. Turkmens are found only in the west and south.

The rural segregation of nationalities presumably is true of the cities also. Although no clear proof exists on the matter, available data suggest that ghettoes have formed in the cities, where groups live in their own separate centers of communication and social interaction. The Slavic and Turkic elements keep themselves apart. This conclusion is supported by the extremely low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. KN 563 369

The establishment by the Soviets of political and administrative boundaries has led to a number of incongruities. During the 1920's, Russian leaders officially advocated following ethnic boundaries, but this policy was enforced only half-heartedly. By the end of the twenties, the Soviets had decided to reconstruct the political divisions of Central Asia which had existed prior to the Revolution (although the previous policy of following ethnic boundaries was never fully retracted). Thus KN 563 631

KN 563 631 5 147

it happened that, thus the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Burut. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

K [10]

Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

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The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic.[1] The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

[1]In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

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of the modern Iranians, who conquered nameless aborigines five hundred years before the present era. The Scythians were later overwhelmed by Huns coming from the east, who were followed by Greeks under Alexander the Great, Persians (Parthians, Sogdians, Bactrians), Mongolian hordes (Hephthalites), Avars, Arabs, Turks, and Turko-Mongols again in successive onslaughts, and finally by Russians in the 19th century.

The predominant life pattern of these peoples is nomadic pastoralism. The classic habitat of nomadism is the Asiatic steppe, and the classic practitioners are the Turks and Mongols. In the course of the past thousand years, many herders have gone over to farming as a more efficient form of land utilization wherever climate and soil factors have permitted it. Farming enables more people to get a living out of less land than does herding. The fertile valleys and oases of Central Asia, coupled with the example of earlier Asiatic peoples, have encouraged many of the Turks to make this transition. Indeed, the history of Asia can be interpreted as a history of the relations between herders and farmers, each of whom needs and trades for the products of the other; conquests and wars result from the breakdown of this traditional symbiotic relationship.

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The various peoples of the region have archaic forms of social organization. However ancient and extensive their states and empires, it is the tie of blood which unites a people. Theoretically, all Kazakhs are descended in the male line from a common ancestor, as are the Uzbeks and the Mongols. The societies and nations of the region are composed of an intricate web of relationships which are partly blood ties and partly political ties. The fact of descent from the ancestor of all Kazakhs determines a man's "Kazakhhood"; the fact that all Kazakhs once formed a single nation likewise determines his membership in Kazakh society.

The modern era of relative chaos on the steppes of Asia began with the death of Tamerlane and the collapse of his empire early in the 15th century. He ruled over the last of the great empires which had drawn their strength from nomadic warriors and had dominated Central Asia for so many centuries. His death marked the end of this long period of political integration; instead of one great and inclusive Turkic nation on the steppe, there began the age of particularisms which continued down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century. Parallel processes were at work in Europe at this time, but, unlike Europe, the local patriotisms and local loyalties on the steppe had no fixed territories, boundaries, or capital cities.

All the great cities of Central Asia lie outside the steppe in the surrounding fertile valleys. These cities—Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar—were once world-famous for their splendor, and their mention still leaves a ring of ancient glory. They were centers of learning, of administration, of trade and caravan entrepots, of bazaars, of arts and handicrafts. During the chaotic period from the 15th to the 19th centuries they failed to achieve domination over the steppe, nor did the herdsmen of the steppe win power over them. Thus the period between the recession of the great nomadic empires and the Russian conquest and engulfment was a time of intermittent wars and uneasy peace. These troubled

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times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

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However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

KN 173 believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

K 173 602 K [648] The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

K KN [166] These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648 During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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These Kazakhs were united briefly at the end of the 17th century by the great Khan Tauke (or Tiavka), a leader equally gifted as political integrator and as law-giver. With his death, however, they broke up again into the three hordes.

Cossack lines were established to the north and thrust into the steppes from the northwest during the 18th century. The Russian conquest of Central Asia took place in the 19th century, although Russian penetration had begun in the 18th. The principal patterns—as in the history of many other colonizations—were force, persuasion, and good luck. The Russians were able to play one group against another, for example, Kalmuks against Kazakhs; when native Slavs rebelled under Pugachev, Moscow played Turk against Cossack and Kalmuk against Cossack.

There were several important defections from the side of the Turks to the Russians. A famous Khan of the 1740's, Abul Khair, asked Russian aid in the incessant wars of Turk against Turk on the steppe. Early in the 19th century another Kazakh leader, Khan Bukei, a descendant of Abul Khair, led 1,500 Kazakh families of the Little Horde across the Ural River onto Russian territory, seeking refuge from the steppe wars. By 1805 his horde had grown to 5,000 tents or families, and by 1845 to 30,000. At this point a new horde, the Inner or Bukei Horde, was formed.

How he was able to do this, how it happened that enough room for 30,000 nomadic families could be found between the Ural River and the Volga, is part of the long story of the lasting dissensions and resentments on the steppe. At the beginning of the 17th century the Kalmuks had moved from the eastern steppe (Chinese Dzungaria) to the Volga, and pastured their herds on the steppes between the Ural River and the Volga, north to the Don River and the vicinity of present-day Stalingrad, south to the western shores of the Caspian Sea. In 1771, thousands of them fled across Turkestan back to China, decimated as they moved by their Turkish enemies, the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, and Kirgiz. Those Kalmuks who remained lived west of the Volga, and the steppe to the east as far as the Ural River was left free. This part of the steppe was left as a vacuum because Tsarist policy established a military line of Cossack settlements[1] along the Ural River down to the Caspian, which prevented movement into the steppe. In 1800, Khan Bukei petitioned Moscow for permission to occupy this steppe and Moscow, to gain an ally in the steppe, granted the petition, thus conforming to the old political adage of divide and rule. The new horde was called the Inner Horde, because it lay within the Cossack lines, or the Bukei Horde, after its founder.

The only constant pattern in the history of the steppe nomadic culture has been that of instability. With no over-all political order, it was inevitable that Russian "protection" should be sought by particular factions while others held aloof.

During the 19th century the Kazakhs engaged the Russians in a number of sporadic wars and rebellions. The leaders of these movements have been variously depicted as great liberators or as feudal lords who, jealous of their domains, refused to let the Russians in.

[1]Dispersed after the Revolution.

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One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the
[173] century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

east, he gained support among many elements of the Great Horde, the easternmost of the Kazakh divisions. He sought the support of China, which was promised him, and the allegiance of the Kirgiz, which they refused. His strategy was to use the Kirgiz mountain pastures as his base of operations against the Russians. He campaigned against the Kirgiz and was at first successful, but in the spring of 1847 he fell into a trap, was defeated by the Kirgiz, taken prisoner, and executed. 175 648

During much of Russian rule Kazakhstan was a place of exile. Banished there were such outstanding individuals as Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of the Ukraine, and Dostoevsky, great Russian novelist.

In the economic sphere, outside capital was brought in during this period by traders and bankers of Tatar and Russian origin. In an isolated case, a British mining development was undertaken at Ridders in northeast Kazakhstan. Religious dissidents came to settle and farm the north and northeast portions of the region. In general, however, the commercial and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and Russia were not deep.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1900

The Kazakhs were sensitive to political developments in Russia, however. During the revolution of 1905 the Kazakhs had a distant echo of the events in European Russia. During World War I they engaged in a rebellion of their own, a year before the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolt the Kazakhs objected to military conscription and to confiscation of their property, which was presumably taken over for war purposes but in fact often ended up in private, non-military hands. There is some indication that Russian private interests "provoked" the revolt in order to confiscate Kazakh land and herds. 175 648 668

At the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Kazakhs already had a year's experience of revolt behind them. In opposition to and under the influence of Russian contact, the Kazakhs underwent their own political evolution; that is, they evolved a political expression of their nationalist consciousness. It took the form of the Alash-Orda party. This was not really a party, for it lacked a formal organization and a platform or explicit political philosophy; it was vague in its aims and in its external relationships to other parties and nations. Its leaders were Kazakh intellectuals who later disbanded, some joining the Bolsheviks, some fleeing to Turkey.

During the civil war, from 1918 to 1922, the White generals Kolchak and Dutov were faced by the Red Army commander, Frunze, who appealed to the workers in Turkestan to support him. In April 1919 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree calling for a founding Congress of Kirgiz Soviets in Orenburg (now Chkalov, in the southern Urals). In July of that year, a Revolutionary Committee for the Administration of the Kirgiz Districts was established. (At that time, the area including the present Kazakh and Kirgiz republics was administered as one unit, which bore the name Kirgiz.) 175 648

By the end of 1919, Kolchak was defeated. With the destruction of Kolchak's southern army in the fall of 1919, direct contact between

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Central Asia and Soviet Russia was established, and in March 1920 the last remnants of the White Army were driven out of Kazakhstan.

A Communist Party organization was quickly formed in the newly won territories. The Central Committee of the Party set up a Province Bureau, in which were united all party organizations, at Aktyubinsk in May 1920, and in October a founding Congress of the Kirgiz (Kazakh) Soviets was held in Orenburg, then the regional capital.

Kazakh participation in the Revolution and civil war was minimal. Their political energy was poured into local Turkic movements rather than into the Bolshevik party. They took little initiative in aligning with the Russian Revolution, and played only a small part in Frunze's campaigns, despite his appeals; their partisan activity in the civil war is skipped over in contemporary accounts. Certainly no Kazakh appears in the leadership of the Bolshevik movement in the early period. Years later, in a search for an honor roll of revolutionary Kazakh leaders, a certain Amangeldy was singled out, and collective farms and administrative districts were named in his honor. It appears, however, that at the time of the Revolution he had acquired little fame.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was formed in 1918; in 1922 it federated with the Belo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Transcaucasian soviet socialist republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1925, the Transcaucasian SSR was divided into the three present republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, and two autonomous republics, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, were raised to the status of union republics.

Prior to 1917 Russian Turkestan was divided into three political units, the province of Turkestan and two vassal states of Russia, the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara. The Revolution and the civil war changed the social structure of Turkestan and with it the administrative picture. The Red Army dissolved the principality of Khiva in 1910; the Emirate of Bukhara was invaded in 1920 and the Emir driven out. In 1920 the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks were organized into the Kirgiz Autonomous SSR. In 1924 Kazakhstan was made an autonomous republic and separated from the Kirgiz ASSR; both republics, however, were still part of the RSFSR and were administered from Moscow. The Karakalpak Autonomous Region was attached to the Kazakh ASSR until 1931, when it was assigned to the Uzbek SSR. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution in 1936, Kazakhstan was separated from the RSFSR and made a union republic, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, its present status.

THE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT

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There is a steady flow of people across the Central Asian borders of the Soviet Union. It would of course be a mistake to regard the

Soviet border as a sieve; it is not, and at present movement out of Soviet Central Asia to the surrounding countries is difficult. But it is not impossible. Archeologists in northern Iran have reported the presence of individuals who were obviously natives of Central Asia but plainly not of local origin. It was explained to one of the archeologists that these newcomers were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. KN 167

In recent years articles have referred to a flow in the opposite direction. The Ismaelian sect of Islam has had a strong and faithful following among the tribes of the Pamir Mountains for many centuries. Collectors of tribute in postwar years have appeared in southern Tadzhikistan to collect the age-old due, and this practice has been the subject of complaint in the local newspapers.

On a broader scale, there have been flights from the Soviet Union into all the surrounding countries. During the 1930's, over 30,000 Kazakhs appeared in Outer Mongolia, a region in which few Kazakhs previously had lived. There they remain to this day. Untold numbers of Kazakhs fled across to Sinkiang; some made a second trek, from Sinkiang to Kashmir, when the agents of Mao Tse-tung appeared in the Chinese province. K [167]

Thousands have migrated from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, their number increasing steadily from the 1920's through the 1940's. The Afghan government at first announced a protective policy toward these migrants, but this policy was never put into practice and recently it has been officially revoked. As a result the people suffer as much outside the Soviet Union as they had within; there is much unrest, and many return to the USSR. Suffering and unrest are evident in Iran as well, although the flow has not been as noticeable there; strangers lose themselves more easily in Iran than in Afghanistan.

Here is a vast field for fruitful work. These migrant peoples are potential sources of information; they are channels of communication into and out of the Soviet Union. Extensive interviewing and survey work among these groups could reap rich rewards. K 121

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Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs [648] appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

[1]Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this 114 report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography 113 by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Grauman (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [167] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbidden by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, [648] and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet [554] life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 233 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 171 648 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

648 A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of
161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers.
648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

[474] During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses.
[565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the
[162] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry
[167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 [67] [731]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1939 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [171] [197]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant [165] factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, 131 nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

were settled in other neighboring republics. In 1926 the Kazakhs had numbered just slightly less than 4,000,000, of whom 93 per cent lived within the 1926 boundaries of Kazakhstan. There had been important shifts in the territory of the Kazakh republic during the interval—in some cases territory was added, in others taken away. The total area in 1926 was 2,850,000 square kilometers; in 1939 it was 2,730,000, a reduction of 4.2 per cent. Table I summarizes the 1926 and 1939 population figures.

K [6] [31] KN [31]

Table I

TOTAL AND KAZAKH POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN, 1926 AND 1939

KN [62]

Year	Total Population of KSSR	Number of Kazakhs in KSSR	Kazakh Per Cent of Total Population
1926	6,503,000	3,710,000	57
1926 (1939 boundaries)	6,074,000	3,468,000	57
1939	6,146,000	2,640,000	43

In 1926, Kazakhs constituted a majority of the population of Kazakhstan (57%); by 1939, they had shrunk to 43 per cent. This change in the ratio of Kazakhs to non-Kazakhs is due in part to the decrease in number of Kazakhs, and in part to the migration of Russians into the republic. In 1926 there were about 2,500,000 non-Kazakhs within the 1939 boundaries of Kazakhstan. The number of such persons had increased by 1939 to approximately 3,550,000. Natural increase could have caused only part of this growth; migration of peoples into the republic must have been responsible for most of it. This influx must also have exceeded the movement of non-Kazakhs to the new industrial developments in southern Siberia.

KN 167 [62]

This migration into Kazakhstan consisted largely of urban and industrial workers. Kirov, one of Stalin's aides in the early 1930's, initiated the policy of resettling thousands of Russians from the Leningrad region to build the industrial area around Karaganda. A second wave of migration took place during World War II, when again many people from the factories of Leningrad and Moscow and the mines of the Don basin were moved to Kazakhstan.

According to Soviet sources, Kazakhs and Russians (exclusive of Ukrainians and Belo-Russians) made up 80 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan in 1939. If 43 per cent is the correct figure for the Kazakh proportion of the total population at that time, then the Russians constituted approximately 37 per cent of the whole, or about 2,275,000, and the Kazakhs numbered about 2,650,000.

KN 162

The urban population more than tripled between the two censuses, growing from 519,000 to 1,706,000, from 8.5 to 28 per cent of the whole. Slightly more than 800,000 were located in the seven major cities of the republic, those with populations greater than 50,000 in 1939. This increase by 3.3 times exceeded the average rate of urban increase for

KN 162 the USSR as a whole. Yet the total population of Kazakhstan remained virtually static, increasing by only 72,000 from 1926 to 1939 within the 1939 boundaries, an increase of 1.2 per cent. The rural population, however, decreased by more than a million, from 5,550,000 to 4,440,000. This comparison of rural and urban population figures summarizes the chief economic trends of the period: the loss of farmers and herdsmen through starvation, liquidation, and migration and the growth of the cities through the influx of industrial workers.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KAZAKHSTAN TO 1954

KN 161 K [120] It is difficult to make accurate estimates of Soviet population since the 1939 census, but methods have been devised for making estimates. Through figures for school registrations and for numbers of voters and voting districts, one can derive some idea of postwar Kazakh population trends (Table 2).

Table 2

ESTIMATED RECENT TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Population Estimate	Per Cent Increase Over Previous Estimate
1948 (January)	6,560,000	6.7[b]
1950 (December)	6,800,000	3.8
1954 (March)	7,200,000	5.9

[a]Estimated through voting district analysis.
[b]Per cent increase over the 1939 figure of 6,150,000.

The 1939-1948 period showed an over-all population increase in Kazakhstan of 6.7 per cent. Since this period included the war years, losses due to the war were apparently compensated for by natural increase and migration into the republic. Possibly by 1948 some of those who had moved into Kazakhstan during the war had returned to their former homes. One example of this was the film industry, which established itself almost completely in Alma-Ata during the war, but which had returned to Moscow and Leningrad by 1948.

KN [546]

The total estimated increase in population from 1939 to 1954 amounted to approximately one million. Forty per cent of this increase occurred in the nine-year period from 1939 to 1948, and 60 per cent of it in the remaining six years. The higher rate of increase during the more recent years is plausible, because of the elimination of the losses due to the war and to the movement out of the republic in the years 1946-1947. There is evidence of continued migration into Kazakhstan to the present day, in addition to natural increase, but it would be difficult to assign relative weights to these two factors.

KN [161]

If the preceding estimates of the total population of Kazakhstan are correct, and if the percentage of Kazakhs in the population remained at the estimate for 1939 (43%), then the number of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan

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during the postwar period may be estimated as follows: 2,800,000 in 1948, 2,900,000 in 1950, and 3,100,000 in 1954. However, there is good reason to believe that this ratio of 43 per cent no longer holds true. Heavy Slavic migration into the republic since 1939 has probably increased the proportion of non-Kazakhs, even though the Kazakhs may have had a higher birth rate. Secondly, if the Kazakhs constituted 43 per cent of the 1954 population, they must necessarily have increased by more than 20 per cent of their 1939 number. This seems unlikely, in view of the losses and the probable reduction in birth rate during the war. It seems most probable, then, that the proportion of Kazakhs has decreased to a ratio somewhat below 40 per cent of the total population of Kazakhstan.

KN 162 K 161 KN [167]

WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF KAZAKHS

K 161 131

According to a Soviet estimate in 1939 there were about 400,000 Kazakhs outside the USSR, who together with the 3,100,000 resident in the Soviet Union made a total of 3,500,000. Those outside the Soviet Union lived in Sinkiang and in western Mongolia, with scattered thousands in Afghanistan, Iran, Kashmir, and Turkey. Numerical data on these Kazakhs are even scarcer than on those within the USSR.

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited rhythmically, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [171]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2] Samoilovich, in Redesko et al, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.

[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are [567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From 602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan [565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal 613 leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It [622] did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing [582] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. [614] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader [595] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he [622] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the [592] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altynsarin, 1870, p. 104.

[2] [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 ~ ANALYST.]

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [597]

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-4; Abdykalykov and Paskutova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

607 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more
597 complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the
[569] guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants
[592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2]Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3]Kharuzin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Izvestnov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4]Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[3]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[3] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[3]Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[3]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [584] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1] USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. 593 562 [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[584] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum
levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell
their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an
extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a
considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when
she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression
which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their
descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but
on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls.
She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her
husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on
their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost
and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which
the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of
payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains
the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and
moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her
father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the
long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is
a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
[554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two
Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges;
bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-
service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is
stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the
families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich
[554] families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of
moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the
poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep
or a kid.[5]

[1]Dichwin, 1950.
[2]Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [606] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 642 171

[1] Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2] Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3] Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role;
[602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system,
538 since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a
[428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have
565 been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming
[619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society,
[177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow
[622] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen
[602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-398.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 698 [494]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 23.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-190, 200.
[3] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

177 648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts [668] against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing [538] the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Vlatkin, Bekmakhanov, Shoinbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led [668] a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [221] [596] [342]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1]Pravda, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2]Karbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 42-45.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over
648 the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along
177 lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are
621 larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communi-
474 ties have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm
621 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining
[563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[1]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[2]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[1]Korbe, 1950, p. 71.
[2]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[3] 582 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[3]Ibid., p. 86.

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of archi- [341] tecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter [263] on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central [369] Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to [186] keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, K 177 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from 186

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

systematic, and subject to a number of qualifications. What data there are, however, suggest that among the people of Kazakhstan Russians marry Russians and Turks marry Turks. Again it appears that the Kazakhs do not wish to mingle with the Russians, just as, in the political domain, they do not join the Party nor engage in other political activities with the Russians. In general, on the basis of what direct evidence there is, this attitude may be summed up as noncompliance, or a kind of passive resistance. Corroborative data are seen in the economic domain, where the Kazakhs are not fulfilling plans. 177 186 668

THE SOVIET THEORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

The theory of acculturation in anthropology has been devised to describe the social process which occurs when two different cultures come into close contact with each other. This theory has arisen out of the reflections of western European and American ethnologists on contact between their own culture and others. But there is in western civilization no general theory of culture which deals with total control of the social relations and direction of change resulting from such contact. The Russian policy toward minorities within the Soviet Union is nothing other than a theory of controlled acculturation. In their theory of history and in the formulation of their minority policy the Soviet theoreticians have proclaimed a method whereby they—and they alone—are able to control the processes of social development. They boast control over the direction in which the different peoples of the Soviet Union will change; they claim the power to dictate the manner of the change and the form that the ultimate society will take. 177 [121]

Starting out as a society of pastoral nomads in which membership was based on paternal kinship traced from a common male ancestor (a society also divided into aristocrats and commoners), the Kazakhs joined—or rather, were drafted into—the Soviet world. The Soviet ethnographers depict the Kazakh society as an amalgam of institutions surviving from the past, coupled with Soviet features such as collective farm organization, Party membership, and government by soviets. The survivals include the family as the unit of production and consumption, and the traditional village organization, upon which the collective farm has been superimposed. Another survival is nepotism, which is ever present in Kazakh political life. A society steeped in traditions of kinship thinks of kinship as the means for social cooperation; hence, nepotism is inherent in the very nature of Kazakh society and inevitably finds its way into the political life. But it is incompatible with the Soviet pattern and it is attacked as such.

Soviet criticism of these features, and the constant drive to eradicate them, are essential elements in the theory of controlled social and cultural change. This change originating in the contact between the Russian and the Kazakh cultures becomes a part of the general pattern of controlled acculturation. This, however, is only the theory.

In reality there is little evidence that the grand plan for social change is being carried out, or even that there is a means for carrying

177 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen. [621]

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1] [565] [182]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them. [648]

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance. [182]

[1] Krader (77), 1953.

Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today. 177 171 119 [369]

No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1] 177 114 119

> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed: another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mohammedans, whereas in the last [18th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mussulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mussulman to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mussulmans, and to our treating them as such. As incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (110), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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EVALUATION OF ISLAM IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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. . . The folk religion of the Kazakhs has formed a distinct block to the process of Sovietization. This does not mean that Islam among the Kazakhs is regarded as a key threat by the Soviet regime, but it can be said that the folk religion of the Kazakhs, including certain elements which that religion shares with Islam, is dangerous to the Soviets.

One may gain a clearer perspective by contrasting the situation regarding antireligious propaganda in Kazakhstan with that in Uzbekistan. Islam is singled out in the press of Soviet Uzbekistan as a central heresy. When Osman Yusupov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, reported to the Party's 10th Congress, a large part of his report dealt with the problem of Islam among the Uzbeks. His statement concluded with a resolution to "battle against the Moslem religion."[1] A similar report given to the Fifth Kazakh Party Congress in 1951 by Shaiakhmetov, then first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, made no mention of Islam as a danger in Soviet Kazakhstan.[2] At about the same time Shaiakhmetov, in a report on ideological work presented to the 88th Plenum of the Central Committee in Kazakhstan, devoted himself to the various deviations from the Party line—bourgeois nationalism, xenophobia, autonomism, idealization of the feudal past, and so forth. Again there was no mention of Islam.[3]

On the other hand the sedentary Turkic and Central Asiatic populations of Kazakhstan, such as the Uigurs and the Dungans, are repeatedly attacked for "Islamic survivals." The following attacks on religious heresies in Kazakhstan were printed in Kazakhstankaia Pravda in a little more than a year:

12 March 1952 – Article on the religious survivals (polygamy) in the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region (a district inhabited by Dungans).

12 March 1952 – Critique of the religious mentality in South Kazakhstan Region.

14 March 1952 – Article on the religious survivals among the Dungans of Dzhambul Region.

25 March 1952 – Article denouncing the survival of the feudal mentality among the Komsomols (Young Communists) of Chimkent.

21 May 1952 – Account of the work of the Congress of Scientific Establishments convoked by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata. This Congress denounced the survival of religious activity in the Kzyl-Orda and Pavlodar regions.

6 July 1952 – Article denouncing the survivals of such Islamic institutions as the harem and the sequestration of women among the Dungans of Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

19 September 1952 – Attack on the persistance of the Islamic tradition among the Dungans of the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

[1] *Kizil Uzbekistan*, 2 Mar 49.
[2] *Kazakhstankaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28 Oct 51.

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4 March 1952	– At the Sixth Congress of the Kazakh Komsomol, the regional committees of South Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, and Alma-Ata regions, were denounced for failing to combat inequalities in female education.
7 July 1953	– Article of similar tenor on the Kzyl-Orda Region.
2, 3, and 4 April 1953	– Komsomol Congress. Again survivals of traditional religion are denounced with reference to Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, and South Kazakhstan regions.

All the regions cited in which the religious issue has been raised lie in the southern part of Kazakhstan, with the exception of the one case noted for Pavlodar, in the north. The south is the zone of sedentary agricultural tradition, heavily Islamicized for many centuries. Moreover, in many regions of the south there is a large Uzbek population.

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Even if Grigoriev's account of the lack of Islamic influence in the southern part of the Kazakh steppe was true for his day, this situation no longer exists. Tsarist and Soviet policies have combined the Uzbeks with the Kazakhs for administrative purposes, and cultural interaction between these two peoples has increased in the past century. As a result, more of Islam has appeared among the Kazakhs in the south than in the center or the north, a reversal of the trend described by Grigoriev.

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The policy of political combination on an ever-increasing scale has also been applied to the Kazakhs in the religious domain. As a consequence, Kazakh representatives have appeared at official Soviet-Moslem congresses sponsored by Moscow, and they occupy a high place in the Moslem religious administration. The world of Islam within the USSR is divided into four regional administrations under the supreme presidency of the grand Mufti-al-Islam, whose seat is in Ufa, the capital of Soviet Bashkiria. The present incumbent is the Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev. The four regional administrations are:[1]

(1) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the RSFSR, at Ufa, Bashkir ASSR.
(2) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at Tashkent, Uzbek SSR.
(3) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the North Caucasus, at Bunaisk, Dagestan ASSR.
(4) The Spiritual Directorate of the Shia Moslems and the Moslems of all Transcaucasia, at Baku, Azerbaijan SSR.

The second of the spiritual directorates listed governs the religious community of Islamic Central Asia; its territory comprises Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzkikistan. Its mufti, who ranks together with the three other regional Moslem chiefs directly under the Grand Mufti in Ufa, is Ishan Babakhan, and Uzbek; the second in command in Soviet Central Asia, directly under Mufti Ishan, is the Kadi Abdulgaffar Shemsuddinov, a Kazakh.[2]

The Moslem Administration of the Soviet Union has convoked a series of congresses whose timing is of great interest. A congress of all Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union was convened under the chairmanship

[1]Bessignon (11), 1952, pp. 13-13.
[2]L'*Oriente Moderno* (87), 1949, p. 11; *Islamic Review* (69), April 1949, pp. 50-51.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1]Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orienta Moderno* (37), 1942, p. 372.
[2]Bonnigsen (11), 1952.
[3]One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

121 668 and seeking a revival of their own native culture. They frequently do this by attributing a mystical power to their aboriginal culture and selecting from it elements to serve as a source of strength in their present battle with the western world. These elements then become combined with features of western culture. The general term nativism has been used to describe this pattern of cultural development. The concept is applicable to many contemporary situations; the Celtic revival in Wales and Ireland may be regarded as a revivalistic form of nativism, and certain elements in the foundation of the state of Israel belong under the same heading.

Although the symbols and professed aims of nativistic movements are cultural and political in nature, their primary motivating force is essentially religious. Despite their frequent lack of purposeful organization, nativistic movements can have great strength; they are born of desperation and fed by a fervor much like that which characterizes messianic religions. Frequently, in fact, the leaders become in effect messiahs; in other cases the revered figures of the movement are heroes of the past.

668 Nativism among the Kazakhs has followed the latter course, focusing on the mythical ancestors and later heroes of Kazakh history. During the period 1916-1922, a nativistic political movement arose in what is today Kazakhstan (at that time Kirgizia). This movement—the Alash-Orda—was not a political party in the strict sense of the term, although it undertook a broad range of political activities, within the European frame of meaning; it supplied a leadership and ideology to a movement seeking the cultural as well as the political unification of the Kazakh nomads. The general chaos on the steppes of Asia after the collapse of Tsarism and before the solidification of the Soviet rule provided the opportunity for such a movement. In those years, the nascent era of the Soviet regime, Moscow was involved in revolution and civil war, and had little time or manpower to spare for the integration of Central Asia into Bolshevik-Leninism. In fact, Moscow reacted in a vaguely friendly way to the Alash-Orda since it too was antagonistic to Tsarism. For a brief moment, it appeared to the members of the Kazakh political movement that Moscow would supply the means for the liberation of the Kazakhs.

The Alash-Orda had no specific political program other than urging itself as the representative of the Kazakh people. It made no real effort toward political separatism from the Russian regime; possibly it felt that this would come naturally, or that the time was not yet ripe and the leaders themselves not far enough advanced politically to call for such a move. The general slogan, the name Alash-Orda, under which these Kazakh leaders and intellectuals sought to unify their people, reflects their desire for unity as a people.

The Orda is the horde, the broad organizational unit of Kazakh society, which in recent centuries had known no unity, but only a division into three and later four separate hordes. The name represents the revival of a social and political organization from the distant past of the Kazakhs. Even the smaller hordes had but little meaning for the Kazakhs after the middle of the 19th century. And the unification of all

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [173] [126]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 299-300.
[2] For a summary, see Togaibaev, 1934, passim.

648 is little evidence of contact between the Alash-Orda and the Basmachi,
668 at least at the beginning of the 1920's. But of late the various movements have become combined in the minds of the survivors, and this integration is attributed by them to the past of 30 years ago. Among the most active in this connection is Zeki Walidi Togan, a Turkic historian, now in Turkey, and once a leader in these movements.

The Kazakh revivalists were actively sought out and suppressed by the Soviet regime in the late twenties and early thirties. However, when the USSR was attacked by Germany, Moscow sought to use all tactics at its disposal to encourage the peoples in the Soviet Union to resist Hitler. One such tactic was the encouragement of local cultural traditions among the various peoples, the creation of a native pride which they might fight to preserve. The Kazakhs were encouraged to develop their own history, with the sole proviso that the Soviet era be depicted as the culminating point in their development. This policy was related to the previously cited theory which viewed Tsarism as the lesser evil to Turkestan's being swallowed up by the English, the Germans, or the Chinese. The Soviet policy during World War II produced a great revival of Kazakh in-group feeling, centered around the glorification of Kazakh heroes of the past. Since the Kazakhs had developed their own historical studies
[814] during the past century, a process which was accelerated in the Soviet period, the movement to popularize Kazakh heroes and their deeds was turned over to the historians.

Khan Kenesary Kasymov was much written about, discussed, and praised; his name became a popular byword among the Kazakhs in the 1940's, after a century of oblivion. One Kazakh historian, Gabidullah Bekmakhanov, wrote a full-length history of Kenesary's activities against the Russians; this work, prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1943, was published in 1947 in Alma-Ata. An official history of Kazakhstan written by Abdykalykov, a Kazakh, and the nominal co-author Pankratova (who since has become president of the Historical Section of the All-Union Academy of Sciences) likewise assigned a great and positive historical role to Kenesary. Other pronouncements of the period were less temperate; Sharipov, a Kazakh historian writing in 1949, pictured Kenesary as the prime national liberator. Two professors of history, Ismailov and Djumaliev, took the same line, the latter in a history book written for Kazakh school children.

The movement sought other heroes in the Kazakh past, especially those who had been active against the Russians: Batyr Srym was presented as a heroic figure by his official biographer, Viatkin; the historical significance of Isatai Taimanov, a rebel or liberator of the middle of the 19th century, was advanced by one Shakhmatov; an obscure figure who led a revolt among the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya against the Russians, Batyr Djankhodji Nurmuhammed, was described by T. Shoinbaev.

The historical tradition which developed was clearly Kazakh, the result of the Kazakhs' search for a native expression of their own, the recreation of a tradition which had lain dormant for several decades.

668 Kazakh nativism as a broad movement with a politico-religious orientation has taken the form of a many-faceted cultural revival. The

choice of the figure Alash, the founding ancestor of Kazakhdom, reflects 668
the general structure of Kazakh society. In reviving its cultural heritage, a society established on the principle of patrilineal descent and organized according to carefully traced genealogies naturally would seek to re-emphasize those genealogies and to glorify the founding ancestors, whether mythical, fictional, or actual. Mythical Alash was not, at least [113]
not entirely, for he lived in the time of Tamerlane. It is not clear that he is the ancestor of all Kazakhs, or even of all Kazakhs of the "white-bone" or nobility. He is the founding ancestor of all Kazakhs by a convenient fiction, a fiction which includes the descent lines of the nobles, for only a few of the nobility can demonstrate an actual descent from Alash. Nevertheless, he counts as the ancestor of all, and as such he enters the shadowy domain of half-myth, half-history, which suits the temper of the present Kazakh traditionalism admirably.

Descent from a wolf and a doe is no longer an acceptable expression for one's lineage; the world of the steppe has become disenchanted. But [114]
a great historical figure out of the past—distant enough and glorious enough—is a suitable expression of the Kazakh quest for social, political, and cultural unity. The emergence of Alash as a battle cry, the invoking of a distant ancestor in the formation of a modern party, is a Kazakh solution peculiarly their own. The concern of the Kazakh historians of the 1940's with similar figures, in this instance the leaders of resistance to the Russian conquest, emerges from the same cultural theme, with certain additions. The figures of the 19th century Kazakh rebels, Kenesary, Srym, Taimanov, and the others, are ancestors taken from the past. They are the ancestors of many descent lines whose living members are conscious of the relationship; they are symbols of an anti-Russian movement.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [221] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radenko in Baranov, 1927.

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1] K 177 241

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization. K 177 101

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry. KN 464

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley. KN 24 563 K [243] KN [361] KN 233

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population K [131]

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sokharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

KN 233 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[1] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have K [131] the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

KN [161] In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of K KN Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than 463 the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The 464 Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own.

K 562 Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another per- 464 spective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers KN in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of [463] Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[2] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance K and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks [463] (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[3]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[4]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. K The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; 562 women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1952.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

female backwardness has not yet been overcome. The Kazakh women are not moving in the direction of Soviet goals at a pace with the rest of society; they are as far behind the men in this matter as the Kazakh men are behind the Slavic peoples of Kazakhstan in accepting the Soviet way of life.

K 562 KN [563]

The place of Kazakh women in the economy is in the farming sector and in specific aspects of herding, primarily as milkmaids. In fact, they are the basic labor force of the collective farms. In the chapter on Kazakh social organization some of the ramifications of this division of labor were examined. The fact in the economic picture remains as one Soviet authority has put it: "The greater proportion of the 233 kolkhoz members capable of work are women. Women are now the basic labor force in the kolkhozy of Kazakhstan generally. This is accounted for first of all by the increasing role of women in kolkhoz production, and also by the greater number of men leaving the kolkhoz for industry, transport, the cities, the Soviet administration, schooling, etc."[1]

K [474] KN [474]

A broad conclusion from the survey of urbanization as a world-wide phenomenon indicates that men proceed to the cities first, and are followed by women after a time lag which may extend over years. The Soviet Union's urbanization pattern is no exception. Women are the basic labor force in rural areas in the Soviet Union generally, and there has been a flight of men from the farms. In Kazakh society there is the additional factor of the unwillingness of men to take up farming. Although the women are the basic rural labor force, they are underrepresented in farm leadership, from brigade leaders to collective farm presidents. This same pattern will emerge from study of the figures for literacy, higher education, and Party work: nonparticipation of Kazakh women, or participation at a lower rate than among men.

KN [369]

AGRICULTURE

KN 241

Agriculture in present-day Kazakhstan falls roughly into four categories:

(1) Grain
(2) Truck farming
(3) "Technical crops," including cotton, sugar beets, hemp, olives, tea, and tobacco
(4) Farming in conjunction with herding, with emphasis on livestock feed

Most of the cultivated land is in grain for human and animal consumption, as shown in Table 3.

The total area under cultivation in Kazakhstan increased in the decade 1942-52 by 4,000,000 hectares or 36 per cent. The area in grain increased by only 19 per cent, and the proportion of the total area in grain fell from 93 to 73 per cent. This drop is accounted for by the increase in area devoted to truck farming (largely a wartime development) and to a lesser degree by an increase in "technical crops." The

[1] Kabe, 1960, p. 71.

KN 241

Table 3

AGRICULTURE IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Area	1942[b]	1952-53[c]
Total rural area[d]	ND	80,000,000
Total area under cultivation	7,000,000	11,000,000
Percentage of total rural area		13.7%
Area in grain	6,500,000	8,000,000
Percentage of total area under cultivation	93%	73%
Area under irrigation	ND	3,000,000[e,f]
Irrigated area under cultivation	ND	1,300,000[f]
Percentage of area under irrigation		43%

[a]All figures are in hectares; one hectare equals 2.47 acres.
[b]Figures from *Kazakhstan v pervyi god . . . .*, 1943.
[c]Figures from *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 9 Sep 52 and 14 Nov 53.
[d]Pastureland, hay meadows, and ploughland.
[e]Compared to 2,600,000 in 1917; Alimov in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53, and Shakhshin, 1949, page 21.
[f]Based only on 1953 figures.
ND: No data available.

3,000,000 hectares under irrigation in 1953 represented an increase of 400,000 in the Soviet period, according to Shakhshin. However, only 43 per cent of the total irrigated area was in use.

KN 243

The grain is primarily wheat and millet, grown in the northern and northeastern parts of the country, where Slavs (Great-Russians and Ukrainians) are in the majority. Here the black earth and the river valleys enable them to continue their traditional patterns of agriculture. Rice is grown in the irrigated tracts of the southern districts of Kazakhstan (Syr-Darya Valley) by a population largely Uzbek, and in the southeastern districts (Ili River Valley) by a mixed population including Uigurs, Dungans, and Koreans.

KN 244 474 [311]

The Soviet policy developed during and since the war regarding truck farming has been to establish a system of state farms (sovkhoz) around the urban centers. The cities of Karaganda, Balkhash, Kounradskiy, Dzhezkazgan, and others are surrounded by belts of farms which produce potatoes and vegetables. In addition, they supply the cities with dairy products, beef, mutton, and pork. Pork, potatoes, and vegetables are Russian dietary staples; Kazakhs by tradition have never raised and eaten these items.

K [262]

The truck farming is a feature of farm organization which developed during World War II, when mining and ore-processing centers and industrial plants increased their capacities and manpower. Workers were sent to Kazakhstan from European Russia and to these migrants were added people from rural Kazakhstan. To meet the task of feeding these groups, the state-farm system was developed. In addition, urban workers were encouraged to maintain kitchen gardens for themselves. There are no data on Kazakhstan as a whole in this category; some information is available for the city of Karaganda, however, and there is no reason to think that this city differed from others in Kazakhstan. In Karaganda approximately 8,000 workers maintained kitchen gardens at the

KN [167]

KN 241 369

beginning of World War II; the number reportedly increased "by several times" by 1943. At the beginning of the war, the proportion of persons making kitchen gardens in Karaganda—4.7 per cent—was two and a half times higher than that for the USSR as a whole. But Karaganda's percentage was soon surpassed by that of the Soviet Union, which by 1944 had mounted to about 10 per cent, five and a half times the prewar rate.[1]

The third category of agricultural products includes fiber crops (cotton and hemp), vegetable oil crops (sunflower and olive—dried sunflower seeds are a favored Russian and Asiatic snack), tea, tobacco, and sugar beets. These crops are collectively called "technical crops" in the Soviet Union, because they are processed by techniques other than milling for the production of flour. Together with rice they are grown mostly in southern and southeastern Kazakhstan, where the original Turkic population has an age-old agricultural tradition, especially in irrigated farming. In 1938 there were 110,200 hectares in cotton and 14,000 hectares in sugar beets.[2]

The final category, that of agriculture in conjunction with herding, has become the typical Kazakh rural occupation. The trend toward a mixed economy of herding and farming which began in the 19th century under the combined influences of land pressure and diffusion of agricultural techniques has culminated in the virtual elimination of pure nomadism among the Kazakhs.

The principal unit of agriculture in Kazakhstan is the collective farm. The peak years in the period of forced and accelerated collectivization were 1930 and 1931; the number of collective farms rose in those years from 4,212 to 7,800.[3] By 1932, the resistance of the rural population began to make itself felt, and there was a falling off in the number of collectives, coupled with a consolidation of those already organized. But the number gradually mounted during the mid-thirties, again reaching a figure greater than 7,000.[4] Just before World War II, with more purges and a second drive toward consolidation, the number dropped. In 1952 approximately 3,200 were reported[5]; this figure is said to be less than half that of 1950, for which no numerical data are available. This was part of an over-all cut; in 1951, the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union was halved.

In recent years, collective farms in Kazakhstan have decreased in number and increased in size. The latest figure for the total number of such farms is 3,145. At the same time, the average number of cooperative farming units per farm increased from 91 to 186. The total number of these cooperative units decreased from 5,558 to 2,047 in Kazakhstan, while the average size of the collective farms increased.[6]

To complete the picture, there were roughly 200 state farms at the end of the thirties; 258 were reported in 1952.[7] Five Machine Tractor

[1] All data from Borodin, 1946, p. 59.
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 62, 70.
[3] *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . . .* p. 66.
[4] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.
[5] *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, 1952, No. 2, p. 50.
[6] *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 1952, No. 2, p. 111.
[7] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 56, and *Kazakhstan v pervyi god . . . .* p. 158.

KN 494 stations (MTS) were listed in 1930; this number had grown to approximately 300 in 1939, and to 376 in 1952.[1]

KN [162] In 1939, when the total population of Kazakhstan was given by the census as 6,146,000 persons, 72.3 per cent (4,440,000) lived in rural areas and 27.7 per cent in urban areas. In the following year, it was reported that 97.5 per cent of the farm population was enrolled in collective farms, and 2.5 per cent in other units.[2] The ratio has since changed, for there has been an increase in the number of state farms, Machine Tractor stations, and Machine Livestock stations. No numerical breakdown of the enrollments in the various agricultural units since 1940 is available.

LIVESTOCK

K KN 231 There have been extreme fluctuations in the total number of livestock in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (see Tables 4 and 5). The 36,000,000 head of stock reported for 1917 indicates that this was a fairly good year for the Kazakh herders, despite the Kazakh revolution of the preceding year. But by 1924 the total number of stock had dropped by 46 per cent—a loss attributable to the conditions attending the Russian Revolution and civil war. During the next five years the herds gradually recovered until in 1927 and 1929 they exceeded their 1917 strength. This was the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union, which permitted a moderate amount of private economic interest.

With the onset of forced collectivization in 1930, the number of livestock began to drop rapidly; by 1933, it had fallen to approximately 12 per cent of the 1929 high. Throughout the rest of the 1930's the number of livestock slowly rose, but it was still far below the figures for the late twenties. The number of livestock in Kazakhstan today is difficult to assess, since only scattered data are available on developments during and since World War II.

During the Soviet period the number of cattle has increased relative to the over-all stock total. Since the beginning of the herd recovery in 1924, cattle have constituted more than 20 per cent of the total number of livestock; in 1938, the last year for which such figures are available, they formed 33 per cent of the total. Cattle generally form only 10 to 15 per cent of the total herd strength of a purely nomadic economy; sheep are the most important animal to the nomad (Table 6 gives the internal proportions of the herds of three different Kazakh groups in the 19th century).

K [241] This increase in the proportion of cattle among Kazakh livestock reflects an increase in agriculture. By 1938, cattle had recovered to approximately 40 per cent of their 1927 high, a rate of recovery double that shown by horses, sheep, and goats. A second effect of the growth of agriculture and the cities was that the number of camels and steppe horses decreased in proportion to the number of draft horses.

[1] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda.
[2] Kazakhskaia SSR, p. 18.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 4

LIVESTOCK TRENDS IN KAZAKHSTAN
(In Thousands)

Year[a]	Total Livestock	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Horses[b]	Camels	Hogs
1917	36,000	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
1924	19,400	4,750	11,400		2,580	400	300
1925	26,100	5,400	11,500	1,900	2,800	600	400
1926	30,700	6,400	15,500	2,700	3,400	700	400
1927	38,200	7,850	20,000	5,000	3,700	1,200	500
1928	33-35,000	7,700	20,500		3,900	ND	ND
1929*	40,400	7,400	21,900	5,200	4,200	1,200	300
1930*	33,000	5,700	18,600	4,400	3,600	1,100	160
1933	5,000	1,600	2,700		460	ND	ND
1934	6,000	1,900	3,300		430	ND	140
1935	7,000	2,300	4,100		460	ND	ND
1938	9,500	3,100	(5,300)[d]		640	100	370
1949	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND
1953	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND

[a]1917–1926: *Voskobiniin*, p. 47.
1927–1930: *Podnek and Pavlov*, pp. 27-28.
1933–1935: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1936; *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . .*, p. 72.
1938: *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 18, 30, 36, 41, 44.
1949: *Lorov*, p. 9.
1953: Khrushchev, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Oct 55.

[b]Figures through 1926 refer to steppe or natural horses; steppe and natural horses combined for 1927-1938.
[c]Spring.
[d]Estimated figure.
ND: No data available.

Table 5

STEPPE AND DRAFT HORSES IN KAZAKHSTAN*

Year	Steppe Horses	Draft Horses
1924	2,500,000	1,800,000
1925	2,800,000	1,900,000
1926	3,400,000	2,000,000
1928	2,900,000	900,000
1929	3,100,000	1,000,000
1930	2,400,000	850,000
1931	1,500,000	840,000
1932	100,000	600,000
1933	80,000	380,000
1934	70,000	360,000

*Voskobiniin, 1929, and *Selskoe Khoziaistvo UKSR*, 1936. Figures do not match totals in Table 4 due to rounding.

Table 6

COMPOSITION OF 19th CENTURY KAZAKH HERDS*
(per cent)

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep and Goats	Camels
1846[b]	17	11	67	5
1849-1850*	13.7	9.5	74	3
1852*	18	12	72	6

*Figures represent percentage of total livestock.
[b]Urunkov, 1846.
[c]Ivanin, 1854, pp. 11, 40.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

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The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

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COLLECTIVIZATION

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Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

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During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kochkin, 1946.

The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933.

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas.

[1] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2] Borodin 1946, pp. 116-125.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The Kazakhs were collectivized more slowly than the Slavs. By 1930, the Pavlodar region, a Slavic farming area since the 19th century, was 76 per cent collectivized while the Guryev region, a Kazakh pastoral region, was only 44 per cent collectivized.[1] Progress on collectivization was slow both because Kazakh herders were among the strongest resisters to collectivization, and because their nomadic existance made the administrative problems in collectivizing them more difficult than for sedentary peoples.

Another indication of the severity of the impact of collectivization on the Kazakhs is seen in the rate of recovery. During the period including World War I, the Revolution, and the civil war, the Kazakhs suffered a number of heavy blows. They had their own revolution in 1916, which resulted in severe reprisals by the Tsarist enforcement agencies, and during 1917-1922 they suffered losses again. But during the 1920's they recovered to a point where the stock total exceeded that of 1917. Such was not the case in the period following collectivization, however; in 1953 the entire herding economy of Kazakhstan had not reached the position which it had attained in any one of the years in the 1927-1930 period. The Kazakhs in the 1920's demonstrated a resiliency and capacity to meet and overcome disasters, a capacity which is part of their very history as herders. Herding is an economy which has few shock absorbers; herders may easily be wiped out by a drought, a blizzard, or disease among their animals. Farmers have an ability to store against future need which the herders do not.

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The Kazakhs showed this resiliency during the first years of the Soviet era, in recovering from the civil war. But they have not recovered, even after 25 years, from collectivization. This loss of capacity to recover in the face of disasters is one indication of the collapse of the traditional Kazakh economy, and is related to a breakdown in the traditional form of the Kazakh society and culture.

THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE RURAL ECONOMY

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In 1952 and 1953, the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a series of statements indicating the grave situation in farming and herding in the republic.

It has already been stated that of three million hectares of land under irrigation, only 1,300,000 hectares, or 43 per cent, were actually in use. Afonov, until recently the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, attacked this situation in 1953 as a gross waste of resources.[2] In 1952, the same general criticism had been made in a somewhat different form. The then secretary of the Central Committee, and boss of the Kazakh Party, Shaiakhmetov, attacked the farmers of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, the Uzbeks, Taranchis, Dungans, and others, in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan, and Dzhambul, the leading agricultural regions of the republic. The principal charge

[1]Golosheckin, 1931, p. 211.
[2]Afonov, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53.

concerned fluctuations in the area sown in sugar beets.[1] Cotton farmers have likewise been criticized for failing to use land available for irrigation, and sunflower and melon growers have come under similar attack.[2] At the end of the 1953 growing season, rice was added to the list of crops whose growers had been reprimanded.[3] The common feature of all these criticisms was the poor use of irrigation techniques—this in a region of peoples who have practiced irrigation agriculture for centuries. 433 [241]

In 1952 Shaiakhmetov announced that the total area in livestock feed crops was below the 1940 level.[4] In 1953, the situation was worse: by November the harvest of livestock feed was 895,000 tons smaller than in 1952.[5]

In the truck farming category, the farmers were warned that they were behind the plan for vegetables,[6] and that they had fallen down entirely in the production of potatoes. The potato harvest in 1953 was one-half the prewar level.[7]

In 1952, Shaiakhmetov summarized the major factors contributing to the steadily deteriorating agricultural situation. He attributed the crisis to poor performance in these areas: utilization of Machine Tractor station technology, development of seed, tillage practices, crop and field rotation, education of agricultural specialists, and development of irrigation.[8] 433 242

A survey article of the following year gave further attention to the matter of crop and field rotation. It was disclosed that less than half of the 3,145 collective farms of Kazakhstan practiced rotation techniques; only 74, or one in every 40, seemed to know what they were doing—that is, practiced rotation in accordance with agronomical principles.[9]

Rotation is a technique long known to Russian and Ukrainian peasants. It should not be difficult for them to apply their knowledge of this technique to the soil and growing conditions of Central Asia. They appear not to have done so; in this respect they resemble the native Turkic farmers, who have also failed to cooperate with the Soviet regime. They do not apply their native techniques, nor do they willingly adopt those of the Soviets.

On the other hand, individual accomplishments are often outstanding. For instance, a world's record millet harvest was claimed in 1943 by an agricultural brigade headed by a certain Bersiev in Kazakhstan.[10] But there is a tremendous gap between the achievements of leaders and those of the farmers in general. Moreover, there is a lack of communication between the centers of advancement and the mass of the population.

[1]Shaiakhmetov, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 21 Sep 52.
[2]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Apr 53.
[3]*Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[4]*Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[5]*Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[6]*Ibid.*, 30 Apr 53.
[7]*Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[8]*Ibid.*, 21 Sep 53.
[9]*Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[10]*Ibid.*, 25 Apr 51.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The situation in herding is similar.[1] The leading pastoral regions are in the western parts of Kazakhstan, the Guryev, West Kazakhstan, and Aktyubinsk regions. There has been a steady decline in cattle, sheep, and goats in the Guryev region from 1946 to 1953, which means that Kazakh herding in this region has not participated in the postwar recovery (Kazakhs form over two-thirds of the population of the Guryev region). A similar decline in cattle has been reported for West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan. In the regions of East and North Kazakhstan, cattle and sheep are below the prewar figures. Throughout the republic the ratio of cows to the total number of cattle in the kolkhoz herds is disproportionately low (24.3 per cent) and is falling; for instance, in the year 1952 the number of cows dropped by 10.8 per cent. Cattle have been falling in number from year to year in both collective and state farms.[2]

The milk yield per kolkhoz was lower in 1952 than in 1940.[3] This statement is an even graver admission than it seems at first glance, because the individual collective farm is larger in 1952 than it was in 1940 and there are fewer kolkhozy now than then.

In the same period, 1940-1952, the average milk yield per cow dropped 76 liters.[4] The average annual milk yield per cow for 1939 was 650 liters[5]; if it can be assumed that there was little change between 1939 and 1940, a fall of 13 per cent in milk production per cow is indicated for the 1940-1952 period.

Milk production is closely associated with the statistics of gravidity, and there has been a considerable decline in this category in Kazakhstan as well. In 1948, out of 100 cows 88 were with calf, while only 74 out of every 100 were with calf in 1951. Similarly, of every 100 mares, 78 were with foal in 1948; this figure had dropped to 67 in 1951.[6]

The area sown in livestock feed had fallen in 1952 below the prewar (1940) level; this reduction led to the critical situation regarding milk production, and that of meat and wool as well. Despite the tremendous gain in pork, total meat production fulfilled only 60 per cent of plan. The same ratio of 60 per cent holds for wool and cotton.[7] The situation regarding wool is particularly bad; the wool yield per sheep has fallen off even more sharply than the milk yield per cow. In the period 1940-1952 the annual wool yield per sheep fell from 2.4 to 1.9 kilograms, or 4.2 pounds, an over-all drop of 21 per cent.[8]

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On the one hand, the Kazakhs do not cooperate in the Soviet pattern of production; on the other, the Soviet emphases are such as to exclude the Kazakhs. For example, the stress on such alien foods as pork, potatoes, and garden vegetables, in the development of the urban pattern, means that as the Kazakh moves to the city he must give up many of his old food habits. And yet only in the city can one find higher learning,

[1] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4 Oct 52.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[6] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[7] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and feltmaking (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shalakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

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MINERAL RESOURCES OF KAZAKH S S R

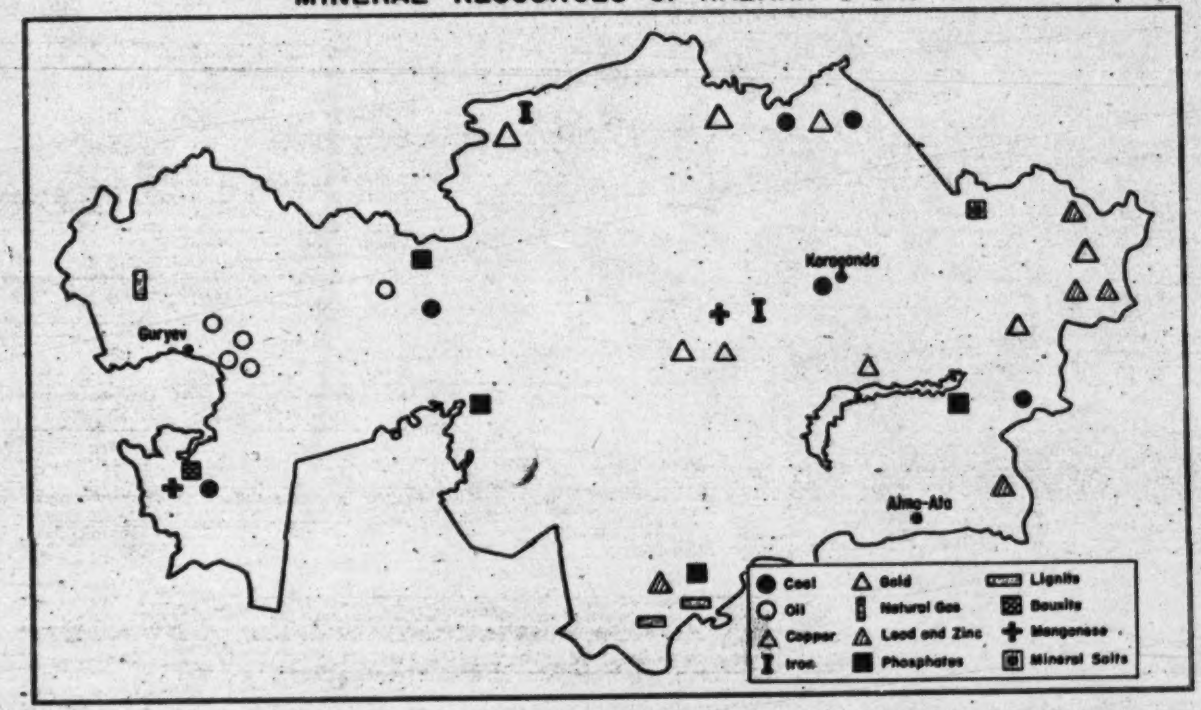

Figure 2

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
KAZAKHSTAN RQ1

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 7

INDUSTRY IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

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Year	Oil (Crude Output) (MT)	Coal and Lignite (MT)	Karaganda Coal	Copper (MT)	Electric Power (kwh)
1913	117,000[b]	90,500[b]	ND	5,070[c]	1,300,000[b]
1927-1928	250,000[d]	ND	ND	ND	ND
1934	ND	2,000,000	ND	ND	ND
1940	764,000[e,f]	6,970,000[c]	6,300,000[e,h]	35,500[h]	633,000,000[c]
1950	1,160,000[c]	17,000,000 (planned)[i]	15,750,000[j]	ND	2,500,000,000[c]

[a]All figures rounded.
[b]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1936.
[c]*Godovoiy Obzor Mineral'nykh Resursov*, 1926, p. 386.
[d]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1938.
[e]Derived from ratios of increase over 1913 in *Planovoe Khozyaistvo*, 1952, No. 3, p. 47.
[f]Plotnikov, *Bindzhet*, 1948, p. 229, gives 116,000 tons for oil in 1913, and six-fold increase by 1940, or 700,000 tons. Emba oil, Kazakhstan, amounted to 18% of the all-Union production in 1937; Stepanov, p. 61.
[g]Stepanov, pp. 58-59.
[h]Plotnikov, *loc. cit.* This was 52.3% of all-Union production in 1937; Stepanov, p. 103.
[i]Shinkin (114), 1953, p. 176.
[j]Cherdantsev, p. 285.
ND: No data available.

The primary industrial concern has been the extraction and to a lesser extent the processing of these natural resources. There is a certain amount of hydroelectric power in the republic (see Table 7), but industrial development has taken second place to mining. For example, as of 1949, there was only one oil refinery in Kazakhstan, at Guryev, and there has been no notice of construction of a refinery since that time.[1] The oil industry is a prerevolutionary development; the Emba fields were first exploited in 1899.[2] [376] [387]

The Karaganda coal fields were expanded in the 1930's to support the iron smelting at Magnitogorsk, where there was no coal. First in importance for the working of the iron behind the Urals are the coal fields of the Kuzbass, in southern Siberia, north of Kazakhstan, but second to them are the Karaganda fields. In 1938, Karaganda supplied one-third of the coal used at Magnitogorsk. These Karaganda fields have played an important part in the economy of Kazakhstan; in 1940, they accounted for 90 per cent of the republic's coal production.[3] 316

Ferrous metallurgy was developed at Temir-Tau near Karaganda during World War II, (1944) and has been in operation since. Another iron works was created at Aktyubinsk also during the war, but no other works of this kind exist in Kazakhstan. 327

The lead works are closely linked to the sources of supply, at Ridders (now Leninogorsk), antedating World War I, and at Chimkent, dating from 1934. Leninogorsk is in the Altai Mountains, Chimkent in 328 316

[1]Kenesov, 1949.
[2]Belsek (6), 1949, chapter on Kazakhstan.
[3]Stepanov, p. 58.

8;Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1

the extreme south of the republic. These areas also supply wolframite from which tungsten is produced. Kazakhstan supplies 87 per cent of the copper in the USSR. It is mined in the vicinity of Lake Balkhash, near the towns of Balkhash and Kounradskiy to the west and north of the lake, and at Karsakpay, with a copper refinery and smelter at Balkhash. This close relationship between refinery and source of supply is generally true of industry in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan has progressed considerably in the development of electric power through exploitation of water resources in the east and northeast, as well as through the utilization of thermal sources of electric power. Table 7 traces the development of Kazakhstan's resources in the fuel and power fields, and in copper, a typical nonferrous metal industry.

In other branches of industry, including both heavy and light manufacturing, the picture differs markedly from that presented by the exploitation and primary processing of natural resources. Records reveal only one agricultural machinery plant in the Kazakh Republic, at Akmolinsk; this development, like so many others, took place during the war, in 1944. What there is by way of machine tool industry also dates from the war years. Light industry boasts only one leatherworks, at Semipalatinsk, the most important stock-raising center in the Soviet East. And there are just three textile mills in the republic, at Karaganda, Semipalatinsk, and Alma-Ata—despite the fact that Kazakhstan is a major cotton-growing republic, and is one of the most important sources of wool in the entire Soviet Union.[5]

TRANSPORTATION

The paucity of river transport systems places railroads in the front line of transportation in Kazakhstan (Figure 3). A railroad line cut across Kazakhstan before the Revolution, connecting the southern Urals with the cotton-producing zone around Tashkent. It ran from Orenburg (now Chkalov), the first capital of Kazakhstan, through Aktyubinsk, past the northeast shore of the Aral Sea and Kzyl-Orda, capital after 1925, along the course of the Syr-Darya, to Tashkent in Uzbekistan. One spur went through southern Kazakhstan to Chimkent and Frunze, capital of Kirgizia. During the Tsarist era, the main task of the transportation system was to bring to Russia the cotton from the region within the Tashkent-Kzyl-Orda-Frunze triangle.[6]

During the 1920's and 1930's a number of new lines were added, of which the most important were the line cutting north-south through Kazakhstan, from Petropavlovsk through Akmolinsk and Karaganda to Balkhash, and a line from Novosibirsk through Barnaul and Semipalatinsk to the present capital, Alma-Ata. The latter is the much-publicized Turksib (Turkestan-Siberian railroad). An east-west line connects Magnitogorsk with Karaganda through Akmolinsk. Since the war two lines have been added, a north-south line, 438 kilometers (270 miles)

[5]Kunaev, 1949.
[6]Ilelzak (6), 1949.

Bikrader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak

Kazakhstan RQ1

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RIVERS AND RAILROADS OF KAZAKH S S R

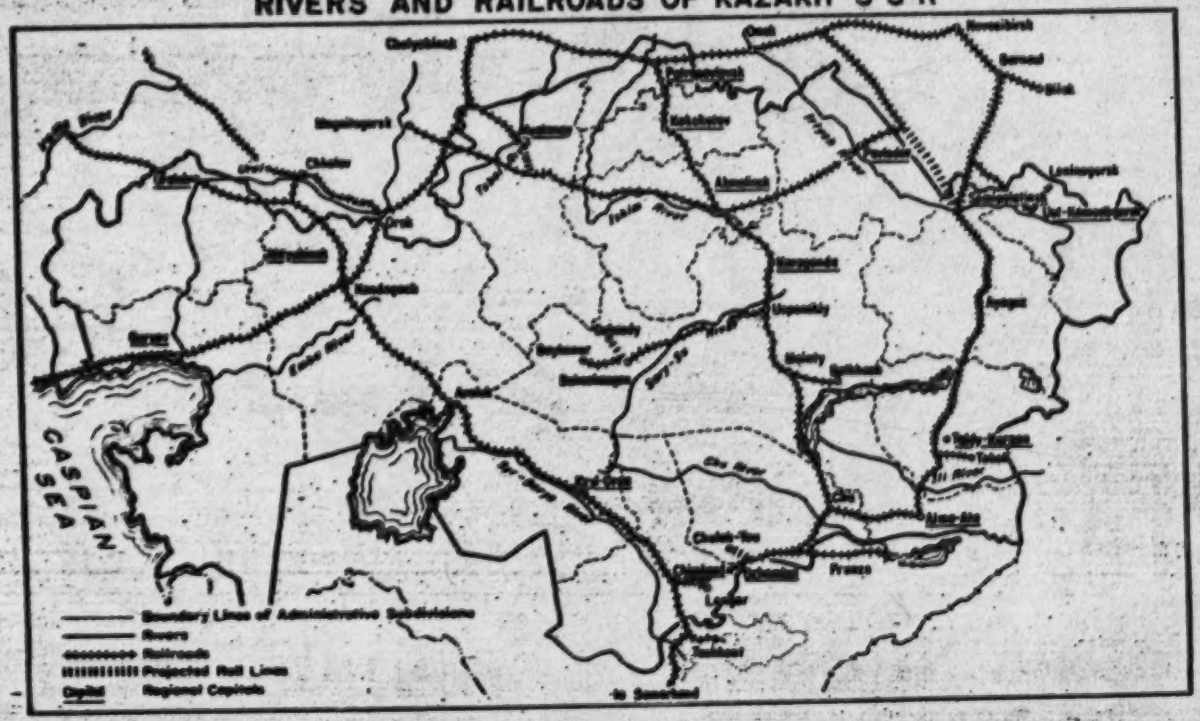

Figure 3

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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long, running west of Lake Balkhash from Mointy to Chu,[1] and an east-west line, 546 kilometers (350 miles) long, connecting Akmolinsk and Pavlodar.[2] There are no railroad lines in southwestern Kazakhstan, presumably because the Caspian Sea is a more economical substitute. This solution may prove unworkable for the Soviets if the falling water level of the Caspian continues to isolate the northern and eastern ports from access to the sea.

Soviet criticism of Tsarist location theory for railroads in Central Asia applies equally to the Soviets themselves.[3] These lines are designed to integrate the sources of raw materials in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, with the manufacturing centers of Russia. They are not primarily designed to aid the local population in meeting internal problems. Moreover, the political ties closely follow the railroad network. Thus the capital of Kazakhstan was established at Kzyl-Orda in 1925 largely because it lay on the old Orenburg-Tashkent line, not because it was a great center of culture. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that the Soviet government, even in the 1920's with its modicum of laissez faire, would have supported as capital of the area a potential center of political crystallization. The capital was subsequently moved to Alma-Ata because it was the railhead of the Turksib at the time, and there the capital has remained.

KN [361]

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The trend in the Soviet Union regarding the training of Kazakhs as skilled workers in railroading is parallel to that of the factory systems. The Kazakhs are not being trained in numbers proportionate to their relative strength in the republic. They are being excluded or, alternatively, they are not coming forth to be trained. Of 17 brigades honored for their contributions to the building of the Mointy-Chu line, which runs north-south to the west of Lake Balkhash and along the eastern edge of the Hungry Steppe, only five were led by Turks.[4] Yet the line runs through country which is marginally suitable for herding, and for little else; it is a region of Kazakhs. On the other hand, for the Akmolinsk-Pavlodar line in the north, which runs through country where the proportion of Kazakh population is relatively low, the recipients of honors bore Slavic (Russian and Ukrainian, one German) names typical of the local populations.[5]

K [311]

KN 433 439

By way of conclusion, the following may be said of the industry in Kazakhstan: First, the republic is an important producer of raw materials (oil, coal, lignite, copper, lead, meat, wool, cotton, wheat, and tobacco). Second, most of these raw materials flow outside Kazakhstan to industrial centers of the USSR in European Russia and the Urals. (This type of flow—raw materials to manufacturing center, finished goods from center back to source of raw materials—is precisely what Soviet propagandists have always denounced as imperialism.) Third,

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.

[3] See unpublished doctoral dissertation by Holland Hunter on railroad systems of the Soviet Union (67).

[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.

[5] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.

the uneven commodity flow creates an unbalanced economy. The Kazakh republic is far from becoming economically self-sufficient. Fourth, the key to understanding the industrial picture in the KSSR is the total economic dependence of the Kazakhs on Russia for all consumer commodities. These include clothing, processed foods, furniture, and all electrical and electronic commodities, such as light bulbs and radios; motor supplies, automobiles, and the gas and lubricants necessary to run them; stoves and all other heating devices for using the coal and lignite the Kazakhs themselves produce. KN 433 439

A good example is afforded by the chemical industry. Kazakhstan has long been known for its riches in salts and other chemicals. In the 19th century, shortly after the annexation of the territory by Russia, a small-scale chemical plant was established at Chimkent. To this day, this remains the sole chemical-pharmaceutical plant in the entire republic, although it has been expanded under the Soviets.[1] The bulk of the chemicals are extracted as raw materials, shipped elsewhere for processing, and only then made available to Kazakhstan, within the framework of the general pattern for distribution of these materials. KN [381]

Finally, it is clear that this economic dependence on Russia serves to reinforce Moscow's political control over the peoples of Kazakhstan.[2] KN [648]

The problem of manpower and the training of labor is central here. The industry of Kazakhstan, aside from the prerevolutionary mining centers, was established by means of forced labor camps at Karaganda, which during the 1930's was an NKVD area, and by the transfer of workers from Leningrad in the same period; during the war, workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Donbass were brought in for work in industry and mining. The Kazakhs have not participated in this industrial development. Very few industries requiring skilled labor have been established in Kazakhstan, and those few are based on a labor force derived from Russia and the Ukraine. The Kazakhs are not being introduced to the techniques which Russians are learning to master in the process of their industrial growth. The industrial picture confirms the conclusion drawn from the examination of the social and political scenes: The native Kazakhs are being encouraged by the Soviets to enter into industry, but they are not coming forward to be trained; they are holding back from participation in Soviet life. KN 464 K [463] K [177] [668]

[1]Kunaev, 1949.
[2]Dalzak (6), 1949.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 6

THE PARTY

KN 665

If one were to ask what organization gives direction to the development of public affairs and private lives in Kazakhstan, the answer would be simple: it is the Communist Party. This hierarchical body is by its very structure and character totally alien to the Kazakh way of life of a few decades ago. The idea was imported from Russia, the establishment entrusted to Russians. Or, in the more flowery language of Kazakhstanskaia Pravda:

> "During the time of tsarist oppression the Russian Party guided the struggle of the Kazakh toilers. Russian bolshevists living in Kazakhstan carried on propaganda. . . . Russian workers, leading bolshevists, were pioneers and leaders of the Kazakh masses. . . . The best sons of Russia were shining examples for Kazakhstan during those trying times."[1] [When the Revolution and the Civil War came] "the Kazakh Party stood in the vanguard of those fighting Dutov, Kolchak, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalist party 'Alash Orda', and other hirelings of Anglo-American imperialism. . . . Training of Communists was closely linked to the names of Lenin and Stalin. Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kalinin, Frunze, Kaganovich, brothers-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin, played an important role in the creation, development and strengthening of the Kazakh Party organization."[2]

From "about 2,000 Communists" in the villages and auls of Kazakhstan in 1918, the membership increased rapidly with the turn of the civil war, so that the first Provincial Conference of Kazakh Bolsheviks[3] meeting at Orenburg in June 1921 represented about 30,000 members and membership candidates. By now, the Communist Party of the KSSR has close to a quarter of a million members.

KN [563]

The role of the Party as a leader and teacher of the masses took on a special significance in the national minority areas of the USSR. In Stalin's words, it is the task of the Party "to eliminate the economic, political and cultural backwardness bequeathed to oppressed peoples by

[1] "The Role of the Russian People in the Socialist Transformation of Kazakhstan," *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 5 Apr 47.

[2] "The First Provincial Conference of Kazakh Bolsheviks," *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.

[3] The nomenclature for Communist Party gatherings is confusing. These meetings were called "conferences" until the establishment of Kazakhstan as a union republic (1936); since then they have been called "congresses" and are numbered consecutively. Before the establishment of Kazakhstan as an autonomous republic within the RSFSR (1924), the term "provincial conferences" was used.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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[our] predecessors, and thus enabling backward nations to catch up with Central Russia. The Party must get into the thick of the struggle . . . against chauvinist great-power deviations as well as against native bourgeois nationalism." The first step toward the goal must be taken by "going out among the non-party toilers and bring about a closer relationship between the Party, the working masses and the peasants. . . ."[1]

The programmatic statements of the early days foretold the Party's continuous involvement in the solution of many complex tasks. In that respect the Kazakh Party is, of course, not different from the Communist Party throughout the Soviet Union. Daily events in every phase of life are considered within the legitimate concern and responsibility of the Party. In order to keep up its ubiquitous control, the Communist Party maintains a highly ramified apparatus composed of several kinds of bodies.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE KSSR

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Organizationally, the Communist Party varies little from one republic to another (except, of course, for the RSFSR). Here, only a brief outline will be given of its organizational structure in the KSSR. For greater detail the reader is referred to the sources on which this outline is based.[2]

One may, first of all, distinguish four levels at which the various bodies operate (see Figure 4):

(1) Republic (KSSR)
(2) Region (Oblast), 16 in number[3]
(3) District (Raion) or city (Gorod), 239
(4) Primary organization level, 14,416

At each level, one finds a representative organ which convenes at regular intervals. These are called congress (at the central or republic level), conference (region, district, and city), or general meeting (primary). At the three top levels, the representative organs elect committees (Russian terms: TsK, KP (b), KSSR; Obkom; Raikom or Gorkom), executive bodies which carry out Party work while the respective representative organs are not in session. Both the representative and executive bodies are guided by the decisions of the All-Union Party and the directives of the higher echelon. At the sessions of the representative organs, reports by the Committee, the Audit Commission, and others are heard and approved. Here, too, delegates to the representative bodies of the next higher level are elected. At the same occasion the Committee elects a small group of persons[4] (including three secretaries[5]) who form the bureau, the day-to-day executive office of the Party, Committee

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.

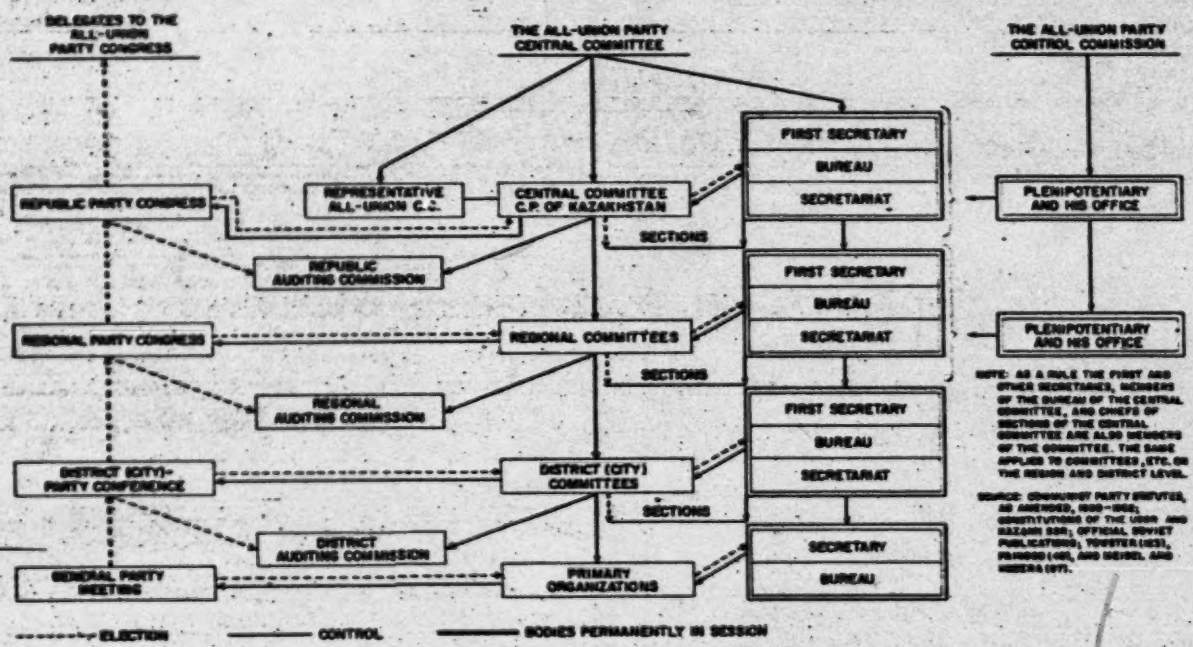
[2] Towster (123), 1951; Meisel and Kecore (97), 1950, esp. pp. 327-345; Gralion (57), 1953, pp. 29-32; Falcoed (48), 1953, pp. 189-208.

[3] These figures were reported at the Fourth Kazakh Communist Party Congress, 1949.

[4] Eleven at republic and regional level, seven to nine at the district or city level.

[5] Secretaries must have been Party members for at least five years (three years for district or city). The All-Union Communist Party Central Committee must confirm the selection of the first secretaries of the regional bureaus. The secretaries of the district and city need confirmation by the regional and republic committees.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE KAZAKH SSR



NOTE: AS A RULE THE FIRST AND OTHER SECRETARIES, MEMBERS OF THE BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND CHIEFS OF SECTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE. THE SAME APPLIES TO COMMITTEES, ETC. ON THE REGION AND DISTRICT LEVEL.

SOURCE: COMMUNIST PARTY STATUTES, AS AMENDED, 1930–1956; CONSTITUTIONS OF THE USSR AND KAZAKH SSR; OFFICIAL SOVIET PUBLICATIONS, TONSTEALICI, PANNOBI (1956), AND SEIBEL AND MEERA (57).

Figure 4

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Bikrader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1

Kazakhstan RQ1

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functions include appointing and supervising the press of their jurisdictions, watching over the fulfillment of directives and orders from above by government and other bodies, organizing the political education of Party members, and implementing agitation and propaganda among the population. [204] [208]

Primary organizations (previously known as "cells") function in economic, industrial, military, village, office, and educational units; they may be established in shops, sectors, departments, kolkhozes, MTS's, as well as in government ministries. They consist of no less than three Party members. They are in a way the eyes and ears of the Party, in every locality, in every economic or cultural enterprise. The general meeting of the primary organization elects delegates to the appropriate district (or city) conference as well as a bureau[1] with a secretary for the period of one year. [182]

The primary organization has many duties: agitation, propaganda, and supervision over the primary press (wall newspapers, house organs, etc.); enrollment and training of new members, as well as dissemination of Marxism-Leninism beyond the Party membership; cooperation with district and city committees and political sections; utilization of the non-Party manpower for plan fulfillment; encouragement and improvement of criticism and "self-criticism"; in short, active participation in the economic, cultural, and political life of the country. As of 1939, primary organizations were given the right to supervise management operations in industrial and agricultural enterprises. In ministries primary organizations operate in an "atmosphere of special conditions": they cannot really supervise, but are obliged to "signalize defects in work," report shortcomings, and submit their data and views on the ministry and on individuals to the All-Union Party Central Committee and to the ministers. [182]

The technical apparatus specifically charged with control and supervision of each of the manifold fields of the political, economic, cultural, and social life of the republic consists of the so-called "Sections" (Otdely) of the central executive body at every level: the Central Committees in the regions and districts respectively. The Central Committee has a full complement of Sections; their number decreases at lower levels, according to the character and needs of a given administrative unit. Apart from the purely political sections such as Propaganda and Agitation, and Party Education, there are economic sections controlling such areas as heavy and light industry, transport and communications, and agriculture, and social sections on work with women, work with youth, and so forth. Each section is responsible for performance of state and other organs of their sector at a given level. [184]

The description of the formal organizational structure may be supplemented by a few remarks about the reality behind the facade of statutes. At the republic level and downward, the real initiative and actual

[1]The size of the primary organization determines the size of the bureau, except that the upper limit is 11 persons. When the organization has 15 members or less, it elects only a secretary. In organizations with fewer than 100 members, all Party work is done on a volunteer basis; in larger organizations, a proportional number of the members are put on a part-time job, part-time Party work schedule.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ 1

G65 control over Party activities lies in the hands of the secretarial apparatus. To observe the concentration of power, one needs only to look at the republic Party's first secretary.

Approved—more than that, appointed—by the Kremlin, he holds all controls in his hands. He is the boss of the Central Committee Bureau where one finds those persons who, by virtue of their positions, have a decisive voice in the republic's Party governmental affairs: the Party secretaries, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and so forth. He also heads the secretariat, which is responsible for the selection and placement of key Party, Komsomol, trade union, and administrative personnel in all job categories unless they are reserved for all-Union action. Here too is concentrated the supervision of the cultural life of the republic, to ensure ideological orthodoxy and to guard against nationalist deviations. The first secretary also stands at the head of the Party members (in the secretariat, bureau, and lower offices) who are supposed to, and actually do, "take the leadership in solving economic problems instead of confining themselves to a passive reporting role of merely signaling difficulties."[1]

The regional (obkom) bureau and secretariat are organized similarly, allowing, however, for specific economic interests of the particular region. Here again, the first secretary dominates the scene. In areas remote from both Moscow and the republic center, the obkom first secretary retains important residual powers and exercises a large amount of executive initiative. The mass of work required of him is tremendous. The personnel problem is characteristic: some obkoms "are responsible for staffing as many as 2,600 types of positions."[2]

The city (gorkom) and district (raikom) Party organs are composed of secretaries, the chairman of the city or district Soviet executive committee, local MVD representatives, and other top officials. According to the usual pattern, the secretaries (and bureau) are in charge of naming important government officials and filling vacant posts of sovkhoz chairmen, Komsomol and trade union administrators, and other positions of this level. In addition to staffing and the supervision of primary Party organizations, the gorkoms and obkoms

> " . . . function as the basic record offices of the Party. They are obligated to maintain record cards for all members and candidates in their area. The record cards, each of which bears the same number as the membership or candidate's card carried by a holder, provide complete and up-to-date documentation on all Communists, including changes in employment, education, awards, penalties, etc. Transfers of Party members from district to district are carefully regulated by Party instructions. Secretaries of district and city committees are obliged to interview Communists personally when they put them on the rolls or remove them from the records."[3]

[1]Fainsod (48), 1953, pp. 190-191.
[2]L. Nemzer, "The Kremlin's Professional Staff," *American Political Science Review*, XLIV (March 1950), p. 65. Quoted by Fainsod (48), 1953.
[3]Fainsod (48), 1953, pp. 194-195.

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The chief concern of district and city organizations is the activity of primary Party organizations, over which they have control. According to latest available information, there were over 14,000 such organizations within the KSSR in 1949 (as compared with about 350,000 for the USSR as a whole[1]).

The primary organizations are the "grass roots" of the Party, the broad base of its hierarchical pyramid. From Fainsod's detailed description of their functions one fact emerges clearly: These units play the part of the eyes and ears of the Party—they are not designed to represent the "voice of the people" in the authoritarian organization of the Party. KN [626]

For purposes of psychological warfare it would be interesting to speculate about the self-image of the typical member of the primary organization. Does he perceive that his position in the Party does not correspond to the status ascribed to him by the surrounding community? Or does he see himself as an important and influential (or at least potentially influential) citizen, by ignoring the fact that the goals and needs of the individual member and of the primary organization are not respected by the higher authorities? It is easy to infer that in the first case the discrepancy between ascribed status of influence and actual impotence may lead to persistent frustration on the part of the voiceless Party member. And if this situation were typical among the 200,000 primary organization members, they might well be considered as a special target group for psychological warfare.

On the other hand, material gathered in refugee interviews by the Harvard Russian Research Center seems to indicate that the second hypothesis is more plausible, at least for Russian primary organization members.[2] In fact, on the basis of that information, it may be argued that these people are probably the least promising audience for psychological warfare operations. However, the lowly Communist of Kazakh nationality may find himself in a position quite different from his Russian counterpart.

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Unfortunately, no information is available about the state of mind of the Kazakh Communists, as distinct from the problems and actions of the Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR. Nevertheless, it seems pertinent to look at whatever is known about the members and role of the Kazakhs within the Party.

The latter can best be evaluated by analyzing the past and present leadership of the Party in terms of ethnic background and progression of assignments. This task will be undertaken at the end of the next chapter within the discussion of leadership overlap between Party and Government.[3]

Data on ethnic composition are not plentiful, but published figures seem to indicate that the Kazakhs are not underrepresented in the Party, at least not numerically. Table 8 summarizes the information available for certain key years.

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To a certain extent, the proportion of women in the Communist Party reflects the Party's appeal to the women of Kazakhstan. Frequent

[1] Ibid., p. 196.
[2] Personal communication from Raymond A. Bauer.
[3] [See category 116, pp. 105-108 --analyst]

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 8

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PROPORTION OF KAZAKHS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	Population	Kazakh Proportion of Total Population (%)	Party Members and Candidates	Kazakh Proportion of Total Membership (%)
1926	6,503,000[a]	57[b]	32,000[c]	35[c]
1939	6,146,000[e]	42[b]	109,000[d]	32[d]
1949	6,650,000[e]	41[f]	229,000[g]	40[h]

[a]USSR Census.
[b]Lorimer and Goldware estimates (89).
[c]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[d]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[e]By interpolation from Goldware estimates for 1948 and 1950 (89).
[f]Based on Goldware's report on KSSR population (89).
[g]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[h]*Ibid.*, 16 Jun 51.

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Table 9

WOMEN IN THE KSSR COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	All Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)	Kazakh Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)
1927[a]	7.7	1.3
1940[b]	13.9	ND
1945[b]	32.1	ND
1949[c]	19.2	4.0

[a]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[b]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[c]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.
ND: No data available.

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criticisms by Party leaders indicate that more women would be welcomed into the ranks and that the Kazakh Communist Party has a bad recruiting record; one can therefore assume that the rather low number of women in the Party is not due to any officially stated policy of exclusion. Only during the war years were any significant gains made. Especially poor is Party recruiting performance among women of Kazakh nationality (see Table 9). A set of figures, however, cannot adequately describe the role women play in the Kazakh Communist Party. In recent times women have been placed in responsible positions in increasing numbers. In 1951, for example, 12 out of 85 members of the Central Committee were women, and every regional committee and almost 90 per cent of the districts and cities had one female secretary.[1]

[1]According to figures in Meissner's book (98) and in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47 and 26 Feb 49, women took a considerably more active part in government. From 1947 through 1952, consistently over one-third of all local Soviet delegates were women; out of 400 Supreme Soviet members, 149 were women (37%); *Sovetskaia Zhenshchina*, Sep-Oct, 1952.

MAJOR COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS IN KAZAKHSTAN

The Communist Party in a union republic operates as the executive and supervisory agent of Moscow. As such, it must face and solve many problems which fall in the two areas of primary concern to the Party, ideological orthodoxy and economic production. 665

These areas are not mutually exclusive, so that a given problem may include elements of each—to the increased distress of local Party leaders. Indeed, it would seem customary to include charges of ideological deviation or inadequacy as well as economic concepts in criticizing a lower echelon for failure to fulfill a coal production norm. Similarly, inadequate effort in the indoctrination ("political instruction") of Party members by propagandists may be treated by the authorities somewhat like a case of insufficient oil extraction.

Ideological orthodoxy is an area of grave concern to Party leaders in Kazakhstan. They are chronically caught between the shifting demands of Moscow and the need to rely on local cooperation. It is obvious to these leaders that in a territory where national, religious, and cultural conditions are as complex as they are in Kazakhstan, the authorities cannot rule by police force alone. Support must be enlisted by properly conducted ideological education, and the Party is responsible for this task. Widespread resistance to Sovietization—of which the low number of Kazakh women in politics is a prime example—must be overcome. Even well-educated groups may sometimes be in error, in the eyes of the central powerholders. Historians may propound the wrong interpretation of history, dramatists may portray the wrong kind of heroes, biologists may "wander astray" in their research. (The specific techniques of agitation and propaganda used by the Party are discussed in Chapter 8, and the set of problems arising in the guidance of Kazakh arts and sciences in Chapter 9.) [208]

The chief problem of the Party in Kazakhstan is manpower, another area related to both ideology and production. 464 665

Linguistic complications make discussion of the manpower problem difficult, as an article in the Central Asian Review pointed out in its Issue No. 2 for 1953:

> "There is no exact equivalent of the English word 'manpower' in modern Soviet language. In Soviet writing on what would be regarded in the West as the subject of manpower, the word 'kadry' (cadres) is generally used. Strictly speaking, this word refers to trained and leading personnel: in the Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1937 it is shown to be an abbreviation of the expression 'cadres of the builders of socialism' and defined as 'people who have mastered the technique of their work.' But its meaning is now extended to all those workers who could be trained for any form of specialised work or organised for specific tasks. In addition to political or Party cadres, one of the most frequent uses, there are references to 'cadres' in every profession, including technical occupations of every description, science, farming and teaching. The expression 'rabochiye kadry', 'labour cadres', is also used."

In the postwar years the Party has often been taken to task for failing in the "preparation of cadres" (podgostovka kadrov), thus taking the blame for inadequacies in the political, educational, and economic spheres. The main reason why cadres are not available in sufficient

KN 4A 665 numbers in the Kazakh SSR (and probably in any minority republic where the non-Russian native population is less well educated than the Russians) is that "qualification for a job" implies not only technical proficiency but also political reliability. For higher-ranking positions political sophistication and active participation may actually be required in addition to professional training and experience.

K [665] [661] Adding to these conditions Moscow's continuous demand that more and more natives be brought into the machinery ("korenizatsiia aparata"), one can see the predicament of the Kazakh bosses. In the past it has often happened that the only candidates qualified in terms of training and political reliability were relatives of those already in administrative positions. The accusation of nepotism is, therefore, fairly frequent. This and other complaints in connection with the cadre system are voiced in some detail in a Central Committee decree of March 1947, "On the selection, training, and placement of Party and Soviet cadres by Kazakh Communist Party organization." The most pertinent clause of this decree, repeated recently in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda (21 September 1952), reads: ". . . selection of cadres [of Party workers] on a basis of friendship, personal devotion, family ties and kinship is incompatible with membership in the Party."[1] The social basis of nepotism in Central Asia has been discussed previously, in regard to family relations.

KN 665 933 964 At present the men in charge in Kazakhstan seem to be counting on an increase in the general level of education to solve this knotty problem. The importance of the economic problem for the Kazakh Party is shown by the fact that its two most powerful first secretaries lost their jobs over manpower and production failures. The energetic Goloshchekin was replaced when too-rapid and brutal collectivization procedures resulted in social and economic disaster. More recently Shaiakhmetov, probably the most skillful politician to dominate Soviet Kazakhstan, was demoted (together with other responsible officials) when agricultural production failed—by a wide margin—to reach the planned level.

It is perhaps surprising that Shaiakhmetov managed to remain in power as long as he did (seven years). Since the end of World War II, Moscow had been applying pressure for better exploitation of Kazakhstan's potential in animal husbandry and grain production. Warnings by the Central Party organs (including Pravda) were numerous and explicit. The historical details are not important here except insofar as they support the argument that the 1954 demise of several Kazakh leaders was primarily an economic rather than a political purge. This interpretation was reinforced recently by the report that Comrade Shaiakhmetov had been "re-elected" by Alma-Ata voters.

The problem of production efficiency and adequately trained manpower arises in industry as well as in agriculture, although less frequently and less violently. It may be that factories and mines by their

[1]The most dramatic case was that of Nurvasov, former KSSR minister of justice, who was expelled from the Party by the Central Committee of the All-Union Party for "corruption." At that time, other functionaries were ousted with him for "deception of Party organs and unworthy conduct in respect to cadre affairs."

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very nature can be more easily supervised than vast collective enterprises. It may also be that industrial workers, who are better educated politically, and among whom there are proportionately more Russians, offer less resistance to Communist control than the peasants and herders. Whatever the explanation, the only enterprise for whose shortcomings the Kazakh Party has been prominently blamed is that of the Karaganda coal mines. A very specific criticism was directed against the Party (and, of course, against the pertinent administrative organs) for its inability to break down resistance to mechanization.

The following statement from Pravda (29 June 1949) is typical:

> "Four years ago mining combines began to be used in the Karaganda Basin. The chief of the Karaganda mines spoke glowingly of the magnificent results achieved in his domain. And then, a year ago, expensive machinery was put out of commission. Party investigation brought to light misuse and disuse of combines, and a return to manual extraction of coal. Local Party organizations had not interfered, and neither the city nor the regional party committee had decided to name the 'anti-mechanizers'."

As recently as 1952 (at the Sixth KSSR Party Congress) resistance to mechanization was described as caused by "disturbing elements" and by people apparently lacking in the true spirit of socialist construction—a clear sign that things were not as the Party would like them in the Karaganda mines.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

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In most of its activities, especially those depending on mass action (such as getting in the harvest, and agitation connected with it), the Party often enlists the help of the Komsomol (Young Communist League). This organization of young people (ages 15 to 26) has grown from Lenin's original idea into the largest single corporate body in the Soviet Union. Komsomol membership in October 1945 was reported as 15,000,000.

Officially, the League is defined in its bylaws as a "mass, non-Party organization," yet it requires that its members "persistently and unremittingly struggle to carry out the decisions of the . . . Party and the Soviet Government." There can be no doubt about Party control over Komsomol affairs. The 19th Party Congress had this to say on the subject: "The League carries on all its work under the immediate direction of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)." The League All-Union Central Committee is "directly subordinated" to the Central Committee of the All-Union Party, and local organizations are guided by their Party counterparts.[1] Organizationally, the Komsomol is patterned after the Party.

The Komsomol must not only master Marxist-Leninist teachings, but also actively aid the Party in implementing directives and programs. The Komsomol is the Party's assistant in matters concerning the education of youth and children "in the spirit of Communism and of organizing youth around Soviet power." [867]

[1] Meisel and Kecera (97), 1950, p. 427. For complete bylaws of the Komsomols, see pp. 428-437.

665 883 Thus a major task of the League is its activity as a mass training school which provides young cadres for both Party and other organizations and institutions. In addition, the Komsomoltsi are often called upon to participate in agitation drives and physical labor related to economic production.

Another duty of the Young Communist League should be mentioned. [867] On behalf of the Party and under its control, the Komsomol supervises the younger age brackets of organized Communist youth: the Pioneers (ages 10 to 16) and Octobrists (ages 8 to 11).[1] Thus, as in all totalitarian states, militaristic regimentation and indoctrination starts early in the Soviet Union.

During World War II the Komsomols in Kazakhstan earned reward and glory for their efforts at the front and at home, and recently they have been praised for their contribution to the economic achievements of the republic. In 1946 the Kazakh branch celebrated its 25th anniversary; at that time a laudatory article appeared in the republic press, describing the development of the movement. The postwar growth of the League has been spectacular (see Table 10). One might estimate roughly that at least one-third of all persons in the appropriate age bracket are members of the organization.

Table 10

MEMBERSHIP OF KSSR KOMSOMOL

Year	Membership	Number of Primary Organizations
1938[a]	110,000	ND
1949[b]	291,000	15,600
1951[c]	400,000	14,400
1954	358,000	ND

[a]Reported at Fourth KSSR Communist Party Congress.
[b]Reported at Fifth KSSR Communist Party Congress (in two reports 396,000 and 405,000 were mentioned).
[c]Seventh Komsomol, KSSR, Congress (as reported in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 3 Mar 54).
ND: No data available.

[563] Some specific criticisms have been voiced concerning the League's work, particularly in the collectives. From the point of view of top powerholders, the main trouble with the Komsomols since the war has been their laxity in fighting traditional social and religious customs. A number of cases have been reported of Komsomols taking part in religious (mostly Moslem) holiday celebrations; the League has been accused of having condoned displays of "nationalistic and chauvinistic moods" among students and teachers in Kazakh schools,[2] of having failed to adequately publicize the Party's views with respect to nationalist deviation

[1]Towster (123), 1948, pp. 137-144, gives a detailed description of Pioneer and Octobrist organizations.
[2]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.

in the interpretation of Kazakh history,[1] and in general of having paid too little attention to ideological education.[2] "Komsomols must be pioneers in the struggle with feudal-bai customs; they must tirelessly unmask the promoters of the old way of life . . . ;" so preached Kazakhstanskaia Pravda on 16 December 1951. 665 883 [563]

The relationship of the Young Communist League to the Party may be summarized as follows:

(1) The League is a preparatory organization in political education.
(2) Because of its size, the League is the most important auxiliary arm in the execution of programs of mass action.
(3) In addition to these assets, the League also presents a liability in that the behavior of its members, and especially of its leaders, may lapse into proscribed ways. Policing the League is a major Party problem.

THE PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

For the sake of completeness a brief discussion is presented here of another problem child of the Party—the trade unions or profsoiuzy. The unions are the largest non-Party organization, numbering in the KSSR about 1,400,000 members;[3] the Party thus is confronted with the problem of policing an organization five times its own size. For an analysis of the organizational structure of the Soviet trade unions, the interested reader is referred to the recent volumes by Schwartz[4] and Bienstock et al.[5] 665 467

The unions underwent a major purge in 1951, in which the influence of the old line leadership was drastically reduced. In the Kazakh SSR, according to Party sources, the chief result was the promotion of many young people, including a number of women, into leading positions. [562]

Although this change was welcomed by the Kazakh Party leaders, many defects in union operations apparently remained. Three main criticisms were voiced again in 1952: (1) The unions had not organized "Socialist competition" well, and this failure had contributed to the agricultural debacle. (2) They had not taken care of workers' needs in regard to cultural and living conditions. (3) Safety measures in factories were still inadequate.

[1] Fifth Komsomol, KSSR, Congress (July 1951).
[2] Fifth KSSR Communist Party Congress (1951).
[3] At the Fourth Party Congress (1949), they were reported as having 990,571 members in about 15,000 factory groups. (*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.) The Fifth Congress brought out a figure of 1,370,000 members. (*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 6 Dec 51.)
[4] Schwartz (111), 1950, pp. 474-484.
[5] Bienstock, Schwartz, Yugow (13), pp. 32-38.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 7

THE GOVERNMENT

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Stalin, in his Problems of Leninism, speaks of the soviets as "mass organizations of all toilers . . . not Party organizations." Through the soviets the vast masses are to be tied to the Party, the vanguard of the proletariat. Constitutionally, the soviets are envisaged as the political foundation of the USSR, and since their inception the regime has taken its name from them.

The Party, after a successful revolution, became the ruling faction. All Party leaders held posts in the Soviet government. But the civil war prevented for the time being a clear definition of the relationship between the Party and the soviet structure. At the 8th Party Congress (March 1919) the Party openly declared that it meant to establish complete dominance in the existing soviets. Party decisions, however, were to be carried out through soviet organs in adherence to the letter of the constitution. Despite this lip service to the separation of powers, the Party leadership expanded the Party's role in soviet affairs. In 1926 Stalin attempted to clarify the situation. As vanguard of the proletariat, the Party takes for itself the task of training and inspiring the leaders who are to govern the country, but the realization of this dictatorship cannot be separated from the state power. The Party remains apart from the soviets, governing through its members within the soviet structure. Therefore it cannot be identified with the soviets. "The Party . . . leads the soviets, with their national and local ramifications . . . but it cannot and should not replace them by itself."[1]

With collectivization and industrialization intensified in the 1930's, a more open fusion of Party and government became apparent. In Party pronouncements the two were increasingly associated. Then the Party began to address itself directly to a number of government bodies, and since 1931 numerous enactments and laws have been published in the joint name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and the Central Committee of the Party.

The cycle was completed in 1941, when Stalin assumed the chairmanship of the Council of Peoples' Commissars. For a time jointly promulgated enactments bore the signature of Stalin in his dual capacity as Chairman of the Council and Secretary of the Party Central

[1] Stalin (120), 1934, pp. 38-39.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Committee. Since that time, Party and government have been publicly associated and closely allied in personnel, operation, and performance. KN 665 642

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF KAZAKHSTAN

The administrative structure of Kazakhstan[1] is at present identical to that in other soviet socialist republics in the USSR, and for that reason no detailed description of the structure itself will be given here. (See Figure 5.) There have, however, been a number of changes in the administrative organization of the republic in the past, and these will be briefly noted. KN 63 [647]

In 1925 there were 6 regions, 2 circuits, and 123 districts. The district (raion) was first formed in 1924 and may be regarded as a "miniature region" whose boundaries are determined primarily by economic factors. During the 1920's a transition took place from territorial to economic divisions. The last province (gubernia) was abolished in 1930, and in the same year the circuit (okrug) went almost completely out of existence. With its disappearance, the districts became directly subordinated to the regions. Autonomous republics were under the direct jurisdiction of a union republic; Kazakhstan was such an autonomous unit until 1936, forming part of the RSFSR.

Each district is administratively subdivided into village, aul, collective farm, and other soviets (councils). Cities and other settlements of an urban nature form another part of the administrative structure. Usually they are directly subordinated to a district, but large and economically important cities come under direct regional or republic jurisdiction.

By 1936 Kazakhstan had nine regions (oblasts). In 1949 the territorial subdivision of Kazakhstan looked like this: 16 regions; 36 cities (the capital, Alma-Ata, of republic jurisdiction, 20 cities of regional jurisdiction, 15 cities of district jurisdiction); 203 rural districts; 9 municipal wards; 2,674 rural (village or aul) soviets; 115 settlements of city type.[2]

In 1928, out of a total of 3,888 village-aul soviets, 2,199 were Kazakh, 1,209 Russo-Ukrainian, and 115 Russo-Cossack; 140 were "mixed," and there were 225 soviets of unenumerated minor nationalities.[3] By 1931 the total village-aul soviets numbered 3,763; of these, 2,169 were Kazakh, 1,470 "others," and 124 "mixed."[4] No ethnic breakdown is available for the 1949 figure of 2,674 village-aul soviets. Of the 182 districts listed in 1930, 112 were Kazakh;[5] for 1949 no ethnic breakdown exists. KN [162] K [162]

Some information is available on the nationality and social composition among the Supreme Soviet representation. At the 1947 Soviet Congress the 300 deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the KSSR included KN 665 647 K 648

[1]See *Constitution of the Kazakh SSR*, as amended through 1951.
[2]SSSR, *Administrativno-Territorial'noe Delenie Soiuznykh Respublik*, May 1949, pp. 272-295.
[3]*Tsik, Materialy k Otchetu . . .*, 1928.
[4]*Vos' Kazakhstan*, 1931.
[5]*Revoliutsia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 6, 1930, p. 14.

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SOVIET STRUCTURE OF THE KAZAKH SSR

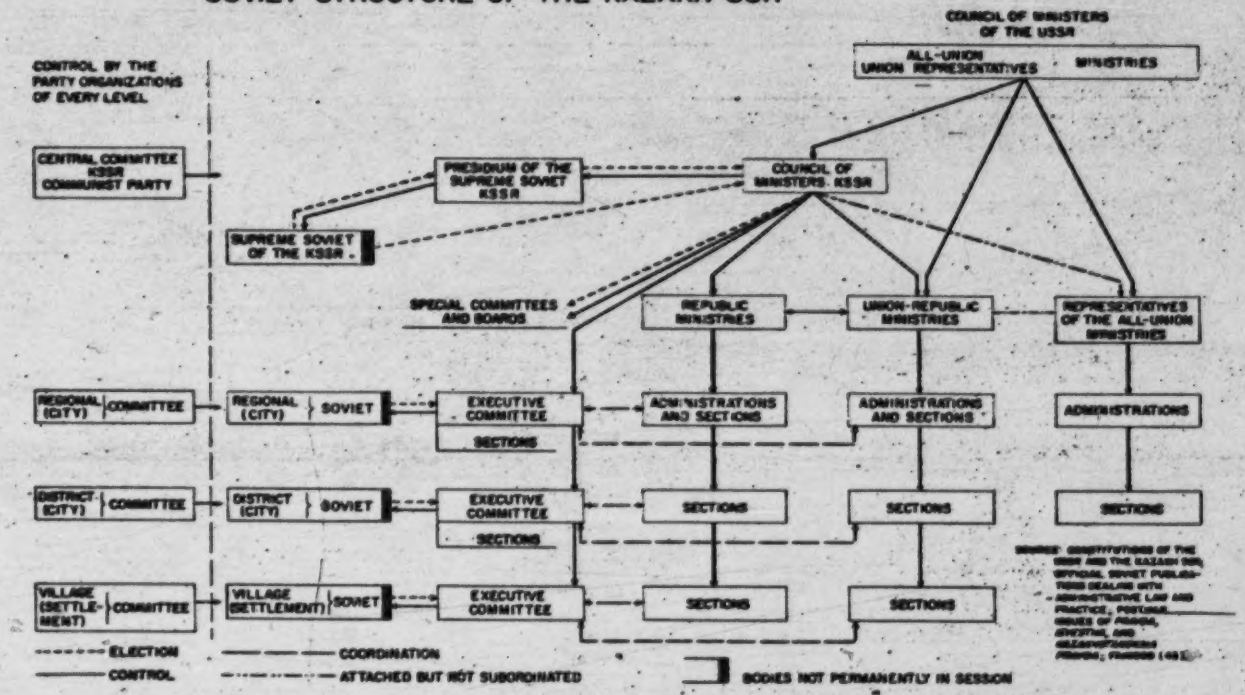

Figure 5

168 Kazakhs, 88 Russians, 33 Ukrainians, and 11 "others." More than two-thirds of the deputies (232) were either candidates or members of the Party. Approximately one-third of the deputies were workers, one-third peasants, and one-third "employees and others."[3] KN 665 649 K [648]

According to official sources, participation in elections approaches 100 per cent of eligible voters: the latest report claims 3,946,109 eligible voters for Kazakhstan in 1951, of whom 99.99 per cent voted.[4] KN [666]

The collectivization drive and the various purges greatly influenced the soviet organization of Kazakhstan during the 1930's. The movement to replace Russian personnel by qualified Kazakhs failed for want of trained Kazakh cadres. The Russians in responsible government posts encountered uncooperative natives. There were too many plans, too little fulfillment. "Great power" chauvinism survived, with the Russians in Kazakhstan looking upon the natives as an "odd assortment" and considering them a bothersome "overhead." Undeniably, there were few qualified personnel to be recruited from among the Kazakhs. Those who did enter government service were treated as inferiors by the entrenched Russians. K [648] KN [563]

These conditions forced the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (TsIK) to plan a thorough improvement in the situation, at the same time that the political and administrative units were being reorganized along economic-production lines. Kazakhstan was one of the five autonomous republics in which the soviet apparatus for districts had to be completely revamped to replace the old tsarist territorial unit, the rural district (Uezd').

The planned reorganization of Kazakh administration ran into many difficulties, caused in large part by poor personnel and primitive communication conditions. In 1930, for example, 82 districts had no radio, telegraph, or telephone connections with the center of the republic.[5] The official language was Russian, yet the reorganization was primarily concerned with districts which were predominantly Kazakh. KN [306] [307] [563]

Just when the organizational level appeared to be catching up with the demands of the area, there was a further expansion of the bureaucratic machinery of government. Today the councils at the various levels of government employ virtually an army of public officials who need continuous training to carry out their work. The integration of Kazakhs into the apparatus has never been achieved satisfactorily, and feminine participation in governmental affairs on the local and central levels is still woefully inadequate. K [648] KN [562]

The Party constantly directs its attention toward shortcomings of Kazakh governmental departments. Attacks are made on the Council of Ministers, on the planning agencies of the republic, and on the general central governmental hierarchy for its lack of sensitivity to local conditions and for the manifestation of a "formalistic" attitude toward its obligations.[6] When there were serious shortcomings in agriculture, the

[3] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47.
[4] *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (26), III, pp. 8, 24.
[5] *Revoliutsiia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 7, 1930, p. 46.
[6] *Pravda*, 2 Mar 49.

665 Councils concerned were blamed, together with the local Party, by the
647 powers in Moscow for their failure to ensure that harvesting and grain deliveries be conducted according to plan.[1]

Early in 1951, with campaigns for elections to local soviets under way, the failures of past soviets were brought before the republic population in discussions directed and publicized by the local and national press. Major shortcomings aired at that time included the soviets' disregard of voters' suggestions and the poor state of housing in many cities; it was said that socialist competition was "formalistically" carried out, and not as effective as desired.[2] There were also complaints about poor coordination and cooperation between various governmental agencies in Kazakhstan.[3] A controversy involving manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in the republic led to severe criticism of those government organs concerned with artistic and cultural affairs.[4] The agricultural situation in Kazakhstan presents a constant problem, and warnings came from Moscow, addressed to all those concerned in the Kazakh government, to do something about the unsatisfactory conditions.[5]

At the Sixth Kazakh Party Congress (1952) a general survey was made of the work of the soviets in the major economic and cultural fields. After citing various improvements, speakers reiterated the deficiencies of the governmental agencies; weak control over implementation of high-level decisions, poor functioning of permanent commissions, unsatisfactory solution of problems connected with the national economy. Criticism was directed not only at the various lower echelons of government, but also at the Council of Ministers and its leadership. Throughout, the criticism sounded this keynote: Soviet organs must increase and improve their activities and play a still greater part in the accomplishment of economic and cultural tasks.[6]

The Party has thus consolidated its control over all phases of life
[182] in the Soviet Union, including the sphere of government operations. The Kazakh SSR, like other union republics, has a rather complex governmental apparatus. The success of this apparatus is closely related to the tasks set by Party leaders in Moscow. The soviets, like the Party, serve only to perpetuate the Communist dictatorship. The Party's control over the government is accentuated by the concentration of Party and government functions in the same hands. This phenomenon of overlapping leadership is documented at the end of this chapter.

THE JUDICIARY

692 No separate study has been made for this report of judicial affairs in Kazakhstan. Formally, they conform to the standard organization

[1] *Ibid.*, 10 Sep 49.
[2] *Izvestia*, 24 Jan 51.
[3] *Izvestia*, 4 Apr 51.
[4] *Pravda*, 20 Oct 51.
[5] *Izvestia*, 31 Jul 52.
[6] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 21 Sep 52.

for the USSR as a whole.[1] Various sources indicate, however, that the Prosecutor and the various courts in Kazakhstan have been kept extremely busy with cases concerned with theft of socialist property, particularly on collective farms. In postwar years the republic press has reported numerous trials involving persons accused of appropriating livestock and food in violation of regulations. The press also carries the usual civil and criminal cases, but it is not surprising to find that the punishment meted out for theft of socialist property, when compared with, for example, that for theft of private property, is disproportionately severe. KN 692 [685]

This question comes to mind: Are there any known instances when courts treated Kazakh offenders more or less severely than nonnative persons? The dismissal of the Minister of Justice, Nurbaev, was based on his "faulty and unfair" handling of cadre affairs. Could the real charge have been that he did not act forcefully in attacking fellow Kazakhs accused of violating the Agricultural Artel Charter?

The Party has complained repeatedly about the inactivity of the courts and the prosecutors with regard to some basic, recurring problems. These offices were apparently loath to prosecute cases where it had been established that women were kept out of industrial and administrative positions, in violation of existing rules. And, even more seriously, both courts and prosecutors remained inactive regarding the problem of manifestations of cultural and religious "deviations" in certain areas of Kazakhstan. KN [562] [563]

Some of these phenomena stem from the collision between the long-established Moslem legal conceptions and the relatively recently introduced Soviet legal ideas and needs, a factor related to the religious problems of the area (see Chapter 4).

THE OVERLAPPING LEADERSHIP OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

After a period of organizing and strengthening its position, the Party has achieved actual control over administrative affairs, yet the myth of separation between the political Party and the legislative structure in the Soviet Union still is maintained. At the apex of the hierarchy Stalin, by virtue of his posts as Party Secretary-General and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, united in his person both Party and government leadership. His associates and underlings in Party affairs also functioned in responsible posts in the government. KN 665 647

Parallel developments took place in the administrative subdivisions of the Soviet Union. The intertwining of Party and government in the Kazakh Republic can be shown conclusively. Following is a list of the names and positions of various individuals in the KSSR government and Party; in most cases the positions of officeholders and functionaries will be given for the period 1945-1952 (through the Sixth K [648]

[1] Constitutional provisions can be found in the *Kazakh Constitution*, Articles 82-87, and in the *USSR Constitution*, Articles 105-109. For additional information, see J. Towster (123), 1948; 1936 USSR Constitution; Constitution of the KSSR; *Novy Zakon o Sudoustroistve*, 1938.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Kazakh Party Congress in September 1952).' Nationalities have been indicated wherever such information was available or, in its absence, wherever names provide an unequivocal clue.

Afonov, I. I. (Russian). From 1949 on, he functioned as second secretary of the Party, and was a member of the Central Committee bureau and the Central Committee. At the same time, he sat in the Presidium of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet.

Baigaliev, K. B. (Probably Tatar). A Central Committee member since 1951, as well as chief of the Central Committee Fiction and Art Section. He was also chairman of the Cultural Education Committee in the Council of Ministers, and became Minister of Culture in April 1953.

Beisenov, A. B. (Moslem). While chairman of the Council of Professional Unions in Kazakhstan, he was a member of the Party Central Committee from 1949 on.

Ryzov, A. P. (Russian). Minister of State Security (MGB) in 1946 and 1947, member of the Central Committee and its bureau from 1946 through 1949.

Daulbaev, A. D. (Karakalpak). A Central Committee bureau candidate in 1949, member of the Central Committee from 1949 on, Commissar for Agriculture (Minister in 1946) from 1945 to 1952, and Minister for Water Resources from 1952.

Dosanov, A. (Kazakh). The chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Court from 1947 on. He was a Central Committee candidate from 1949 on.

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Dospanova, Kh. (Kazakh). She was a Central Committee bureau member in 1951, and was a member of the Central Committee from 1951 on; also on the Central Committee Revision Commission in 1949. Since 1951, a secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and from 1951 until 1952, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Dykhnov, N. V. (Russian). Central Committee candidate in 1951 and Komsomol Central Committee secretary since 1951.

Dzhangozin, D. (Kazakh). First secretary of the Almo-Ata Regional Party Committee in 1945, member of the Party Central Committee since 1949, Supreme Soviet chairman in 1947. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1951 to 1953, and subsequently Trade Minister.

Ermagambetova, Sh. (Kazakh). A vice-chairman of the Supreme Soviet from 1945, and a Central Committee member since 1949.

Fitin, P. M. (Russian). Member of both Central Committee and bureau since 1951, and Minister for State Security (MGB) from 1952 until the absorption of that Ministry by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in April 1953.

Gubin, V. V. (Russian Jew). Minister for Internal Affairs (MVD) since 1953. He was a Central Committee bureau candidate in 1951, full member of the bureau in 1952, and a member of the Central Committee from 1951 on.

Iakovlev, S. Ia. (Russian). Chief of the Cadre Section, Central Committee in 1945. Member of the Central Committee since 1949, bureau member from 1949 through September 1952, and Party secretary for the same time period. A member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1952.

Ivandaev, I. V. (Russian). Member of the Central Committee from 1949 through 1952. Sovkhoz Minister from February through October 1952.

Kasapin, A. K. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1946, bureau candidate in 1946, and full member from 1949 to 1951. First secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol from 1945, and deputy to the Kazakh Supreme Soviet in 1946.

Karibzhanov, F. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1951, bureau candidate in 1951, and full member in 1952. Chief of the Central Committee Agriculture Section from 1951 to 1953, at which time he became Minister for Agriculture and Procurements.

Karzhaubaev, G. Sh. (Kazakh). Third secretary of the Party in 1947, Party secretary from 1949 through 1952. Central Committee bureau member from 1947 through 1952, and member of the Central Committee since 1947. Chairman of the Supreme Soviet from 1951 on.

'The following section corresponds, as far as nationality classifications are concerned, with an independent study made by Dr. Dmitri Shimkin of The Bureau of the Census (114).

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Kerimbaev, D. (Kazakh). Central Committee bureau member since 1947, and member of the Central Committee from 1949 on. Chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1947. Vice-chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in 1948.

Kistanov, A. M. (Kazakh). Central Committee member in 1949, and candidate of the Central Committee since 1951. Vice-chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in 1945. Commissar (Minister since 1946) of Industrial Crops from 1945-47, and Minister of Sovkhoz from 1951.

Kruglov, S. I. (Russian). Party Central Committee member and bureau member from 1946 to 1949, also second secretary during same period, but dismissed from post in January 1952 as "protector of bourgeois nationalist perversions." Member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1947 to 1953, when he left Kazakhstan.

Kunaev, D. A. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate in 1949 and 1950, full member since 1951. Vice-chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers from 1947 on. President of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences since 1952.

Mambetov, A. I. (Kazakh). Party Central Committee candidate in 1949 and 1952, Central Committee member from 1951 to 1952. Minister for Agriculture from 1952 to 1953 (when Ministry was merged into new body, the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements). Supreme Soviet Presidium member from date unknown until 1952, then released to take over post of Minister.

Mukanov, S. M. (Kazakh). Central Committee member from 1949 to 1952, chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh Union of Soviet Writers, 1945 to 1952, and released at the later date because of position in the nationalist controversy.

Neklindov, A. I. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1951, and Secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1952.

Nikitin, I. I. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1949, assistant editor of *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda* until 1948, and chief editor since then.

Nurmbaeva, N. S. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1951.

Sembaev, A. I. (Kazakh). Party Central Committee member from 1949 to 1951; since then Central Committee candidate. Commissar (later Minister) for Education through 1945.

Shaiakhmetov, Ak. (Tatar). Central Committee member since 1938. Second secretary from 1939 to 1946, then first secretary until the purge of February 1954. Also a member of the Central Committee Bureau. Member of the All-Union Party Central Committee, and chairman of the USSR Council of Nationalities in 1952. Member of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1947 on.

Sharipov, I. S. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949. Member of the Kazakh Party Revision Commission in 1949. Vice-chairman of the Sovnarkom (later Council of Ministers) since 1946.

Shaukenbaev, T. Sh. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate since 1951, became chairman of Kazakh GOSPLAN in 1859.

Taibekov, E. G. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949, member of the Central Committee bureau since 1951, as well as member of the All-Union Party Central Committee. Chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers from 1951 on.

Tulebaev, T. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949, chief of the Central Committee Planning-Finance-Trade Section from 1949 to 1952, and Minister of Finance since 1951.

Undasynov, N. D. (Kazakh). Central Committee and bureau member from 1949 to 1952. Chairman of the Sovnarkom (later Council of Ministers) until 1951, at which time he was relieved from post for "further studies."

Vlasenko, M. D. (Ukrainian). Central Committee candidate since 1952. Deputy Commissar for Sovkhoz until 1946; from then on, Deputy Minister of Agriculture. Became Minister for Sovkhoz late in 1952.

Zagovelev, A. P. Central Committee member from 1949 until 1952, and bureau member until 1951. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers through 1947.

Zhukov, L. G. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1952. Chief of the Central Committee Transportation and Communication Section since 1952. Named Minister for Highways and Highway Transportation in 1953.[1]

[1]Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington, as consultant to the project, gave the research team special assistance in the identification of names.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Dates prior to 1945 were not stated in this summary of leader activities, as the primary concern was to show the overlapping functions for the period since World War II. The key dates for Kazakh Party Congresses, at which elections and nominations for Party posts were made, were: Fourth Congress, February 1949; Fifth Congress, December 1951; Sixth Congress, September 1952. Membership in the Central Committee bureau and posts in the technical apparatus are listed from the Party Congress at which election or appointment was made through the year in which, in the current Congress, the appointment or election was not repeated, unless evidence is available that the individual has been purged or transferred somewhere along the line.

KAZAKH PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

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Several infantry divisions were organized on Kazakh territory during World War II; of these, the 238th and 316th are mentioned most prominently. Little is known with respect to their nationality composition. On the other hand, it is reported that 60 per cent of all KSSR Communist Party members had joined the Armed Forces; the Komsomol, too, supplied a large contingent.

The two divisions cited were thrown into combat in the defense of Moscow and in the battle for Tula. Their losses were staggering. The 238th Infantry Division was rewarded for heroism by being renamed the 30th Guards Division. The 316th Division, led by General Panfilov, was later designated the 8th Guards Division. In Kazakh sources it is often called the Panfilov division for its leader, who was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union"; the few surviving members of the old division are reverently referred to as Panfilovtsy.[1]

Towster[2] gives pertinent information regarding the distribution of Soviet military honors awarded during the period June 1941-October 1944. The title "Hero of the Soviet Union" was awarded to 5,901 soldiers of whom 57 were Kazakhs. Three million soldiers, including 34,000 Kazakhs, received other orders and medals. The Kazakh share of these awards amounted to about one per cent—fewer than, but not too divergent from, the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of the Soviet Union.

Whether the Kazakh nationals in the Red Army had experiences which were radically different from those of their Russian comrades-in-arms cannot be determined with certainty. As one would expect, available Soviet sources provide no indication that Kazakhs were treated as inferiors. The other avenue of information, German documents captured by the United States Army, provides a totally different picture.

Descriptions of interrogations of prisoners of war of Turkestan origin conducted by German investigators appear occasionally within several bulky files held by the Defense Department Records Branch in

[1]That few seem to have survived is illustrated by the fact that at the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Kazakhstan as a republic, only 28 were reported as having participated in a parade.

[2]Towster (123), 1948, p. 357.

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Alexandria.[1] These materials suffer from the German interviewers' lack of skill as well as from biases and distortions supplied by both the Germans and their prisoners. Contradictions are frequent. The soldiers interviewed were defectors or deserters, and this factor must be kept in mind. Nevertheless, these men provide the only information available on service conditions, and certainly some of their reports may be taken seriously.

Almost every man interviewed voiced the opinion that minorities were treated badly in mixed units, especially in those units where Russian officers and noncommissioned officers predominated. Mutual distrust prevailed in such units; minority nationals were kept under surveillance because it was feared that they might desert. Morale among those nationals was low, especially when mail from home arrived announcing unfair or brutal treatment of the soldiers' families (requisitions, inhuman work loads, and so forth). The consensus of opinion among prisoners who belonged to several different units gives some credence to such reports. Further corroboration is supplied by some Russian soldiers interviewed at the same time. These men spoke of their Central Asian comrades as "poor soldiers" and "illiterates."

Some units formed in Central Asia had been organized rather hurriedly and shipped out with little or no training. It is small wonder, then, that such outfits did not resist German pressure effectively. When they asked about the reason for desertion, the German interrogators elicited most frequently the response that the man in question did not want to fight for the Russians. Nobody admitted fear as a direct motivating factor; a few volunteered the additional information that they resented fighting for a regime which had forced the free nomads into collectives.[2] According to interrogators' comments, virtually all Kazakh PW's spoke little or no Russian. German propaganda achieved a measure of success only after it began using the minority languages.

The racial doctrine of the Nazis tended to reinforce unfavorable comparisons made between the German and the Turkic soldiers, and almost barred the way to mutual understanding. Nevertheless, with the advice of civilian experts and officers who had lived in Turkestan and spoke the languages of the volunteers, the Germans managed to create the militarily satisfactory 162nd Infantry Division composed of Turkic nationals. This division stayed in the Italian campaign to the end of the war. It was forced to retreat hastily under pressure on several occasions, yet the German-Turkic solidarity was so high that desertions to the Allied side were often remarkably low, and no case was reported of Asiatic soldiers killing any of the German cadre although conditions were favorable for such action.

[1]Only a preliminary survey of these materials was made in connection with this study. Although useful information was obtained, it soon became evident that full exploitation of the captured German records for this purpose would far exceed the limitations of time and money established for the present research.

[2]Three Kazakh deserters said that they decided to bolt when they found a German propaganda leaflet telling them (in their native language) that there were no kolkhozes in Germany (October 1942).

Chapter 8

COMMUNICATION

121 One of the assumptions on which this study is based is that the Kazakhs of Soviet Central Asia are a potentially receptive audience for American psychological warfare. Information gained from the study would seem to support this assumption. Such information could be used to infer psychological vulnerability areas of the target population. But one can do little in the area of vulnerability content—vulnerable to what, under what conditions?—without knowledge of the communication process as it takes place within the target population. In practical terms, before determining what is to be said, the problem of how and through what channel it is to be said in order to reach the given target should be considered.

For this reason, a general discussion of communication conditions in Soviet Central Asia seems appropriate.

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS[1]

197 The languages of Turkestan may be divided into three general groups: Turkic, Slavic (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian), and Iranian (e.g., Tadzhik).

Since the Kazakhs are a Turkic people, attention will be focused on this group. The major Turkic-speaking peoples are (1) the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks, (2) the Uzbeks, and (3) the Turkmen. Uzbek and Turkmen are definitely separate languages, but those of the "three K's" are so similar in their spoken form that they may be viewed as dialects of one language. The following comparisons may benefit readers more familiar with European languages: The relationship between Kazakh and Kirgiz or between Kazakh and Karakalpak is roughly similar to that between the Czech and Slovak languages, or between the Danish and Norwegian.

In geographic areas where related languages have existed side by side, transitional strips may be found where the dialect spoken by the population has been clearly influenced by the language of their neighbors. The chief difference between the speech of the Karakalpaks and that of the Kazakhs, for example, is that the former language replaces initial "t" by "d" and "k" by "g". This feature is characteristic of Turkmen,

115 [1]Much of the material on linguistic conditions is based on a discussion with Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington.

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

These are, however, minor differences. The main point is that for purposes of oral communication Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Karakalpak are so mutually intelligible as to form a single language.

In writing and printing, the Turks of Central Asia used the Arabic script until the 20th century. In the 1930's Soviet authorities introduced first the Latin and in 1939-1940 the Cyrillic alphabets, with certain necessary additions for each language. The resultant orthographies present slightly differing appearances for Kazakh and Kirgiz. This difference constitutes a handicap, even for educated readers, to those unaccustomed to reading printed matter in both languages. Nevertheless, after a little initial hesitation, a Kazakh reader will be able to make out the content of an article in an unfamiliar Kirgiz newspaper. The communicator trying to reach both Kirgiz and Kazakhs by means of a written or printed document in one of these languages should therefore be aware that he must provide some incentive to readers of the other language to expend the extra effort. 212

In delimiting a target group within the Kazakh SSR one should remember that Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians) constitute over half of the total population. Russian is the language of the politically dominant group; the central government in Moscow is determined to make it the lingua franca of the realm. How much bilingualism this effort has produced among the Kazakhs is not known. Communist Party authorities frequently complain about the inadequacy of Russian instruction in Kazakh SSR schools. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the proportion of Kazakhs with knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last two decades. No quantitative information in this respect is available, but a few generalizations can be made. In general, more Kazakh men than women, and more young people than old, learn the Russian language. One finds proportionately more Russian-speaking Kazakhs in urban areas than in rural (and fewest among the remaining nomadic tribes), and more among those whose socialstatus makes knowledge of Russian a necessity for maintaining that status, such as political and professional leaders and workers in prestige manual occupations such as railroading. 191 648 [369]

On the other hand, the proportion of Russians in the KSSR who have a good working knowledge of the Kazakh language is probably small. Those who have such knowledge are minor officials, Party functionaries, work foremen, and others who deal with the monolingual Kazakh population in a direct supervisory capacity.

Much more would have to be said about bilingualism in a study of the other four union republics in Soviet Central Asia.[3] The fact that 191

[3]The Tartars of Turkestan deserve special mention in this context: They owe their important historical position as traders and mediators between the Turks and Russians to their knowledge of languages, high general educational standards (e.g., literacy), and zeal as teachers of Islam. However, it is probable that the influence of this small ethnic group (about 1% in 1926) has declined in the last quarter of a century.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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some persons know or understand a second language in addition to their native tongue may be to the advantage of the communicator using mass channels, since such knowledge thus increases the number of people which messages in that language may be expected to reach. But it is essential that the propagandist know the role of the secondary language in the mind of the audience. Emotional opposition of the receiver to the language of the communicator (because it represents to him the language of the oppressor) may counteract the most carefully determined content.

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LITERACY

The usefulness of the various printed media of communication depends on the literacy rate of a given population. According to Lorimer, in 1926 only 7.1 per cent of all Kazakhs "were able to read (in any language)."[1] This proportion placed them, according to the census of that year, ahead (!) of all native Central Asian groups except the Taranchi (8.5%). At that time the over-all proportion of persons aged nine years or older within the Kazakh republic who were able to read was 22.8 per cent (male 32.6%, female 12.5%). The comparable figures from the 1939 census are included in Table 11.

Table 11

LITERACY IN THE KSSR AND RSFSR, 1939*

Republic	Male Population	Female Population	Total Population
KSSR	85.2	66.3	76.3
RSFSR	92.3	73.0	81.9

*Percentage of persons aged nine or older able to read or write. From Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 199.

If one assumes that roughly half the population of the KSSR were Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians) and half were Turkic nationals (Kazakhs and a small number of Uzbeks and Taranchi), and that the RSFSR literacy rate is representative of the Slavic group, an estimate of 70.7 per cent literacy can be derived for the Turkic group as a whole. However, the Uzbek rate is lower than that of the Kazakhs, and quite probably the Slavs constituted less than half of the population of the KSSR; therefore the best estimate of the literacy rate in 1939 among the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan would appear to be approximately 72 per cent.

These data indicate an apparent tenfold increase between 1926 and 1939 in the literacy rate among Kazakhs in the KSSR. This is misleading, for the censuses were not based on the same definition of literacy; the figures for 1926 included only those able to read, while the 1939 figures include persons able to read <u>or</u> write. Thus the 1939 census may list as literate a number of people who were merely able to sign their

[1] Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 58.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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names. This discrepancy should not be overemphasized, however; Lorimer's comment on Tadzhikistan may be pertinent here as well:[1]

> "The change in definition would appear to indicate a relaxation of standards in census procedure, but it would be gratuitous to attribute the phenomenal change mainly to this factor. The apparent trend is supported by an abundance of circumstantial evidence."

No doubt the proportion of Kazakhs able to read and write is on the increase. When the next figures are published, the Soviet authorities may well claim 90 per cent literacy among the Kazakhs. Yet, how many of these people knew the Latin alphabet (still in force in 1939), but have not "converted" to Cyrillic? How great is the "reading ability" of those who learned the art as adults and perhaps against their will? How effective are the literacy programs; as measured by followups and retests? Library research cannot provide adequate answers to such questions. One can only assume that as simple rules of thumb the same generalizations that describe Kazakh knowledge of the Russian language apply to Kazakh literacy as well. These generalizations may be helpful in attempts to pinpoint relatively small target groups.

COMMUNICATION CONDITIONS IN KAZAKHSTAN

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The development of communication systems in Kazakhstan has followed the pattern already noted there in other industrial and technological areas. Many changes have been introduced since Tsarist times—better machines and equipment, more modern techniques—but progress has been slow, and the picture is still one of glaring deficiency.

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First Secretary Shaiakhmetov reported on communication conditions at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Party Congresses (in 1949, 1951, and 1952). According to Kazakhstanskaia Pravda,[2] he said that a number of new telegraph lines had been built, but that 19 district centers had no direct wire connections with regional capitals.[3] Construction of these lines was anticipated within three or four years (from 1951). Alma-Ata, the capital of the republic, still lacked adequate telegraph connections with the district centers.

In 1949, Shaiakhmetov reported, Alma-Ata had regular telephone connections with 56 cities and 135 districts. In both 1951 and 1952, he complained about the lack of progress and called for (1) construction of lines to all village-aul soviets and sovkhozes, (2) reliable connections between the regional capitals and MTS's, MZh's, and cattle herding centers, (3) construction of automatic telephone exchanges in such cities as Balkhash, Temir-Tau, and Dzhezkazgan, (4) reconstruction, expansion, and modernization of exchanges in other population centers, and (5) radiotelephone connections between district centers and remote herding points.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[2] 25-26 Feb 49, 16 Dec 51, 21 Sep 52.
[3] This constituted less than 10% of all Kazakh SSR districts.
[4] On 4 Aug 49 *Pravda* reported: "Kazakh herdsmen who graze their herds in steppes hundreds of kilometers from the nearest village maintain contact with the rest of the country through 180 two-way radios and hundreds of receivers."

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The western observer should keep in mind the following considerations when evaluating contemporary technological conditions in Central Asia:

(1) However backward conditions may seem to the outsider, to the native observer—who possesses no foreign yardstick—the situation appears far advanced over the past. Indeed, local conditions may be greatly superior technologically to neighboring, more primitive republics and countries (Sinkiang, for example).

(2) Although the normal process of cultural diffusion, accelerated by the introduction of mass communication media, results in some technological progress in backward areas (even against strong local opposition), this progress does not necessarily go hand in hand with social advances; it may in some cases be detrimental to the welfare of the native group.

(3) The price paid for technological advances, in terms of sacrifice and suffering, should be considered as a separate problem, and its psychological significance should be seriously investigated.

MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION[1]

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The communication system of any country is an integral part of that country's culture and society, and should be understood and evaluated in that context. The part played by mass communication media in the Soviet Union differs in several important characteristics from that of the western press, radio, and film. First, all mass media in the USSR are controlled by the central authorities. Secondly, they are used by the authorities as tools which complement and reinforce each other in the achievement of ideologically grounded goals; they form a true system of "mass persuasion." Thirdly, certain physical and technological conditions have called for solutions which differ from western practices. And finally, news is presented in a manner consonant with the over-all goals; entertainment is secondary to the education of the public.

The Press

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The press in the Soviet Union is viewed as a major social force that must be harnessed and adapted to facilitate attainment of the society's defined goals. And since the Communist Party determines the goals of Soviet society, the Party controls the press. The press is expected to operate according to the principle of partiinost'—militant loyalty to the Party. In this sense Stalin has spoken of the press as a transmission belt between the masses and the Party.[2] (However, studies by the Russian Research Center at Harvard indicate that the role of the press was overestimated by Stalin.)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the press is given the assignment of eradicating from the minds of the people ideas of capitalism,

[1]This section is based largely on Inkeles (68), 1950.
[2]Ibid., pp. 135-136.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak
Kazakhstan RQ1

psychological remnants of feudalism, and aspirations of nationalism. By providing a forum for the public expression of criticism and samokritika ("self-criticism," in reality more like public confession of sins), the press serves as an organ of enforcement and frequently of terror. For these reasons, then, a detailed and sophisticated study of Soviet press content is probably the best avenue toward understanding contemporary Soviet history. As an illustration of this, the reader will have noted that the single most important source for this report is the official newspaper of the Kazakh Communist Party, Kazakhstanskaia Pravda. 204 208 665 204

This republic daily sets the tenor for the other Kazakh SSR papers by calling attention to the prescribed topics of the day. These topics, which may have originated locally or may be reprints of an all-Union paper such as Pravda, are then picked up and repeated by the local press. This indication of hierarchical organization in the KSSR press is substantiated by an analysis of the number of papers published at various administrative levels (see Table 12).

Table 12

NUMBER OF KAZAKHSTAN NEWSPAPERS
BY ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL,
1937 AND 1952

Level	1937[a]	1952[b]
Republic	10	5
Region	21	32
District and city	162	230[c]
"Lower-level" (farm and factory)	152	(d)

[a]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1939 (Table 26), *Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[b]*Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Vol. 19, 1952, p. 348.
(The same figures reported by *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 21 Sep 52)
[c]Of which seven are city papers.
[d]Not mentioned in the enumeration.

This hierarchical pyramid is similar to the configuration shown by Inkeles for the USSR as a whole.[1] The number of papers increases and the circulation per paper decreases as one goes from higher to lower levels. The figure shown for the lowest category (Nizovye gazety—"lower-level" papers) would be increased considerably if one were to include all those "newspapers" which are produced by non-typographic means, such as wall newspapers made in single copies by typing or handwriting, or factory papers prepared by such methods as hectographing. The total number of papers and their combined circulation is shown in Table 13 for those years for which data are available.

The ratio of number of newspapers to population in Kazakhstan is similar to that in the USSR as a whole—one newspaper per 27,000-28,000 inhabitants (the exact ratio depending upon the specific population

[1]*Ibid.*, p. 168, Table 3.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Table 13

NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Year	Number	Total Circulation
1937[a]	345	ND
1940 (Jan)[b]	220	940,000
1947[c]	266	ND
1949 (Feb)	238[b]	758,000[d]
1951 (Nov)[d]	246	865,000
1952 (Sep)[e]	257	882,000

[a]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e]*Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
ND: No data available.

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estimate).[1] The estimated population of the KSSR in 1952 was 7,000,000 and the total newspaper circulation 882,000; hence for every 1,000 persons there were 126 newspaper copies. The corresponding figure for the USSR in the late 1940's was 118 copies per 1,000 individuals (based on a total circulation of 23,600,000, and an estimated population of 200,000,000). On the basis of this crude comparison, it would appear that access to newspapers is at least as great in the KSSR as it is in the Soviet Union as a whole.[2] Unfortunately, no pertinent data were found on newspaper circulation in the USSR according to language of publication. However, information on numbers of papers at given times permits the compilation of Table 14, showing the proportion of Kazakh-language papers in the republic.

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The proportion of the Kazakh language papers has remained remarkably stable, if the available figures can be taken at face value. Since the 1939 census the number of Kazakh papers seems to have remained at slightly more than one-half of the total; it is conceivable that this proportion has been dictated from above, to strengthen the pretense that the KSSR is entitled to the name Kazakh, for the Kazakhs certainly form less than one-half of the republic's population.

It is very probable that the combined daily circulation of the Russian-language newspapers is greater than that of the Kazakh-language press.[3]

[1]*Pravda*, 5 May 49, reported 7,200 newspapers for the USSR. The total of 257 newspapers in the KSSR (Table 13) was divided into a rounded population figure of 7,000,000 inhabitants.

[2]Including the circulation of the all-Union press, the USSR ratio would be 155 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. The comparable figures for the United States (English-language dailies only) as of September 1952: circulation 54 million, population 160 million, or 337 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. These ratios come closer together when only the population aged 15 and older is considered: USSR 340, United States 470 per 1,000 inhabitants.

[3]The above figures first appeared (for the year 1947) in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948. Older information corroborates the hypothesis that Russian-language papers have a much higher average circulation than the Kazakh ones. For example, *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo Kazakhskoi ASSR*, p. 305, lists as of 1 Jan 35 a total of 163 newspapers with a circulation of 351,000. The Russian papers (55) had a mean circulation of 3,470, whereas the 84 Kazakh-language papers had an average circulation of exactly *half* that number. (There were 24 papers of unspecified languages with an average circulation of 610 each.)

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ 1
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Table 14

PROPORTION OF KAZAKH-LANGUAGE PAPERS

Year	Total Number of Papers	Kazakh-Language Papers	Kazakh-Language Proportion of Total (%)
1937[a]	345	163	47
1940[b]	220	126	57
1947[c]	266	139	52
1952[d]	257	135[e]	53

[a]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e]An estimate based on a language distribution in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, for district-level papers. Of 213 such papers, 117 were Kazakh, 91 Russian, 3 Uigur, and 2 Uzbek. It was assumed that each of the 16 regions publishes a Kazakh paper as well as a Russian, and that there is at least one city-level and one republic Kazakh-language paper.

Whereas quantitative information on the circulation of Kazakh-language papers is conveniently omitted from the 1952 edition of the standard Soviet encyclopedia (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia), the same source cites as an achievement the figures for the largest Kazakh monthlies: Pioneer, 10,000; Kommunist, 7,000; and The People's Teacher (Narodnyi uchitel'), 5,000. All of these periodicals as well as 90 per cent of all books produced in the Kazakh Republic are printed in Alma-Ata.

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In 1937, according to a specialized Soviet source, more than 85 per cent of the books published in Kazakhstan were printed in the capital, Alma-Ata.[1] In that year 5,300,000 volumes were published in the republic, of which almost 90 per cent were written in the Kazakh language;[2] most of the non-Kazakh books were in Russian. The 4,700,000 volumes in the Kazakh language included 252 titles,[3] which represents a mean edition figure of 18,600, surprisingly high for a minority language. By subject matter, most KSSR books fell into one of these four categories:[4] (1) belles-lettres (26%), (2) politics, law, and "socialist construction" (18%), (3) mathematics and physical sciences (14%), and (4) linguistics and philology (12%).

The war had a devastating effect on the book publishing trade in the Soviet Union. The total number of volumes published was 20 per cent smaller in 1947 than in 1937 (see Table 15). Within the Kazakh republic, however, the number of volumes published actually increased by 20 per cent during that period. Accompanying this increase in production was a significant change in the ratio of native- to nonnative-language publications (see Table 16). The number of books published in the Kazakh language was cut almost in half, while the number of publications in

[1]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[2]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[3]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[4]*Ibid.*

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other languages (chiefly Russian) increased by five times the 1937 figure. The same change in the relative numbers of native-language and Russian-language titles occurred in Uzbekistan, although not to such an extreme degree.[1]

Table 15

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR AND SELECTED REPUBLICS, 1937 AND 1947[a]

Area	1937	1947
USSR	674,000,000	541,000,000
RSFSR	549,000,000	439,000,000
UzSSR	11,600,000	6,800,000
KSSR	5,300,000	6,400,000

[a]Compiled from Tables 3 and 4 of the standard volume, *The Soviet Press in Figures (Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh)*.

Table 16

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN KSSR AND UzSSR BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION

Year	Kazakhstan		Uzbekistan	
	Kazakh Language	Other Languages	Uzbek Language	Other Languages
1937[a]	4,700,000	600,000	9,900,000	1,700,000
1938[b]	6,200,000	1,400,000	ND	ND
1947[a]	3,400,000	3,000,000	4,700,000	2,100,000

[a]Figures from Tables 4 and 5 of *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*.
[b]Figures from *Tsifry o pechati SSSR*.
ND: No data available.

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The literary production of Kazakhstan in 1937 was given as 322 titles, of which 182 were original works and 140 were translations. (The parallel figures for Uzbekistan were 498 titles, 310 originals and 188 translations.)[2] It may be assumed that again most titles fell into the belles-lettres category. In some Soviet statistics this category is further subdivided into prose, drama, and poetry. No detailed data are available for the postwar period, but in 1937 Kazakh literary production was similar in respect to these subcategories to the total USSR "non-Russian language" production.

[1]These data lend themselves to a dual interpretation. One might say that although the native population had probably grown in size and certainly in relative literacy in those 10 years, it was being given less reading material than before the war. The Kazakhs could not turn to any books published in their language elsewhere in the USSR, since such production (if any) would be negligible. On the other hand, the 1947 ratio of native to nonnative publications corresponds more closely to the actual ethnic composition of the population.
[2]Table 6 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Of the belles-lettres publications in the USSR during the 1938-1947 decade, 16,400,000 titles were in the Russian language and 9,000,000 titles were in non-Russian languages. Prose works constituted almost 60 per cent of the Russian titles, only 36 per cent of the non-Russian. Corresponding figures for drama were 11 per cent and 8 per cent, for poetry 23 per cent and 46 per cent, and for other works 7 and 10 per cent, respectively.[1]

Almost half of the belles-lettres publications in the minority languages were poetry; the corresponding proportion of the Russian works was less than a fourth. The popularity among these people of poetry as an art form, and the significance of this finding for psychological warfare against Soviet minorities, seem fairly evident.

Radio

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Despite the claims of Party leaders, many people within the Soviet Union read very poorly. In a target audience where such is the case, the spoken word is a more effective means of communication. The standard medium of mass communication by the less-demanding spoken word is radio.

To the American observer it may seem that radio in the USSR plays but a minor role in comparison to the position this medium has achieved in the United States. Such a situation is certainly not due to official Soviet policy. The Russians are keenly aware of their need for more widespread utilization of the radio; this need is reflected in the Soviet term radiofikatsiia ("radiofication").

Organizationally, the Soviet radio system differs from the networks found in the United States or from the internal operation of the BBC in Great Britain in two major ways: (1) the extensive use of short waves in internal broadcasting (from roughly 75 meters or 40 KC down) and (2) the networks of wired speakers.

Short-wave broadcasting in local and relatively short-range traffic is popular in Latin America. If one may judge from the specifications of new Soviet receivers (published regularly in the periodical Radio[2]), the short-wave bands will play an even larger role in the Soviet Union in the future. Some indication of the relative importance of such broadcasts for the Kazakh SSR may be inferred from the distribution of transmitters. The CIA list of "Broadcasting Stations of the World" shows as of September 1952 a total of 12 transmitters operating in the KSSR, of which 10 are in the short-wave bands.[3]

A more strikingly Soviet phenomenon is the radio-diffusion exchange, radio-transliatsionnii uzel,[4] with its wired speakers, radiotochki. These speakers are found in homes of subscribers as well as in public places

[1]Table 33 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948.

[2]Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Standards for Radio Receivers," *Radio*, 1951, No. 9, pp. 11-13.

[3]The other two transmitters operated out of Alma-Ata (1103 meters, 10 kw) and Karaganda (412 meters, 20 kw). Eight of the short wave transmitters were based at Alma-Ata, the others at Guryev and Taldy-Kurgan.

[4]Also called *radiouzel or transliatsionnii uzel.*

(clubs, dormitories, houses of culture) and even in town squares. The exchange itself acts sometimes as a relay station for a distantly produced program (which comes to it by air waves or intercity telephone line), sometimes like our local radio station with live and transcribed programs, and at other times as a public address system for important announcements. The closest American equivalent to such a system would be a combination of the well-known subscription outfit "Music by Muzak" and the hotel radio system. (From the point of view of the USSR listener, the latter would be considered the height of luxury, since it usually permits a choice of several stations. The owner of a wired speaker usually has only the choice of turning the thing on, up, or off, and often—because of social pressure in his environment—not even that.[1]) The exchange and wired-speaker system has two virtues in the eyes of the authorities: Control is easily exercised, and, secondly, since one exchange may run several hundred or even several thousand speakers, the saving in the production of amplifiers and tuners is considerable.

In 1947 wired speakers composed more than 80 per cent of all equipment capable of carrying radio programs to the home, dormitory, club, or elsewhere. For the entire USSR, the absolute figures for 1947 included approximately 6,500,000 speakers and fewer than 1,500,000 radio sets (including crystal receivers not equipped for long-distance reception).[2]

Information regarding radiofikatsiia in the Kazakh SSR is scarce, and what there is takes the usual form of exhortation or complaint. Party Secretary Shaiakhmetov stated in February 1949 that radio exchanges and wired speakers had greatly increased since 1940. On the basis of his speech before the Fourth Party Congress, one can estimate that in 1940 the receiving network included 230 exchanges with 94,000 speakers, and in 1949, 283 exchanges with 172,000 speakers.

From these figures it is clear that the networks of exchanges have grown in size (from an average of approximately 410 speakers per exchange to a mean of 610), probably as a concomitant of increased urbanization; taking these numbers at face value and comparing them with parallel figures for the Soviet Union as a whole, one can see that the Kazakh republic was limping behind the rest of the Union.[3]

In 1940 there were 66 people in the KSSR for every radio speaker; in the USSR, there was one speaker for every 36 persons. In 1949 the figures were 40 persons per speaker in the KSSR, 25 per speaker in the USSR. These figures are not surprising, since rural areas generally have fewer radios even in European Russia. The Secretary of the KSSR Komsomols in 1950 complained in a letter to Radio[4] that although the Ministry of Communications was running several hundred exchanges, with as many as 200,000 speakers, the rural territory was badly neglected. Radio conditions among herders, especially in North and East Kazakhstan, are very bad.

[1]Some networks are now being built which will be able to carry two or more programs.
[2]Iakolev (68), 1950, p. 248, Table 5, and p. 250.
[3]*Ibid.*, and p. 246.
[4]Kenapin, "Komsomol'tsi pomogaiut radiofitsirovat' sela i aily" ("The Komsomols help to introduce radio into the villages and auls"), *Radio*, 1950, No. 7, p. 16.

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The available information indicates that corrective measures in these deficient areas may take these forms: (1) subsidiary exchange hookups with existing exchanges and (2) the introduction of a number of crystal sets. However, the proportion of tube receivers among the rural population of Kazakhstan probably will not increase in the near future. Similarly, it is safe to say that since tube receivers have to be imported from the western part of the USSR, the proportion of such sets in the KSSR will remain, even in urban areas, lower than that in the western republics.

The latest available information about radio in the Kazakh SSR may be found in an article on the republic in the 1953 volume of the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia. This article claims 300,000 speakers (without clarifying whether this number includes regular sets or not). Assuming a population of 7,200,000 for the republic, one arrives at a mean of 24 inhabitants per unit of listening equipment.

As an afterthought to this discussion on radio facilities, it might be mentioned that as of this writing television had not penetrated into Kazakhstan.

Film

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During World War II the film studios of Moscow and Leningrad transferred their operation to Alma-Ata. Because of the favorable climate of the city and its environs, the area became, temporarily, the "Hollywood of the Soviet Union." However, when Mosfilm and Lenfilm removed their equipment, full-length film production in the Alma-Atinsk studios came to a standstill. It was reported that in 1947 they were not working at all; later they concentrated on dubbing films in the Kazakh language.[1] Several documentary films were made there in the postwar period. The needs of the film audience were served by exhibiting older Soviet films and, in the latest period, perhaps by the showing of films made in the satellite countries. But solutions worked out by the film authorities did not satisfy Party officials.

Again it was Shalakhmetov who voiced sharp criticism. After quoting Stalin as saying that the movies are an "important means of mass agitation" he attacked the Ministry of Cinematography for not having produced a single art film about Kazakhstan in three years (as of December 1951) and not enough documentaries. Qualitatively, the films were unsatisfactory because they made little use of "contemporary themes and issues" (1949), and because they did not bring out clearly enough the friendship of the Russian and Kazakh peoples (1952). Distribution of films and of projecting equipment was also found wanting (1949, 1951).

The Soviets have developed a unique system concerning the location and use of film projectors. The Soviet Union had in 1938 a total of 31,000 projectors of standard 35mm type, but only 55 per cent of these were mounted in stationary locations.[2] The other 45 per cent were

[1]According to the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 80 films were dubbed in Kazakh in 1945-1952. The same source also cites the Alma-Atinsk studios as publishers of a weekly film magazine, *Sovetskii Kazakhstan*.

[2]Inkeles (68), p. 303, Table 7.

546 peredvizhki (mobile or portable installations), most of which operated in rural locations. Of the almost 17,000 stationary installations, only 17 per cent were located in motion picture theaters; more than 60 per cent were to be found in clubs.

No such detailed information is available for the KSSR. However, the strong relationship between mobile installation and rural location appears to be true here also (see Table 17).

Table 17

PROJECTION UNITS IN THE KAZAKH ASSR, 1935[a]

Type of Unit	Urban	Rural	Total
Stationary	195	114	309
Mobile	64	422	486
Not specified	0	39	39
Total	259	575	834

[a]From Table 22, *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo Kazakhskoi ASSR*, 1936.

Since 1935 the number of projection units has risen to 1,283 in 1952, according to the Soviet encyclopedia,[1] an increase similar in proportion to that of the entire USSR.[2] One should bear in mind that not all of these projectors contained sound equipment, that many mobile units were not mounted on trucks and were therefore unwieldy, and that some of these units had no generator and were dependent on local electric power.

On the other hand, Shaiakhmetov pointed out in 1951 that 90 per cent of all government movie houses (number unknown) had new equipment.[3] Also, lest the reader despair over the cinematic progress of the Kazakh SSR, let it be said that in 1939 another Central Asian republic, the Tadzhik SSR, had but 122 projectors to serve a population of 1,500,000.[4]

OTHER FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

20 Considerable attention has been devoted to the formal channels of mass communication because detailed information was available and because in a population which is being rapidly sedentarized and urbanized, the formal media assume increased importance. More and more people of Kazakhstan will be reached by press, radio, and film. Communication conditions in the sparsely populated rural areas are less favorable, however, and the situation is worst among the nomadic shepherds.

[1]*Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Vol. 19, p. 358. A total of 846 with 279 sound projectors is given for 1938 in *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1933-1938 (Table 15).

[2]Iakeles (68), gives data for 1936 and a five-year plan estimate for the end of 1950, in Table 6, p. 301. The comparison yields an increase of 60%—perhaps a little overoptimistic, since it is based on plan estimate. The Kazakh increase was 54% over a somewhat longer period.

[3]As reported in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.

[4]Iakeles (68), p. 305.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Nevertheless, among primitive peoples news often travels with amazing alacrity. One example of a technologically primitive but effective medium is the "jungle telegraph" of relayed tom-tom beats. The people of the steppe also developed an institution for the rapid transmission of news and rumor: the uzun kulak (the "long ear"). As soon as a given item of news reached an aul, a man mounted his horse and sped to the nearest encampment to inform its inhabitants of imminent danger or the presence of the tax collector. This form of rumor-through-cavalry still achieves some surprising results. During the collectivization drive, it frequently happened that by the time the grain-collecting party arrived in an area, all Kazakhs had disappeared—men, women, children, animals, tents, grain, and all. Soviet sources testify to many instances of the effectiveness of the uzun kulak. In view of its institutionalized character, "the long ear" qualifies for mention as an established means of communication in Kazakhstan.

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The "long ear" is a peculiarly Kazakh form of communication. Another communication phenomenon of typically Soviet origin is that of mass agitation. Inkeles devotes a goodly part of his book to the topic of agitation and the agitator. From the point of view of the audience (kolkhoz or factory workers, miners, students, or the public at large), the agitators are transmitters of the current Party line regarding theoretical orthodoxy, persuaders who must induce their listeners to fulfill given economic goals. According to official figures 60 per cent of all agitators were KSSR Party members. The rest came mostly from the Komsomol organization.[2]

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In 1949, there were 12,580 propagandists (of whom only 400 were full-time propaganda workers) and 122,000 agitators in the KSSR;[3] in 1951, the figures reported were 15,810 and 158,652.[4]

A particularly interesting form of agitation is the Red Yurt. The use of Red Yurts in Kazakhstan is comparable to that of Red Tents in other critical Soviet areas. Red Yurts travel across the country, stopping in areas where the Party wants to intensify its drive for bigger and better production. In 1948, for example, a Red Yurt was set up in Western Kazakhstan; it served the livestock breeders of a large collective. Among them it organized 300 veterinary, literary, agitation brigade, and dramatic circles. Its library contained more than 500 books on art, politics, and technical subjects.[1]

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The activities of the Red Yurt illustrate a major truth about the Soviet Union: It is extremely difficult to delineate within any area of the Soviet Union what falls under the heading of communication, or agitation and propaganda, or perhaps information and education.

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 16 Dec 51.
[4] *Kul'turno-Prosvetitel'naia Rabota*, Vol. 13, No. 7, July 1952, p. 47.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 9

CULTURAL AFFAIRS: THE POLITICS OF "CULTURE" AND EDUCATION

SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY

177 Much has been written on the subject of Soviet nationality policy; one calls to mind the ironic promise of full national self-determination asserted by Lenin and by Stalin. In keeping with this, the grandiose, term "union republic" is applied to Kazakhstan and other divisions of the Soviet Union. Lesser areas, such as the Karakalpak region, are called autonomous republics. The lower the political unit in the Soviet hierarchy, the greater the Soviet insistence on this facade of independence and autonomy.

Soviet doctrine states that nationalism is only a formal concern, not a contentual nor substantive one. On the contrary, they say, the substance and reality of Soviet culture is socialism, however much the doctrine of nationalism is preached. "Nationalist in form, socialist in content" is a formula once frequently cited to characterize Soviet nationality policy.

From an anthropological point of view, the Soviet nationality policy is a problem of contact between cultures, or acculturation. But it is based on a special sort of cultural impact. In most of the world, cultures or civilizations have been in continuing contact with one another; the Russian contact with the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia from the 17th century ~~to 1917~~ was typical in many ways. But the present Soviet pattern is like none of the others. In the past the impact of western civilization on the rest of the world occurred with no thought to the eventual outcome of the impact. The Soviets, on the contrary, have a definite plan. The leaders have determined the path along which the minor peoples must develop toward Sovietization, and they have fixed the image of the final goal. This is controlled acculturation.

Whether the goal will be achieved is questionable; too little is yet known by social scientists about the total nature of culture, and the problems involved in changing the relation of a part to the whole, to permit the effective and predictable realization of such minutely planned change. In the Soviet Union such problems have not been explored at all, if one may judge by the anthropological literature of the USSR.

Thus the professed aims of Sovietization exist only on paper; they have little more value than other items of political propaganda. But

one cannot escape the fact that the various societies and peoples of the Soviet Union are being reshaped and remolded with the image of Soviet culture as the target. The political life is that of Moscow's creation, as is the economic; the religious is that which is permitted by the central regime. The language of each nationality—as it is taught in the schools, or written in the newspapers—is the one which Moscow has decided upon. The various nationalities themselves have been regrouped, often arbitrarily, for the purpose of greater convenience of administration by Moscow. 177

The grandiose and sweeping nature of the changes planned under Soviet nationality policy is sufficient to assure that major change is in fact taking place. A question exists only in regard to the direction such change will take and how far it will deviate from the plan. Whatever the direction of change, the cost in dislocation and suffering among the minority peoples will remain enormous.

KAZAKH ART AND LETTERS

In the chapter dealing with Kazakh religion and religious developments, a discussion of current trends in history writing in Central Asia was included to illustrate the rise of nativism, the idealization of native culture. While the connection between historiography and religion is not immediately apparent, there is an underlying relationship. This relationship may be more easily traced when one is applying the methods of cultural anthropology, as was the case in the discussion of religion. If one starts with the premise that the various aspects of a people's life are an interrelated whole, it follows that the religious life bears upon the economic, the economic on the religious, the political on the artistic. The concept of nativism has been used as a means of synthesizing the different cultural trends in Kazakhstan. The significance of the glorification of their past by native Kazakh historians during the Soviet era is clear. The historical traditions of the Kazakhs are important to them; around those traditions they were building in the 1940's the nucleus of an independent revival of Kazakh culture. The Soviets regarded this as dangerous, and the participants were either purged or warned away from the theme. 668 [814]

This sort of cultural revival is a type of nativism known in many parts of the world; the common feature such revivals share is a distinctive religious tone. But it is not the old religion which is being revived among the Kazakhs; rather, the old traditions are being treated in a religious fashion. These traditions become a religion, and the renewed interest in them a religious revival. The movement among the Kazakhs to revive the traditions of the past immediately became involved in politics. The Russian term kultura usually implies such political ramifications. In this sense there is a cultural politics in the Soviet Union.

The cultural taste of the regime in Moscow serves as a model for the rest of the empire. This cultural taste includes in part that which is pleasing to the political leaders of the Soviet Union. It includes 53 177

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the
[341] climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

538 177 form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.[1] And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."[2]

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.[3] But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.[4]

546 During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.[5]

53 177 "Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

[1]Malinovskii, 1949, p. 43.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 48
[4]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 6 Sep 53.
[5]*Ibid.*, 23 Oct 53.

The form is also imposed by Moscow, whether it concerns the introduction of the novel form in literature or the imitation of the massive architectural style in public buildings. Only the ornament and embellishment are locally derived. 53 199

HISTORY

668 [814]

The same lines of criticism which the Soviets have directed at Kazakh literature and art have been applied to the writing of Kazakh history. The revival of Kazakh historical traditions during World War II developed into a great movement involving many Kazakh historians and writers. In 1950, Pravda published an editorial denouncing the entire movement, choosing for its main target the luckless Bekmakhanov, for his history of the Kenesary movement.[1] The Kazakh Party and press were slow in following the line laid down in Pravda. Only after a four-month delay did Kazakhstanskaia Pravda take up the attack, printing a policy statement from the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, which commented on the Pravda editorial of the previous December and called for a formal Party hearing on the subject. This hearing took place in April and was reported in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 24 April 1951, in an article giving the general Party findings and those of the Party primary organization of the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute. Kenesary was denounced at one meeting as "an enemy of the Kazakh toiling masses" by 11 speakers representing the Party leaders and the academic world. The attack was directed at others: school textbook authors Ismailov and Dzhumaliev, both professors of history; Sauranbaev, director of the Social Science Section of the Academy of Sciences; and one Adilgireev, all in addition to Bekmakhanov. But this was only the beginning.

The attack on Kazakh revivalism continued, centered around the figure of Kenesary, with a different series of authors subjected to the sternest criticism. The line now advanced by Pravda, the Party press of Kazakhstan, and the History Section of the Academy of Sciences, was that there were two kinds of leaders in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries—good leaders and bad. The Kazakh leader Kenesary was bad; he was called a class enemy, a reactionary feudal lord. Other Kazakh leaders were classified as good, for they sought to lead their peoples into an alliance with the oppressed Russian masses, seeking a common solution for their jointly shared troubles. The Kazakh leader Isatai Taimanov, for example, revolted not against the Tsar but against Russian capitalists who were exploiting his people.[2] This indicates, the Soviets conclude, that the Tsars had parallel interests with the poor Russians, while the enemies of both the poor Russians and the poor Kazakhs were the Russian capitalists.

The central Soviet historical journal, Voprosy Istorii ("Questions of History"), published in April 1951 a lead editorial, "On Certain

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Apr 51.

668 Questions of the History of the Peoples of Central Asia." According to this source, the Turks and Iranians of Central Asia must not look beyond the borders of Russia for the highest expression of their own culture. The editorial asserts: "The investigations of Soviet scholars have shown that the ancient populations of Central Asia were not only eastern Iranians, but also Turkic tribes, that the culture built by them had its indigenous traits. The modern peoples of Central Asia are not immigrants from abroad: they are in the process of historical development from local tribes." Nor was Central Asia only a peripheral area to regions in the south. "To the contrary, the latter must be regarded as peripheral to the ancient cultures of Central Asia."[1]

Shortly thereafter, the attack went beyond all bounds. The Uzbek newspaper Pravda Vostoka censured the great Russian historian Barthold for speaking of Iranian influences on Uzbek civilization.[2] In the late 1940's the famous Arabist Krachkovsky had been accused of mentioning Arab contributions to the civilizations of the North Caucasus.[3] Similar criticisms were aimed at 19th century anti-Tsarist leaders of the Caucasus, such as the Iman Shamil of Ossetia. In Kazakhstan the denunciations of the Kazakh revival included the issues of Pan-Turkism, cosmopolitanism, and finally, the fostering of anti-Russian sentiments. Thus the true dangers to Moscow inherent in the movement were finally expressed.

The Soviet denunciation of revivalism also touched on the dangerous myth of racism. Movements parallel to that in Kazakhstan occurred among the Bashkirs, the Azerbaijani, the Uzbeks, and other Turkic peoples of the Russian empire, both in the 1918 period and during the 1940's. The 1951 Voprosy Istorii editorial proclaimed that the modern peoples of Central Asia are descendants of local tribes. This stressing of purity of descent and lack of admixture with foreign elements is not only untrue, it is totally irrelevant from any scientific standpoint. Culture is transmitted not only by immigration and emigration, but many other means as well. The obvious mixture of descent lines and genes from time immemorial among the peoples, nations, tribes, and states of Central Asia need scarcely be mentioned. Central Asia is possibly the one area of the world where race mixture can be unequivocally demonstrated.

The statement on racism in Voprosy Istorii was tendered cautiously. The local press of the USSR was not so bounded, however. In Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan and the oil capital of the Soviet Union, the newspaper Bakinskii Rabochii sought to "save" the Azerbaijani from Pan-Turkism by asserting that the Azerbaijani were not at all Turkic, but were descendants of the ancient Medes.[4] A statement of similar intent regarding the Bashkirs appeared in a popular book on Bashkiria published in 1950.[5]

[1] *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 1, pp. 1-5.
[2] *Pravda Vostoka*, 17 Aug 51.
[3] *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, 12 Jan, 26 Jan, and 5 Feb 49.
[4] *Bakinskii Rabochii*, 20 Jul 52.
[5] Tokhaev, 1950, p. 120.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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The Soviet leaders have not attempted to block the national revivalism, but have sought instead to divert it to their own ends. The chief premises of the current Soviet thinking on the question of nationalities are as follows. First, the national culture of the peoples of the USSR evolved independently of all foreign influences; it is a purely autonomous and original development. Secondly, this national culture is superior to that of the peoples dwelling beyond the frontiers. Thirdly, the peoples occupying the present territory of the Soviet Union have long formed a great family, united and solidary, of which the Russian people have been the senior members; this united group has always opposed invaders from beyond the present-day borders. Finally, all citizens of the USSR are ethnically, culturally, and racially distinct from the Turkic and Iranian peoples living beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

KN 815 [189]

One sees, then, that in matters of literature and history, art is made to serve the state. The same may be said of science. A Soviet declaration states that the main task of the Academy of Sciences is to assist the great current projects of the Soviet regime. The Academy of Sciences of the KSSR was established shortly after World War II. It consists today of 20 institutes and many other separate scientific centers. It is active in nearly all fields, and is the body which establishes the official policy in the arts and sciences. The Academy has been severely criticized for diverging from the official line in the fields of history, literature, and linguistics. On the other hand, it has been praised by the regime for its record in such fields as engineering, technology, and agronomy, where liaison with industry, transport, and experimental agricultural stations has been satisfactory.[1]

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One source of trouble in the organization of scientific work in Kazakhstan has been the relatively small number of Kazakhs on the scientific staffs of their native republic. Of 102 degrees of Doctor of Science awarded in Kazakhstan, only 17 have been earned by Kazakhs. Out of a total of 811 other advanced degrees, about 160 were awarded to Kazakhs. Thus, of these 913 actual and potential leaders in science, 20 per cent are Kazakhs—about half of the proportion of Kazakhs in the total population of Kazakhstan.[2]

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The educational system of Kazakhstan is identical with that found throughout the USSR. Primary education is compulsory for all children aged eight or older. A decree of 10 August 1930 made education through the first four school years compulsory; in 1950 attendance was made compulsory through the seventh grade.

compulsory through the seventh grade.

The schools are divided as follows: Primary school comprises the first four years, incomplete middle school covers the fifth through seventh years, and middle school covers the eighth through tenth years.

[1] *Central Asian Review* (30), 1953, No. 1, pp. 75-77.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.

KN 874 There are trade schools whose courses include on-the-job training; 839 these run through the seventh year. In addition there are schools for the physically handicapped. Beyond the middle schools there is a system of technicums, or technical schools, which supply training in such fields as agronomy, zoological technology, medical knowledge (or advanced practical nursing), and pedagogy. More advanced education is given in the higher educational institutions, called VUZ, which KN 873 are the equivalents of colleges and universities. There is, however, only one university proper in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata; it gives training through the doctorate in many fields.

KN 874 Beside these formal educational establishments, there are many correspondence courses run by the schools. Some extension work is done among farmers, but this is one of the weakest points in the entire KN 665 Soviet system of education and agriculture. The Party schools prepare leaders and agitators (see Chapters 6 and 8).

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

KN 872 The pattern observed in the higher scientific and educational fields 873 is also found at the lower school levels. The number of Kazakhs attending school is smaller than their ratio to the population as a whole would warrant. The percentage of Kazakh children in the primary and secondary schools is, however, somewhat higher than the 20 per cent of Kazakhs K 872 in the advanced educational establishments. This means that the proportion of Kazakhs receiving education, which is low to begin with, 873 decreases as one goes up the educational ladder.

In 1927, when the Kazakhs composed about 57 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan, 30 per cent of the children in school were Kazakh (see Table 18); apparently the Kazakhs were underrepresented in the schools at the beginning of Sovietization. In 1939, the Kazakhs constituted approximately 43 per cent of the total population of their republic; this ratio probably has decreased since 1939 to about 38 per cent. In 1946, however, only 30 per cent of the children in primary school were Kazakh.

The 1930 law making school attendance compulsory through the first four years accounts for the great increase in the number of children in school between 1930 and 1933. The increase between 1949 and 1951 reflects the extension of compulsory schooling through the seventh year of school. A slight decline followed the initial advance after the passing of each of these laws. The 1930 law had the immediate effect of increasing the number of Kazakh children in school to 40 per cent of the total school population. This proportion was not maintained; in the following decade the proportion of Kazakhs dropped to the 1927 figure of 30 per cent. Similarly, after the 1950 law the total number of children in school increased to 1,346,000 in 1952; by 1954 this total had dropped to 1,200,000.

KN 563 The Soviet regime seems to have adopted a policy whereby it will make provision for no more than 30 Kazakh children out of every 100 children in school in Kazakhstan. This is inferred from the proportion

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Table 18

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Number of Schools	Total Number of Children in School	Kazakh Children in School[b]	Kazakh Proportion of Total Number of Children (%)
1914	ND	105,000	8,400	8
1920-21	2,410	144,000	ND	
1927	3,944	274,000	82,000	30
1929-30	ND	352,000	ND	
1932-33	ND	576,000	230,000	40
1935	ND	797,000	ND	
1939	8,381	1,130,000	ND	
1945-46	7,899	797,000	244,000	30.5
1948-49	ND	1,000,000	ND	
1951-52	ND	1,346,000	ND	
1954	ND	1,200,000	ND	

[a]Tashiev 1947, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1948, pp. 58, 251; *Sol'skoie Sovetskoie Entsiklopedia*, 1st and 2nd edn.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all children instructed in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

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[563]

of Kazakh school children and from the proportion of Kazakh school teachers (see Table 19). Unfortunately, no data are available on the proportion of Kazakh teachers after 1946, which was the first full school year after the war. Nevertheless, the 1946 percentage of almost 32 per cent is consistent with the last published figures on the proportion of Kazakh school children in the schools of Kazakhstan.

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Table 19

TEACHERS IN KAZAKHSTAN SCHOOLS[a]

Year	All Teachers	Kazakh Teachers[b]	Kazakh Proportion of all Teachers (%)
1914	3,725	ND	ND
1939	42,500	13,500	30.1
1942	30,000	12,900	40.3
1946	37,835	12,000	31.7

[a]Includes primary and middle schools (through the 10th grade). Tashiev, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1948, pp. 58, 251; *Sol'skoie Sovetskoie Entsiklopedia*, 1st and 2nd edn.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all those teaching in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 HQ2 Kazak RQ2
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KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools.

K [872]

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged.

K 177

Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime.

K [369] K [569]

Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2]

K KN 872 KN 563

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 52.

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by a number of details. In the city of Balkhash the proportion of teachers who have had higher pedagogic education is lower in the Kazakh school than in the Russian schools. As of November 1953, there had been no school inspector in the Kazakh school system of Balkhash for several years; mathematics, physics, and chemistry were not taught in the Kazakh middle school, and the Kazakh textbooks were generally condemned as inadequate.[1] The situation of minorities within Kazakhstan, such as the Uigurs, is even worse. In 1953, 18 out of 20 Uigurs failed in their language examinations in Alma-Ata; the quality of language instruction was specifically condemned.[2]

It is a matter of record, therefore, that Kazakhs are second-class citizens in the school system of their native republic. A smaller proportion of them attend school, and those who go to the Kazakh schools receive poorer instruction than that offered in the Russian language.

[1] *Ibid.*, 13 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17 Oct 53.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND
APPENDIX

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Notes to the User:

This bibliography does not claim to be complete. Rather than accumulate thousands of titles dealing with Kazakhstan or the Kazakhs, the investigators have selected those items which they have found valuable in the course of the project. In view of the focus of the project on the Soviet period, only the standard works of the 19th century were included for background purposes. An effort was made to present as complete a review as possible of recent (World War II and postwar) sources. The apparent preponderance of prewar items among Russian sources is explained by relative unavailability of recent material.

Items considered especially useful or significant, or items typical of a whole group of similar items, are followed by annotations. To some extent the size of the annotation is a visual indication of the item's importance. Some comments are evaluative rather than content-oriented, and direction of bias is pointed out.

For the convenience of the reader the bibliography is divided into two parts, non-Russian sources and Russian-language sources. Only the non-Russian items are included with this report. The Russian-language bibliography has been reproduced separately and is available on request from the Human Resources Research Office. Citations for Russian-language sources are transliterated according to the system of the Library of Congress (with the omission of diacritic marks), and followed by a translation of the title in parentheses.

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Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems. 121

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking. 127 121

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities. 121 128 161

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

the changes in one group of people which result from their coming into contact with another. This has been covered generally in the anthropological literature. However, contact between peoples, or the establishment of some kind of relationship by government, trade, or religious conversion, usually has been a matter of progressive development, not one of systematic planning based on a detailed preconceived notion of the new form the changing society will assume. The new idea in the Soviet scheme was that of the uniform transformation of all minority peoples in the Soviet Union to the new way of life. The use of force in this context has two purposes; it is used to maintain control; at the same time it is used to bring about change and control the direction of change. 121 177

The acculturation process may be described in terms of accommodation and conflict. What institutions do the people undergoing change possess to meet the change readily and accept it? On the other hand, what institutions do they have to oppose the change, to block off the culture contact? A balance sheet of the potential sources of accommodation and of conflict can be drawn up.

An example of this procedure may be taken from the process of forced collectivization of the Kazakhs. Herdsmen by tradition, the Kazakhs regard farming as a task for women and for those too poor to maintain themselves by herding. When the Soviets forced them to settle down on farms in the early 1930's, the Kazakhs resisted strongly. Their reactions might be compared to those of an American told to do something which questioned at once his manhood and his ability to support his family. But the response of the Kazakhs would be even stronger, because traditionally they have maintained a sharp separation between tasks which men perform, such as care of the herds, and tasks which women perform, such as farming. Further intensifying the response was the contempt of the Kazakh herdsman for the farmer.

The Soviet plan to settle the Kazakhs down on farms was motivated partly by economic considerations—to get the Kazakhs to raise farm produce in addition to herd produce. There was also a political factor; it is easier to control a population that is fixed in a definite place, as farmers are, than a group of nomads who might be anywhere within an area of a thousand square miles with their herds. But traditional Kazakh patterns of culture opposed and blocked Sovietization, partly due to the feelings of the people, partly due to their institutions.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the Kazakh way of life helped along the process of Sovietization. When the collective farms were set up, groups of Kazakhs who were blood kin were moved into them. The Kazakhs have traditionally lived and worked together in groups composed of such blood kin. Today, the typical collective farm is composed of closely related families, all descended from a common ancestor, who have been living in close contact with each other for hundreds of years. The Soviets, far from breaking up these groups, simply moved them bodily into the new farms. Thus there existed certain institutions which accommodated to and were readily adopted by the Soviet order.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Anyone engaged in Soviet studies faces the constant problem of the changing historical record: History is at times rewritten by Soviet writers. The comparison of the new version with the old presents two aspects. The first concerns the facts themselves: How have they been changed, that is, what facts have been suppressed and what new facts have now been made available? The second is a matter of the 127

127 interpretation: What does the change in the historical record mean with regard to Soviet attitudes?

The general methodological problem is one of historiography—the recording of the changes in the historical record by the Soviets. The historiographic approach is a fruitful one for the development of background data for psychological warfare. The comparison of what has been said in the past with what is said at present is an obvious line of inquiry. But more than that—by this confrontation, the outside observer comes to understand something of the mind of the Soviet leader. The change in the writing of history means that something is being suppressed or played down and something else is being given greater prominence.

A good example of this is to be seen in the change in historical writings regarding the old Kazakh leaders, especially those in the 19th century. Until after World War II, these old-time leaders were regarded as forces working in a good cause; they were positive historical forces. The background for this attitude, one officially adopted by the Soviet leadership, is of great interest. During the 19th century, the Tsarist empire had established itself in Central Asia and had colonized the area so that, with minor changes, the then existing boundaries are the same as those which exist today. But Tsarism and colonialism were both regarded as absolute evils by the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Therefore, so the argument of Soviet historians ran until recently, those who opposed them, the native leaders, were good.

The Kazakhs had produced leaders who fought long and bitter wars against the Russians and were sent down to bloody defeat a hundred years ago. The names of these leaders, Kenesary Kasymov, Isatai Taimanov, Nurmuhammed, and others, have great significance and honor to the Kazakhs. Part of their initial accommodation to the Soviet scheme lay in the fact that they were permitted to venerate their leaders as before the Revolution.

During World War II, when Moscow wanted to play on every stop which would call forth pro-Soviet feeling on the part of the local nationalities, the rulers in Moscow particularly encouraged the writing of accounts of the old leaders. However, the wave of writings which resulted from this encouragement went far beyond the expectations of the Soviet leaders. It appeared that a veritable cult of the old Kazakh heroes had long lain dormant, presumably for fear of reprisals from Moscow, and the merest hint of lifting the ban called forth the deepest veneration of their heroes by the Kazakhs.

The Moscow leaders soon realized the potentialities for disaffection in this and similar movements. It may be added that an exactly parallel development has taken place in the Caucasus and among neighboring peoples of southern Siberia, as well as throughout Central Asia. In the early 1950's, the interpretation of the absolute evil inherent in Tsarism and its colonialist policies was retracted. There was substituted for this interpretation the doctrine of a lesser evil. The argument now ran that Tsarism was a force for the good because the local leaders were even more reactionary than the Tsars of Russia were. Kenesary and the other Kazakh leaders were now branded as antiprogressive feudalists who in their wars (now termed illegal rebellions) against Tsarism were serving reactionary forces. It is even suggested that they were in the pay of foreign countries, primarily England.

The change in the Soviet line was not readily accepted by the Kazakhs. On the contrary, many Kazakh intellectuals had to be purged before the current line was accepted. And the political leaders of Central Asia, just as in other parts of Asia (notably India), are the intellectuals. Thus, from a problem in the writing and rewriting of history in the

Soviet Union, that is, from a problem of historiography, important themes of psychological warfare have emerged. 127

The problem of the old native leaders has another important aspect. The leaders of the Kazakh wars of a century ago were more than princes and generals. The Kazakhs are a people who are bound together by ties of blood as well as by common political traditions. Like other peoples of this part of the world—notably the Uzbeks, the Kirgis, and the Mongols—they all trace descent from a single ancestor. From this ancestor, by painstaking genealogies over dozens of generations, the family trees are drawn, and every Kazakh knows his place on them. Thus, another anthropological approach, the method of kinship analysis, further illuminates the results of historiography.

Scorn of the old leaders is to the Kazakhs more than scorn of the national heroes. Contempt shown for George Washington to an American or for Richard the Lionhearted to an Englishman may cut deeply. But the Kazakh leaders of old are at the same time the ancestors or blood kinsmen of the present-day Kazakhs. Thus an attack on those leaders is a double insult.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH: THE ANALYSIS OF NATIVISM AND NATIONALITY

Reaction to conquest among subject peoples frequently takes the form of nativism. By nativism is meant a cult venerating the way of life which existed before or at the time of the conquest. The present conditions are rejected, the old way of life—however unpleasant it may have been—is glorified. The concept of nativism has been worked out in recent anthropological thinking in many parts of the world. Most recently it has been applied to Asiatic Russia, to the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. The Kazakhs, too, have had their cult of the past, the glorification of their older way of life as a means of protest against conditions of the present. Thus investigation of nativism is intimately bound up with the historiographic problem, side by side with kinship analysis. The blood-ties with the past are of a piece with current problems of collective farm composition, which are likewise based on blood relationships. The kin-group was noted as a means of accommodation to Sovietization, but at the same time it is a great reservoir of anti-Soviet sentiment and potential disaffection. 128

The reaction to conquest is always a two-way stream. The problem of gauging the form and intensity of the Russian reaction, that of the conqueror, as well as that of the Kazakhs, had to be explored. The imposition of Soviet planning on the Kazakhs is part of a more general problem, applicable everywhere in the Soviet Union. In the course of the investigation the methods of labor-force analysis were brought to bear on the question of current relations between Russians and Kazakhs. The various occupations, such as farm laborer, transport worker, industrial technician, bookkeeper and accountant, manager and farm director, were rated as to degree of specialization of training required. These were then broken down into nationality composition within Kazakhstan. It was found that the Kazakhs were proportionately most heavily represented in occupations requiring little specialized training, and most poorly represented farther up the scale. This is especially true of Kazakh women.

The findings in the analysis of occupations by nationality were corroborated by the analysis of membership in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; it was found that Moscow was especially concerned with [127]

[128 the low proportion of local nationals in the Party and had repeatedly
[129 notified the local Party leadership to that effect. Again this was especially true in the women's cadres. This pattern was borne out in examination of marriage rates by nationality: The rate of Kazakh intermarriage with Russians was found to be virtually zero. Linguistics contributed also to this aspect of the investigation.

Methodologically, the inquiry into nationality proved to be most interesting inasmuch as three separate problem areas were involved, each with its own technique. Analyses of the labor force, of Party membership, and of the intermarriage rate all led to the same general conclusion that the degree of contact between the Russian and Kazakh peoples was low, and in certain places nonexistent. Again, the reluctance of either group to associate with the other was postulated; neither was more willing to do so than the other. Analysis of the urban pattern, while it did not present findings so clear-cut as those above, tended to support them. That is, there is some evidence that the different nationals live in distinct and separate sections of the various cities. All this points to a situation of poor intergroup and race relations.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED

To sum up the problems and methods thus far: The attention of the investigating team was focused on the Kazakhs because of a known demographic problem, a people who underwent a loss in population while the Soviet Union as a whole was gaining. The official Soviet explanation was regarded as unsatisfactory. What methods would best afford a fuller understanding of the problem, and at the same time supply background material for a general picture of the life of the Kazakhs and their accommodations and blocks to Sovietization? A number of approaches and disciplines were brought to bear on the subject: demography, economics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

An interplay between all these disciplines was drawn upon. Problems posed in one discipline, such as demography, found an answer in sociology or anthropology, for instance, in the question of the population loss. A problem in sociology or anthropology concerning the nature of intergroup relations could be solved by applying the methods of labor-force analysis, and by drawing upon the findings of political science and economics. Historiography called attention to a problem in attitudes toward older heroes which could be subjected most readily to anthropological analysis. For drawing the general picture of Kazakh life, all disciplines had to be called upon.

There are inherent limitations in the methods of each of the separate disciplines. The demographic analysis could not afford insight into social tensions, although it could call attention to an area where social tensions might be found. Moreover, the data of demography supplied the basis for important measurements of relations between Slavs and Kazakhs. Possibly the most important of these measurements or indices was the marriage rate between the two peoples. A question was posed, one frequently asked by anthropologists and sociologists, regarding the composition of the family: Were there many mixed marriages? The demographic analysis made possible an answer to this question. The interpretation of the findings revealed a potential in the field of group relations for the formation of psychological warfare themes. Similarly, the historiographic method had certain limitations. Behind the question of the rewriting of history lay the changes in Soviet line, a political matter, and the changes in the Kazakh social

order, an anthropological one. It is clear that each of the disciplines employed was needed to help the other; the limitations of each method demanded this kind of cooperation. 128

From one point of view, all these methods exemplify the functional approach in anthropology, which starts from the idea that every people, nation, or society is formed of parts which combine into a closely interrelated whole. The parts are determined by asking questions about political behavior, economic activity, marriage relations, and so forth, in order to establish the form of the political, economic, or family institutions. A change or a trouble spot in one of these has repercussions in all the others, just as a man who is deeply concerned with matters in his office might bring them home with him and disturb the family peace by scolding his child with unaccustomed loudness.

Sovietization has changed the political, economic, legal, and religious insitutions of the Kazakhs. These changes are presumably in accordance with a master plan of the leadership in Moscow. Of course this plan has not worked out completely, since man and his institutions are far too complicated to be mastered thoroughly, or for social behavior to be predicted except in the grossest terms. The Soviet leaders believe they have objective control because they alone have mastered the laws of history, and know in advance the direction in which societies necessarily must move. However, common sense tells us that man's culture is not so easily decreed, that the science of culture is far from perfect. Soviet leaders must fill the gap between their aims and their achievements, between collectivization in theory and in actuality, for example, by the systematic application of force to bring the resisting peasants into line. Functional analysis can show how a breakdown in one part of the whole, say a failure in the plan for collectivization, has repercussions in the rate of marriage or in Party membership. For this kind of inquiry Soviet theory is not well equipped, just as it is not equipped to answer the question of why a Kazakh herder will not take to farming.

THE LOCAL PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES

129

Closely related to the considerations of methods employed in the Kazakh report is the matter of sources used. Local sources, which meant first and foremost the newspapers, were systematically explored. The local press of Kazakhstan, just as for all other parts of Central Asia and for many parts of the Soviet Union, is available in this country, with very few gaps in the various series. These newspaper files exist most fully in the Library of Congress, thus making all other cities in the country secondary to Washington as a center for this kind of investigation.

The local press, just as everywhere in the Soviet Union, has two levels of writing. On the top level, in the reports which first strike the eye, there are the articles expounding Party doctrine. These may be quickly scanned and set aside; their information content is low, and is of interest only to those who follow the evolutions of the Party line. Since this is uniform for the entire Soviet Union, little in it is relevant to the local scene.

The level below the doctrinary one has proved to be a rich source of information, for the entire life of the Kazakh republic is spread out before the investigator. With utmost frankness, the shortcomings in various fields of activity are discussed, whether in politics, economics, or elsewhere. The local press records the entire system of rewards and punishments, praise and blame, what is being built and what has failed of expectation.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ3

A case in point is the matter of the honors list. Periodically, lists of people singled out for various kinds of honors are published in full. These lists permit insight into the nationalities of the various groups of people in the different republics and regions. The representativeness of the sample may be determined independently in certain instances. For instance, it may be determined from the honors list that Kazakhs, especially Kazakh women, are underrepresented in the upper Party echelons; a decree from Moscow deploring the very situation may be found. Similarly, lines of inquiry have been opened up by the lists of mothers honored for bearing many children, workers and managers in industry for overfulfilling their norms, and so forth.

Whether the samples are representative may not always be checked, but they have been verified as reliable in a sufficient number of cases to permit placing confidence in the whole procedure. At the same time insight is gained into the approved pattern for Soviet life as advocated by the leadership and, parallel to this, into the areas of disapproval where the pattern is in danger of breaking down.

The exploration of the local press was first thought of as a technique in the gathering of information, along with other possible sources. However, this approach quickly proved its superiority over all others. A number of lines of inquiry were opened up which had not at first been contemplated. Among these was the establishment of a number of indices or measures of basic attitudes and tensions. For instance, if it can be shown numerically that there is no, or very little, intermarriage between Kazakhs and Russians, this alone is one of the most significant indicators of underlying attitudes between the two peoples now living side by side in Kazakhstan. Data on this point were derived from a compilation of social notices in the local papers.

The examination of the local press thus developed from a simple technique to a method of systematically gathering information. Out of this emerged a number of problems to be met and solved regarding the Kazakhs which could not otherwise have been approached. The local press made greater depth possible, a broader range of study, and above all, systematic coverage. It may be added that the methods developed in the Kazakh study were further applied in a subsequent study of the Kirgiz republic, and are now in the process of being applied to the whole of Central Asia.

In addition to historical materials, demographic and other data issued by the Soviet government, and the local newspapers, this research has drawn upon all available studies of the Kazakhs, both Soviet and foreign. The non-Russian sources are listed in the bibliography of this report; the Slavic references are available on application to the Human Resources Research Office. Although the discussion in this appendix has been concerned primarily with what the researchers have learned from the use of new approaches and from the special problems encountered in studying the Kazakhs, neither this nor any other study of peoples within the USSR can afford to overlook any source of information.

By way of conclusion it should be added that use of local sources of information is not a universal solution for all problems of obtaining data regarding the Soviet Union. There are many matters, above all in the technical and military fields, on which they give no information. They do, however, permit insight into areas where there is otherwise none. A major result of the Kazakh research lies in the development of means for the study of the Soviet Union from a distance through its local press.

8: Krader and Wayne Kazak RQ2
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[Information on the Moslem Religion among the Kazaks will be found in category 779.]

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol 121
social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been ac- 114
tive in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were 101
until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a seden-
tary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the
Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally [161]
they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little
Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language [197]
which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are
definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid [144]
admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, sub-
tribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are
not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the proc- 121
ess of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class strati-
fication, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and 122
a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to 104
avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I
have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgis-Kazaki*, 8.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi.*

[55] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

/i/The study of the modern juridical life of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz is extremely important, both for the proper organization of the administration and the courts in the midst of the nomadic population of our Central Asian regions, and equally for science. 121

The need has long been felt for a study of the customary law of the non-Russians inhabiting the borderlands of the empire. Thus in the 1820s a collection of the customary law of the Siberian indigenous peoples, including the Kazakhs, was made by order of the government, under the supervision of the Governor-General of Siberia and a special commission. The collection was made by the peoples themselves, in their languages and was preserved in Russian translation in the second section of the chancellery belonging to His Own Imperial Majesty. Count Speranskii had the idea of compiling a code of all the local laws and customs in the empire, incidentally also for the Siberian indigenous peoples, and for this code the collection mentioned above could have served as material. But this idea was never carried out, and the material collected in Siberia was published only in 1876 from the copies preserved, by Professor D. Ia. Samokvasov of Warsaw University, under the title Sbornik Obychnago Prava Sibirskikh Inorodtsev / A Collection of the Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples. At the end of this collection, in the section of Kazakh customs, there is an account of the customary law of the Kazakhs in a strictly dogmatic form, obviously of the Siberian department, i. e., primarily of the Great and Middle Hordes. There is no mention of the Kirgiz in the collection. 114

As can be seen from the foreword to the section on the customs of the Kazakhs, this material was compiled in a special committee with the participation of Kazakh elders. Even from a cursory reading of this section it is evident that the material of the committee was composed to a considerable degree by Kazakhs invited into the committee. Such is the chapter "On religious worship."(1)

1. For example, article 7 reads "Whoever converts a Christian to the Kazakh religion, that person will be included with the faithful in the kingdom of heaven." While article 8 says: "If a member of a Kazakh tribe accepts the Christian faith, not only will he lose his rights of succession to his own property, but if one of them who has the express purpose of being converted

4:Grodekov--vi E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

114
[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases
128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for lustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

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Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 721] Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic.

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace."

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples.

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare.

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

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121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [233] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [564] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 649 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

The fact that positions of responsibility are filled by Slavs means that they are almost the only ones in Kazakhstan to be seen enjoying the material rewards so conspicuously granted to members of the Soviet elites. Regardless of whose fault this may be, it must at times breed resentment among the Kazakhs. Similarly, the preponderance of Slavs in higher governmental, Party, executive, and judicial positions means that the Kazakhs are almost never governed, judged, or defended by their fellows. It must often happen that Kazakhs who feel they are the victims of injustice identify this as discrimination. KN 665 563 654 K 648

NATIONALITY POLICY

KN 563

Soviet policy toward the minority nationalities within the USSR has also created a long-standing dilemma in the case of the Kazakhs—a dilemma which appears to provide an important vulnerability for psychological warfare exploitation. This policy strives to create national political units which are "socialist in content, national in form." This means in effect that the political structure and economy of the various national groups are organized along standard Soviet lines and their energies are directed toward Soviet objectives, but the symbols of nationality (particularly the local languages) are retained to grant a sense of continuity with past traditions. The devising and implementing of this policy was the earliest responsibility assumed by Stalin under Lenin's guidance. It has had varying degrees of success in different areas, but in the balance has proved to be a very useful tool of Soviet administration.

The Kazakhs, however, are a people still too deeply attached to their old life and its traditions and values to accept mere lip service to their national heritage. Every time an effort has been made to raise Kazakh morale and productivity by permitting public attention to national heroes and literature, the result has been an enthusiasm the Soviets have viewed as threatening. This was particularly true when, during World War II, national patriotism was extensively exploited throughout the USSR to inspire the people to defend their homeland. Among the Kazakhs this developed into a cult glorifying their native herbes and culture, a phenomenon which had also appeared during the 1920's and had grown until it became such a threat that it was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviets. After the war Kazakh nationalism, left unsuppressed, continued to grow in strength until finally in the 1950's a purge was required to check its growing force. K [186] [668]

It seems certain that these sentiments will lie for a long time close beneath the surface, available for mobilization through psychological warfare, regardless of the turns Soviet nationality policy might take in the event of another war. For this reason, considerable attention has been devoted in this report to Kazakh history, including its national heroes, and to Kazakh cultural values and traditions. K 121

One method which the Soviets employ to make the minority republics "national in form" is the utilization wherever possible of native Communists to fill positions in the local Party and government. As might be expected, in the Kazakh SSR there is a chronic shortage of KN 563 665

KN 563 665 Kazakhs who are tried-and-true Communists. Moscow, however, repeatedly criticizes the local Party for the small proportion of natives in positions of administrative responsibility. One result of this pressure is that the Party is forced to accept into its own ranks and those of government and industry marginally reliable persons who, if put to the test, would very possibly prove more loyal to their Kazakh nationality than to their Soviet citizenship. These marginal people—Kazakh and Communist at the same time—deserve particular attention as targets for psychological warfare, because of their psychological vulnerability and also their crucial position as mediators between two cultures. K [121]

RELIGION

KN 798 The religion of the Kazakhs provides the Soviets with yet another problem of policy, at both the local and the Moscow level. Totalitarian governments in general seem to view religion as a threat which must be either neutralized or made captive to serve their own ends. The Communists are no exception. In the Soviet Union they have developed an approach to each of the major organized religions, which has proved more or less successful in attaining these ends.

Most of the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia are thoroughgoing and conservative Moslems. Toward them the Soviets have adopted the familiar procedures of installing puppet leaders and attacking those aspects of the religion which they view as potentially dangerous. But their established techniques and procedures fail to fit the Kazakh pattern. The Moslem religion has had some influence on the Kazakhs, but the aspects of Islam which they have adopted are largely superficial in nature; they still believe in what is essentially a folk religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. During the Tsarist era this fact was apparently never clearly recognized. One assumes that the Communists know better, but their knowledge evidently has not equipped them to deal adequately with the unusual religious blend of Kazakh beliefs and practices. Also, because Kazakh religion is largely local in nature, it has no strong "commanding heights" of organization which can be subverted in order to deliver believers to Communist control. K [171]

As a result of this dilemma, most Kazakhs have been singularly free of attack on religious grounds. Actually, since the Soviets are forced for lack of a better designation to treat the Kazakhs administratively as Moslems, they are in effect in the paradoxical position of encouraging rather than discouraging the Islamic aspect of Kazakh religion. However, although continuing contact with Uzbeks in Southern Kazakhstan has increased the strength of the Moslem religion among some Kazakhs, the old folk religion has retained much of its strength and integrity, and it promises to remain for many years another bulwark of the traditional Kazakh way of life. K [177]

This summary has stressed those aspects of Kazakh culture and recent history most likely to be of pertinent use in planning divisive psychological warfare intended to deflect Kazakh energies away from the objectives of the Soviet regime. The manner of future psychological K 121

warfare exploitation of Kazakh vulnerabilities must depend upon an evaluation of conditions current at the time. However, it seems fairly certain that these vulnerabilities will center primarily about resistance to collectivization, Kazakh loyalties to their own nationality and culture, the strength of Kazakh ties to their kinsmen, and the persistence of their folk religion. 121

RESEARCH METHOD

The Kazakhs were selected as the subjects for this study because the great loss in Kazakh population in the 1930's suggested serious difficulties between them and the Soviets, and also because Kazakhstan is one of the more inaccessible and little known areas of the Soviet Union. Consequently, particular attention has been given to the analysis of demographic data in an attempt to define more exactly the extent and the causes of the population loss. At the same time, every effort has been made to develop techniques for exploiting all possible sources of information in order to provide a methodology applicable to the study of other inaccessible areas. 127

The report relies heavily on the use of local Kazakhstan newspapers, in addition to normally available sources of information. The local materials of the region have been systematically searched, and the analysis of their contents has permitted the composition of a picture of Kazakh life which could be constructed by no other means. Use of local sources of information was first regarded as only one of several research techniques; in the course of the project it developed into a systematic and productive methodology to depict the fabric of life of a region to which we have no direct access—a methodology not limited in its usefulness to the study of Kazakhstan. These day-to-day problems of life under the Soviets are not revealed in the more general sources of information emanating from the USSR, such as the Moscow press and radio. The local press, on the contrary, supplies detailed data on the relations between the ethnic minorities and the central regime in Moscow; it provides a gauge of the strengths and weaknesses of the economy, and points to trouble spots in the political structure, in education, and in cultural affairs.

Soviet border as a sieve; it is not, and at present movement out of Soviet Central Asia to the surrounding countries is difficult. But it is not impossible. Archeologists in northern Iran have reported the presence of individuals who were obviously natives of Central Asia but plainly not of local origin. It was explained to one of the archeologists that these newcomers were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. 167

In recent years articles have referred to a flow in the opposite direction. The Ismaelian sect of Islam has had a strong and faithful following among the tribes of the Pamir Mountains for many centuries. Collectors of tribute in postwar years have appeared in southern Tadzhikistan to collect the age-old due, and this practice has been the subject of complaint in the local newspapers.

On a broader scale, there have been flights from the Soviet Union into all the surrounding countries. During the 1930's, over 30,000 Kazakhs appeared in Outer Mongolia, a region in which few Kazakhs previously had lived. There they remain to this day. Untold numbers of Kazakhs fled across to Sinkiang; some made a second trek, from Sinkiang to Kashmir, when the agents of Mao Tse-tung appeared in the Chinese province. K [167]

Thousands have migrated from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, their number increasing steadily from the 1920's through the 1940's. The Afghan government at first announced a protective policy toward these migrants, but this policy was never put into practice and recently it has been officially revoked. As a result the people suffer as much outside the Soviet Union as they had within; there is much unrest, and many return to the USSR. Suffering and unrest are evident in Iran as well, although the flow has not been as noticeable there; strangers lose themselves more easily in Iran than in Afghanistan.

Here is a vast field for fruitful work. These migrant peoples are potential sources of information; they are channels of communication into and out of the Soviet Union. Extensive interviewing and survey work among these groups could reap rich rewards. K 121

systematic, and subject to a number of qualifications. What data there are, however, suggest that among the people of Kazakhstan Russians marry Russians and Turks marry Turks. Again it appears that the Kazakhs do not wish to mingle with the Russians, just as, in the political domain, they do not join the Party nor engage in other political activities with the Russians. In general, on the basis of what direct evidence there is, this attitude may be summed up as noncompliance, or a kind of passive resistance. Corroborative data are seen in the economic domain, where the Kazakhs are not fulfilling plans.

THE SOVIET THEORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

The theory of acculturation in anthropology has been devised to describe the social process which occurs when two different cultures come into close contact with each other. This theory has arisen out of the reflections of western European and American ethnologists on contact between their own culture and others. But there is in western civilization no general theory of culture which deals with total control of the social relations and direction of change resulting from such contact. The Russian policy toward minorities within the Soviet Union is nothing other than a theory of controlled acculturation. In their theory of history and in the formulation of their minority policy the Soviet theoreticians have proclaimed a method whereby they—and they alone—are able to control the processes of social development. They boast control over the direction in which the different peoples of the Soviet Union will change; they claim the power to dictate the manner of the change and the form that the ultimate society will take.

Starting out as a society of pastoral nomads in which membership was based on paternal kinship traced from a common male ancestor (a society also divided into aristocrats and commoners), the Kazakhs joined—or rather, were drafted into—the Soviet world. The Soviet ethnographers depict the Kazakh society as an amalgam of institutions surviving from the past, coupled with Soviet features such as collective farm organization, Party membership, and government by soviets. The survivals include the family as the unit of production and consumption, and the traditional village organization, upon which the collective farm has been superimposed. Another survival is nepotism, which is ever present in Kazakh political life. A society steeped in traditions of kinship thinks of kinship as the means for social cooperation; hence, nepotism is inherent in the very nature of Kazakh society and inevitably finds its way into the political life. But it is incompatible with the Soviet pattern and it is attacked as such.

Soviet criticism of these features, and the constant drive to eradicate them, are essential elements in the theory of controlled social and cultural change. This change originating in the contact between the Russian and the Kazakh cultures becomes a part of the general pattern of controlled acculturation. This, however, is only the theory.

In reality there is little evidence that the grand plan for social change is being carried out, or even that there is a means for carrying

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1]Syria (88), 23 Jun 42; *L'Oriente Moderno* (37), 1942, p. 372.
[2]Bessignon (11), 1952.
[3]One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

121 668 and seeking a revival of their own native culture. They frequently do this by attributing a mystical power to their aboriginal culture and selecting from it elements to serve as a source of strength in their present battle with the western world. These elements then become combined with features of western culture. The general term nativism has been used to describe this pattern of cultural development. The concept is applicable to many contemporary situations; the Celtic revival in Wales and Ireland may be regarded as a revivalistic form of nativism, and certain elements in the foundation of the state of Israel belong under the same heading.

Although the symbols and professed aims of nativistic movements are cultural and political in nature, their primary motivating force is essentially religious. Despite their frequent lack of purposeful organization, nativistic movements can have great strength; they are born of desperation and fed by a fervor much like that which characterizes messianic religions. Frequently, in fact, the leaders become in effect messiahs; in other cases the revered figures of the movement are heroes of the past.

668 Nativism among the Kazakhs has followed the latter course, focusing on the mythical ancestors and later heroes of Kazakh history. During the period 1916-1922, a nativistic political movement arose in what is today Kazakhstan (at that time Kirgizia). This movement—the Alash-Orda—was not a political party in the strict sense of the term, although it undertook a broad range of political activities, within the European frame of meaning; it supplied a leadership and ideology to a movement seeking the cultural as well as the political unification of the Kazakh nomads. The general chaos on the steppes of Asia after the collapse of Tsarism and before the solidification of the Soviet rule provided the opportunity for such a movement. In those years, the nascent era of the Soviet regime, Moscow was involved in revolution and civil war, and had little time or manpower to spare for the integration of Central Asia into Bolshevik-Leninism. In fact, Moscow reacted in a vaguely friendly way to the Alash-Orda since it too was antagonistic to Tsarism. For a brief moment, it appeared to the members of the Kazakh political movement that Moscow would supply the means for the liberation of the Kazakhs.

The Alash-Orda had no specific political program other than urging itself as the representative of the Kazakh people. It made no real effort toward political separatism from the Russian regime; possibly it felt that this would come naturally, or that the time was not yet ripe and the leaders themselves not far enough advanced politically to call for such a move. The general slogan, the name Alash-Orda, under which these Kazakh leaders and intellectuals sought to unify their people, reflects their desire for unity as a people.

The Orda is the horde, the broad organizational unit of Kazakh society, which in recent centuries had known no unity, but only a division into three and later four separate hordes. The name represents the revival of a social and political organization from the distant past of the Kazakhs. Even the smaller hordes had but little meaning for the Kazakhs after the middle of the 19th century. And the unification of all

Chapter 8

COMMUNICATION

121 One of the assumptions on which this study is based is that the Kazakhs of Soviet Central Asia are a potentially receptive audience for American psychological warfare. Information gained from the study would seem to support this assumption. Such information could be used to infer psychological vulnerability areas of the target population. But one can do little in the area of vulnerability content—vulnerable to what, under what conditions?—without knowledge of the communication process as it takes place within the target population. In practical terms, before determining what is to be said, the problem of how and through what channel it is to be said in order to reach the given target should be considered.

For this reason, a general discussion of communication conditions in Soviet Central Asia seems appropriate.

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS[1]

197 The languages of Turkestan may be divided into three general groups: Turkic, Slavic (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian), and Iranian (e.g., Tadzhik).

Since the Kazakhs are a Turkic people, attention will be focused on this group. The major Turkic-speaking peoples are (1) the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks, (2) the Uzbeks, and (3) the Turkmen. Uzbek and Turkmen are definitely separate languages, but those of the "three K's" are so similar in their spoken form that they may be viewed as dialects of one language. The following comparisons may benefit readers more familiar with European languages: The relationship between Kazakh and Kirgiz or between Kazakh and Karakalpak is roughly similar to that between the Czech and Slovak languages, or between the Danish and Norwegian.

In geographic areas where related languages have existed side by side, transitional strips may be found where the dialect spoken by the population has been clearly influenced by the language of their neighbors. The chief difference between the speech of the Karakalpaks and that of the Kazakhs, for example, is that the former language replaces initial "t" by "d" and "k" by "g". This feature is characteristic of Turkmen,

115 [1]Much of the material on linguistic conditions is based on a discussion with Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 121

The western observer should keep in mind the following considerations when evaluating contemporary technological conditions in Central Asia:

(1) However backward conditions may seem to the outsider, to the native observer—who possesses no foreign yardstick—the situation appears far advanced over the past. Indeed, local conditions may be greatly superior technologically to neighboring, more primitive republics and countries (Sinkiang, for example).

(2) Although the normal process of cultural diffusion, accelerated by the introduction of mass communication media, results in some technological progress in backward areas (even against strong local opposition), this progress does not necessarily go hand in hand with social advances; it may in some cases be detrimental to the welfare of the native group.

(3) The price paid for technological advances, in terms of sacrifice and suffering, should be considered as a separate problem, and its psychological significance should be seriously investigated.

MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION[1]

KN 20

The communication system of any country is an integral part of that country's culture and society, and should be understood and evaluated in that context. The part played by mass communication media in the Soviet Union differs in several important characteristics from that of the western press, radio, and film. First, all mass media in the USSR are controlled by the central authorities. Secondly, they are used by the authorities as tools which complement and reinforce each other in the achievement of ideologically grounded goals; they form a true system of "mass persuasion." Thirdly, certain physical and technological conditions have called for solutions which differ from western practices. And finally, news is presented in a manner consonant with the over-all goals; entertainment is secondary to the education of the public.

The Press

KN 204 665 208

The press in the Soviet Union is viewed as a major social force that must be harnessed and adapted to facilitate attainment of the society's defined goals. And since the Communist Party determines the goals of Soviet society, the Party controls the press. The press is expected to operate according to the principle of partiinost'—militant loyalty to the Party. In this sense Stalin has spoken of the press as a transmission belt between the masses and the Party.[2] (However, studies by the Russian Research Center at Harvard indicate that the role of the press was overestimated by Stalin.)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the press is given the assignment of eradicating from the minds of the people ideas of capitalism,

[1]This section is based largely on Inkeles (68), 1950.
[2]Ibid., pp. 135-136.

Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems. 121

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking. 127 121

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities. 121 128 161

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

the changes in one group of people which result from their coming into contact with another. This has been covered generally in the anthropological literature. However, contact between peoples, or the establishment of some kind of relationship by government, trade, or religious conversion, usually has been a matter of progressive development, not one of systematic planning based on a detailed preconceived notion of the new form the changing society will assume. The new idea in the Soviet scheme was that of the uniform transformation of all minority peoples in the Soviet Union to the new way of life. The use of force in this context has two purposes; it is used to maintain control; at the same time it is used to bring about change and control the direction of change. 121 177

The acculturation process may be described in terms of accommodation and conflict. What institutions do the people undergoing change possess to meet the change readily and accept it? On the other hand, what institutions do they have to oppose the change, to block off the culture contact? A balance sheet of the potential sources of accommodation and of conflict can be drawn up.

An example of this procedure may be taken from the process of forced collectivization of the Kazakhs. Herdsmen by tradition, the Kazakhs regard farming as a task for women and for those too poor to maintain themselves by herding. When the Soviets forced them to settle down on farms in the early 1930's, the Kazakhs resisted strongly. Their reactions might be compared to those of an American told to do something which questioned at once his manhood and his ability to support his family. But the response of the Kazakhs would be even stronger, because traditionally they have maintained a sharp separation between tasks which men perform, such as care of the herds, and tasks which women perform, such as farming. Further intensifying the response was the contempt of the Kazakh herdsman for the farmer.

The Soviet plan to settle the Kazakhs down on farms was motivated partly by economic considerations—to get the Kazakhs to raise farm produce in addition to herd produce. There was also a political factor; it is easier to control a population that is fixed in a definite place, as farmers are, than a group of nomads who might be anywhere within an area of a thousand square miles with their herds. But traditional Kazakh patterns of culture opposed and blocked Sovietization, partly due to the feelings of the people, partly due to their institutions.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the Kazakh way of life helped along the process of Sovietization. When the collective farms were set up, groups of Kazakhs who were blood kin were moved into them. The Kazakhs have traditionally lived and worked together in groups composed of such blood kin. Today, the typical collective farm is composed of closely related families, all descended from a common ancestor, who have been living in close contact with each other for hundreds of years. The Soviets, far from breaking up these groups, simply moved them bodily into the new farms. Thus there existed certain institutions which accommodated to and were readily adopted by the Soviet order.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Anyone engaged in Soviet studies faces the constant problem of the changing historical record: History is at times rewritten by Soviet writers. The comparison of the new version with the old presents two aspects. The first concerns the facts themselves: How have they been changed, that is, what facts have been suppressed and what new facts have now been made available? The second is a matter of the 127

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol 121
social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been ac- 114
tive in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were 101
until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a seden-
tary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the
Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally [161]
they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little
Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language [197]
which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are
definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid [144]
admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, sub-
tribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are
not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the proc- 121
ess of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class strati-
fication, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and 122
a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to 104
avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

114 [178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases
128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following: 1) E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*.

[55] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoflovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoflovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskiĭ.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*.
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.
[12] Levshin, *Description des hordes*.
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*.
[15] Samoflovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskiĭ, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*.
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pelliot, *Review*, 157–67.

1 [See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

127 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His
114 work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a as in *father*
b similar to English *b*
c as English *sh*
ç as *z* in *azure* (similar to French *j*)
d similar to English *d*
e as in *let*
ə as the *a* in *at*
g as in *get*
ɣ (a velar g; no Engish equivalent)
h similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i as in *bit*
j as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k similar to English *k*
l similar to English *l*
m similar to English *m*
n similar to English *n*
ŋ as *ng* in *sing*
o as in *force*
θ (no English equivalent; similar to German *ö*)

[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammad Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tewarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the impositions of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

warfare exploitation of Kazakh vulnerabilities must depend upon an evaluation of conditions current at the time. However, it seems fairly certain that these vulnerabilities will center primarily about resistance to collectivization, Kazakh loyalties to their own nationality and culture, the strength of Kazakh ties to their kinsmen, and the persistence of their folk religion. 121

RESEARCH METHOD

The Kazakhs were selected as the subjects for this study because the great loss in Kazakh population in the 1930's suggested serious difficulties between them and the Soviets, and also because Kazakhstan is one of the more inaccessible and little known areas of the Soviet Union. Consequently, particular attention has been given to the analysis of demographic data in an attempt to define more exactly the extent and the causes of the population loss. At the same time, every effort has been made to develop techniques for exploiting all possible sources of information in order to provide a methodology applicable to the study of other inaccessible areas.

The report relies heavily on the use of local Kazakhstan newspapers, in addition to normally available sources of information. The local materials of the region have been systematically searched, and the analysis of their contents has permitted the composition of a picture of Kazakh life which could be constructed by no other means. Use of local sources of information was first regarded as only one of several research techniques; in the course of the project it developed into a systematic and productive methodology to depict the fabric of life of a region to which we have no direct access—a methodology not limited in its usefulness to the study of Kazakhstan. These day-to-day problems of life under the Soviets are not revealed in the more general sources of information emanating from the USSR, such as the Moscow press and radio. The local press, on the contrary, supplies detailed data on the relations between the ethnic minorities and the central regime in Moscow; it provides a gauge of the strengths and weaknesses of the economy, and points to trouble spots in the political structure, in education, and in cultural affairs. 127

KN 162

the USSR as a whole. Yet the total population of Kazakhstan remained virtually static, increasing by only 72,000 from 1926 to 1939 within the 1939 boundaries, an increase of 1.2 per cent. The rural population, however, decreased by more than a million, from 5,550,000 to 4,440,000. This comparison of rural and urban population figures summarizes the chief economic trends of the period: the loss of farmers and herdsmen through starvation, liquidation, and migration and the growth of the cities through the influx of industrial workers.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KAZAKHSTAN TO 1954

KN 161 K [12]

It is difficult to make accurate estimates of Soviet population since the 1939 census, but methods have been devised for making estimates. Through figures for school registrations and for numbers of voters and voting districts, one can derive some idea of postwar Kazakh population trends (Table 2).

Table 2

ESTIMATED RECENT TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Population Estimate	Per Cent Increase Over Previous Estimate
1948 (January)	6,560,000	6.7[b]
1950 (December)	6,800,000	3.8
1954 (March)	7,200,000	5.9

[a]Estimated through voting district analysis.
[b]Per cent increase over the 1939 figure of 6,150,000.

The 1939-1948 period showed an over-all population increase in Kazakhstan of 6.7 per cent. Since this period included the war years, losses due to the war were apparently compensated for by natural increase and migration into the republic. Possibly by 1948 some of those who had moved into Kazakhstan during the war had returned to their former homes. One example of this was the film industry, which established itself almost completely in Alma-Ata during the war, but which had returned to Moscow and Leningrad by 1948.

KN [546]

The total estimated increase in population from 1939 to 1954 amounted to approximately one million. Forty per cent of this increase occurred in the nine-year period from 1939 to 1948, and 60 per cent of it in the remaining six years. The higher rate of increase during the more recent years is plausible, because of the elimination of the losses due to the war and to the movement out of the republic in the years 1946-1947. There is evidence of continued migration into Kazakhstan to the present day, in addition to natural increase, but it would be difficult to assign relative weights to these two factors.

KN [167]

If the preceding estimates of the total population of Kazakhstan are correct, and if the percentage of Kazakhs in the population remained at the estimate for 1939 (43%), then the number of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan

KN 162 K 161

Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems. 121

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking. 127 121

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities. 121 128 161

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

the changes in one group of people which result from their coming into contact with another. This has been covered generally in the anthropological literature. However, contact between peoples, or the establishment of some kind of relationship by government, trade, or religious conversion, usually has been a matter of progressive development, not one of systematic planning based on a detailed preconceived notion of the new form the changing society will assume. The new idea in the Soviet scheme was that of the uniform transformation of all minority peoples in the Soviet Union to the new way of life. The use of force in this context has two purposes; it is used to maintain control; at the same time it is used to bring about change and control the direction of change.

The acculturation process may be described in terms of accommodation and conflict. What institutions do the people undergoing change possess to meet the change readily and accept it? On the other hand, what institutions do they have to oppose the change, to block off the culture contact? A balance sheet of the potential sources of accommodation and of conflict can be drawn up.

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The Soviet plan to settle the Kazakhs down on farms was motivated partly by economic considerations—to get the Kazakhs to raise farm produce in addition to herd produce. There was also a political factor; it is easier to control a population that is fixed in a definite place, as farmers are, than a group of nomads who might be anywhere within an area of a thousand square miles with their herds. But traditional Kazakh patterns of culture opposed and blocked Sovietization, partly due to the feelings of the people, partly due to their institutions.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the Kazakh way of life helped along the process of Sovietization. When the collective farms were set up, groups of Kazakhs who were blood kin were moved into them. The Kazakhs have traditionally lived and worked together in groups composed of such blood kin. Today, the typical collective farm is composed of closely related families, all descended from a common ancestor, who have been living in close contact with each other for hundreds of years. The Soviets, far from breaking up these groups, simply moved them bodily into the new farms. Thus there existed certain institutions which accommodated to and were readily adopted by the Soviet order.

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Anyone engaged in Soviet studies faces the constant problem of the changing historical record: History is at times rewritten by Soviet writers. The comparison of the new version with the old presents two aspects. The first concerns the facts themselves: How have they been changed, that is, what facts have been suppressed and what new facts have now been made available? The second is a matter of the

127 interpretation: What does the change in the historical record mean with regard to Soviet attitudes?

The general methodological problem is one of historiography—the recording of the changes in the historical record by the Soviets. The historiographic approach is a fruitful one for the development of background data for psychological warfare. The comparison of what has been said in the past with what is said at present is an obvious line of inquiry. But more than that—by this confrontation, the outside observer comes to understand something of the mind of the Soviet leader. The change in the writing of history means that something is being suppressed or played down and something else is being given greater prominence.

A good example of this is to be seen in the change in historical writings regarding the old Kazakh leaders, especially those in the 19th century. Until after World War II, these old-time leaders were regarded as forces working in a good cause; they were positive historical forces. The background for this attitude, one officially adopted by the Soviet leadership, is of great interest. During the 19th century, the Tsarist empire had established itself in Central Asia and had colonized the area so that, with minor changes, the then existing boundaries are the same as those which exist today. But Tsarism and colonialism were both regarded as absolute evils by the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Therefore, so the argument of Soviet historians ran until recently, those who opposed them, the native leaders, were good.

The Kazakhs had produced leaders who fought long and bitter wars against the Russians and were sent down to bloody defeat a hundred years ago. The names of these leaders, Kenesary Kasymov, Isatai Taimanov, Nurmuhammed, and others, have great significance and honor to the Kazakhs. Part of their initial accommodation to the Soviet scheme lay in the fact that they were permitted to venerate their leaders as before the Revolution.

During World War II, when Moscow wanted to play on every stop which would call forth pro-Soviet feeling on the part of the local nationalities, the rulers in Moscow particularly encouraged the writing of accounts of the old leaders. However, the wave of writings which resulted from this encouragement went far beyond the expectations of the Soviet leaders. It appeared that a veritable cult of the old Kazakh heroes had long lain dormant, presumably for fear of reprisals from Moscow, and the merest hint of lifting the ban called forth the deepest veneration of their heroes by the Kazakhs.

The Moscow leaders soon realized the potentialities for disaffection in this and similar movements. It may be added that an exactly parallel development has taken place in the Caucasus and among neighboring peoples of southern Siberia, as well as throughout Central Asia. In the early 1950's, the interpretation of the absolute evil inherent in Tsarism and its colonialist policies was retracted. There was substituted for this interpretation the doctrine of a lesser evil. The argument now ran that Tsarism was a force for the good because the local leaders were even more reactionary than the Tsars of Russia were. Kenesary and the other Kazakh leaders were now branded as antiprogressive feudalists who in their wars (now termed illegal rebellions) against Tsarism were serving reactionary forces. It is even suggested that they were in the pay of foreign countries, primarily England.

The change in the Soviet line was not readily accepted by the Kazakhs. On the contrary, many Kazakh intellectuals had to be purged before the current line was accepted. And the political leaders of Central Asia, just as in other parts of Asia (notably India), are the intellectuals. Thus, from a problem in the writing and rewriting of history in the

Soviet Union, that is, from a problem of historiography, important themes of psychological warfare have emerged. 127

The problem of the old native leaders has another important aspect. The leaders of the Kazakh wars of a century ago were more than princes and generals. The Kazakhs are a people who are bound together by ties of blood as well as by common political traditions. Like other peoples of this part of the world—notably the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Mongols—they all trace descent from a single ancestor. From this ancestor, by painstaking genealogies over dozens of generations, the family trees are drawn, and every Kazakh knows his place on them. Thus, another anthropological approach, the method of kinship analysis, further illuminates the results of historiography.

Scorn of the old leaders is to the Kazakhs more than scorn of the national heroes. Contempt shown for George Washington to an American or for Richard the Lionhearted to an Englishman may cut deeply. But the Kazakh leaders of old are at the same time the ancestors or blood kinsmen of the present-day Kazakhs. Thus an attack on those leaders is a double insult.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH: THE ANALYSIS OF NATIVISM AND NATIONALITY

Reaction to conquest among subject peoples frequently takes the form of nativism. By nativism is meant a cult venerating the way of life which existed before or at the time of the conquest. The present conditions are rejected, the old way of life—however unpleasant it may have been—is glorified. The concept of nativism has been worked out in recent anthropological thinking in many parts of the world. Most recently it has been applied to Asiatic Russia, to the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. The Kazakhs, too, have had their cult of the past, the glorification of their older way of life as a means of protest against conditions of the present. Thus investigation of nativism is intimately bound up with the historiographic problem, side by side with kinship analysis. The blood-ties with the past are of a piece with current problems of collective farm composition, which are likewise based on blood relationships. The kin-group was noted as a means of accommodation to Sovietization, but at the same time it is a great reservoir of anti-Soviet sentiment and potential disaffection. 128

The reaction to conquest is always a two-way stream. The problem of gauging the form and intensity of the Russian reaction, that of the conqueror, as well as that of the Kazakhs, had to be explored. The imposition of Soviet planning on the Kazakhs is part of a more general problem, applicable everywhere in the Soviet Union. In the course of the investigation the methods of labor-force analysis were brought to bear on the question of current relations between Russians and Kazakhs. The various occupations, such as farm laborer, transport worker, industrial technician, bookkeeper and accountant, manager and farm director, were rated as to degree of specialization of training required. These were then broken down into nationality composition within Kazakhstan. It was found that the Kazakhs were proportionately most heavily represented in occupations requiring little specialized training, and most poorly represented farther up the scale. This is especially true of Kazakh women.

The findings in the analysis of occupations by nationality were corroborated by the analysis of membership in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; it was found that Moscow was especially concerned with [127]

[28 the low proportion of local nationals in the Party and had repeatedly
[29] notified the local Party leadership to that effect. Again this was especially true in the women's cadres. This pattern was borne out in examination of marriage rates by nationality: The rate of Kazakh intermarriage with Russians was found to be virtually zero. Linguistics contributed also to this aspect of the investigation.

Methodologically, the inquiry into nationality proved to be most interesting inasmuch as three separate problem areas were involved, each with its own technique. Analyses of the labor force, of Party membership, and of the intermarriage rate all led to the same general conclusion that the degree of contact between the Russian and Kazakh peoples was low, and in certain places nonexistent. Again, the reluctance of either group to associate with the other was postulated; neither was more willing to do so than the other. Analysis of the urban pattern, while it did not present findings so clear-cut as those above, tended to support them. That is, there is some evidence that the different nationals live in distinct and separate sections of the various cities. All this points to a situation of poor intergroup and race relations.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED

To sum up the problems and methods thus far: The attention of the investigating team was focused on the Kazakhs because of a known demographic problem, a people who underwent a loss in population while the Soviet Union as a whole was gaining. The official Soviet explanation was regarded as unsatisfactory. What methods would best afford a fuller understanding of the problem, and at the same time supply background material for a general picture of the life of the Kazakhs and their accommodations and blocks to Sovietization? A number of approaches and disciplines were brought to bear on the subject: demography, economics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

An interplay between all these disciplines was drawn upon. Problems posed in one discipline, such as demography, found an answer in sociology or anthropology, for instance, in the question of the population loss. A problem in sociology or anthropology concerning the nature of intergroup relations could be solved by applying the methods of labor-force analysis, and by drawing upon the findings of political science and economics. Historiography called attention to a problem in attitudes toward older heroes which could be subjected most readily to anthropological analysis. For drawing the general picture of Kazakh life, all disciplines had to be called upon.

There are inherent limitations in the methods of each of the separate disciplines. The demographic analysis could not afford insight into social tensions, although it could call attention to an area where social tensions might be found. Moreover, the data of demography supplied the basis for important measurements of relations between Slavs and Kazakhs. Possibly the most important of these measurements or indices was the marriage rate between the two peoples. A question was posed, one frequently asked by anthropologists and sociologists, regarding the composition of the family: Were there many mixed marriages? The demographic analysis made possible an answer to this question. The interpretation of the findings revealed a potential in the field of group relations for the formation of psychological warfare themes. Similarly, the historiographic method had certain limitations. Behind the question of the rewriting of history lay the changes in Soviet line, a political matter, and the changes in the Kazakh social

order, an anthropological one. It is clear that each of the disciplines employed was needed to help the other; the limitations of each method demanded this kind of cooperation. 128

From one point of view, all these methods exemplify the functional approach in anthropology, which starts from the idea that every people, nation, or society is formed of parts which combine into a closely interrelated whole. The parts are determined by asking questions about political behavior, economic activity, marriage relations, and so forth, in order to establish the form of the political, economic, or family institutions. A change or a trouble spot in one of these has repercussions in all the others, just as a man who is deeply concerned with matters in his office might bring them home with him and disturb the family peace by scolding his child with unaccustomed loudness.

Sovietization has changed the political, economic, legal, and religious insitutions of the Kazakhs. These changes are presumably in accordance with a master plan of the leadership in Moscow. Of course this plan has not worked out completely, since man and his institutions are far too complicated to be mastered thoroughly, or for social behavior to be predicted except in the grossest terms. The Soviet leaders believe they have objective control because they alone have mastered the laws of history, and know in advance the direction in which societies necessarily must move. However, common sense tells us that man's culture is not so easily decreed, that the science of culture is far from perfect. Soviet leaders must fill the gap between their aims and their achievements, between collectivization in theory and in actuality, for example, by the systematic application of force to bring the resisting peasants into line. Functional analysis can show how a breakdown in one part of the whole, say a failure in the plan for collectivization, has repercussions in the rate of marriage or in Party membership. For this kind of inquiry Soviet theory is not well equipped, just as it is not equipped to answer the question of why a Kazakh herder will not take to farming.

THE LOCAL PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES

Closely related to the considerations of methods employed in the Kazakh report is the matter of sources used. Local sources, which meant first and foremost the newspapers, were systematically explored. The local press of Kazakhstan, just as for all other parts of Central Asia and for many parts of the Soviet Union, is available in this country, with very few gaps in the various series. These newspaper files exist most fully in the Library of Congress, thus making all other cities in the country secondary to Washington as a center for this kind of investigation. 127

The local press, just as everywhere in the Soviet Union, has two levels of writing. On the top level, in the reports which first strike the eye, there are the articles expounding Party doctrine. These may be quickly scanned and set aside; their information content is low, and is of interest only to those who follow the evolutions of the Party line. Since this is uniform for the entire Soviet Union, little in it is relevant to the local scene.

The level below the doctrinary one has proved to be a rich source of information, for the entire life of the Kazakh republic is spread out before the investigator. With utmost frankness, the shortcomings in various fields of activity are discussed, whether in politics, economics, or elsewhere. The local press records the entire system of rewards and punishments, praise and blame, what is being built and what has failed of expectation.

127 A case in point is the matter of the honors list. Periodically, lists of people singled out for various kinds of honors are published in full. These lists permit insight into the nationalities of the various groups of people in the different republics and regions. The representativeness of the sample may be determined independently in certain instances. For instance, it may be determined from the honors list that Kazakhs, especially Kazakh women, are underrepresented in the upper Party echelons; a decree from Moscow deploring the very situation may be found. Similarly, lines of inquiry have been opened up by the lists of mothers honored for bearing many children, workers and managers in industry for overfulfilling their norms, and so forth.

Whether the samples are representative may not always be checked, but they have been verified as reliable in a sufficient number of cases to permit placing confidence in the whole procedure. At the same time insight is gained into the approved pattern for Soviet life as advocated by the leadership and, parallel to this, into the areas of disapproval where the pattern is in danger of breaking down.

The exploration of the local press was first thought of as a technique in the gathering of information, along with other possible sources. However, this approach quickly proved its superiority over all others. A number of lines of inquiry were opened up which had not at first been contemplated. Among these was the establishment of a number of indices or measures of basic attitudes and tensions. For instance, if it can be shown numerically that there is no, or very little, intermarriage between Kazakhs and Russians, this alone is one of the most significant indicators of underlying attitudes between the two peoples now living side by side in Kazakhstan. Data on this point were derived from a compilation of social notices in the local papers.

The examination of the local press thus developed from a simple technique to a method of systematically gathering information. Out of this emerged a number of problems to be met and solved regarding the Kazakhs which could not otherwise have been approached. The local press made greater depth possible, a broader range of study, and above all, systematic coverage. It may be added that the methods developed in the Kazakh study were further applied in a subsequent study of the Kirgiz republic, and are now in the process of being applied to the whole of Central Asia.

In addition to historical materials, demographic and other data issued by the Soviet government, and the local newspapers, this research has drawn upon all available studies of the Kazakhs, both Soviet and foreign. The non-Russian sources are listed in the bibliography of this report; the Slavic references are available on application to the Human Resources Research Office. Although the discussion in this appendix has been concerned primarily with what the researchers have learned from the use of new approaches and from the special problems encountered in studying the Kazakhs, neither this nor any other study of peoples within the USSR can afford to overlook any source of information.

By way of conclusion it should be added that use of local sources of information is not a universal solution for all problems of obtaining data regarding the Soviet Union. There are many matters, above all in the technical and military fields, on which they give no information. They do, however, permit insight into areas where there is otherwise none. A major result of the Kazakh research lies in the development of means for the study of the Soviet Union from a distance through its local press.

61 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
565 tical cleavage. A sŭ̄k might be identical with a byr top in any given instance, but the principle upon which it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was derived from the superposition of one layer of society upon another, and was a means of building the social hierarchy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage formation without aristocratic and commoner estates is found in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 Two expeditions to the Niaman division of the Kazakhs
● 127 of the Middle Horde were undertaken by a number of Turkic
177 specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concentrated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakhstan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan, Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilovich because here the degree of acculturation (such was not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1) why the following data are incorporated at all, and

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
●127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

114 [178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas
128 to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

[153 cont.]
175 [66 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

● [128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

/200 cont./

101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ The physical type of these tribes can be con-
101 619 142 144 sidered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

•128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
[594] sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

• 128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems. 121

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking. 127 121

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities. 121 128 161

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

Soviet Union, that is, from a problem of historiography, important themes of psychological warfare have emerged. 127

The problem of the old native leaders has another important aspect. The leaders of the Kazakh wars of a century ago were more than princes and generals. The Kazakhs are a people who are bound together by ties of blood as well as by common political traditions. Like other peoples of this part of the world—notably the Uzbeks, the Kirgis, and the Mongols—they all trace descent from a single ancestor. From this ancestor, by painstaking genealogies over dozens of generations, the family trees are drawn, and every Kazakh knows his place on them. Thus, another anthropological approach, the method of kinship analysis, further illuminates the results of historiography.

Scorn of the old leaders is to the Kazakhs more than scorn of the national heroes. Contempt shown for George Washington to an American or for Richard the Lionhearted to an Englishman may cut deeply. But the Kazakh leaders of old are at the same time the ancestors or blood kinsmen of the present-day Kazakhs. Thus an attack on those leaders is a double insult.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH: THE ANALYSIS OF NATIVISM AND NATIONALITY

Reaction to conquest among subject peoples frequently takes the form of nativism. By nativism is meant a cult venerating the way of life which existed before or at the time of the conquest. The present conditions are rejected, the old way of life—however unpleasant it may have been—is glorified. The concept of nativism has been worked out in recent anthropological thinking in many parts of the world. Most recently it has been applied to Asiatic Russia, to the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. The Kazakhs, too, have had their cult of the past, the glorification of their older way of life as a means of protest against conditions of the present. Thus investigation of nativism is intimately bound up with the historiographic problem, side by side with kinship analysis. The blood-ties with the past are of a piece with current problems of collective farm composition, which are likewise based on blood relationships. The kin-group was noted as a means of accommodation to Sovietization, but at the same time it is a great reservoir of anti-Soviet sentiment and potential disaffection. 128

The reaction to conquest is always a two-way stream. The problem of gauging the form and intensity of the Russian reaction, that of the conqueror, as well as that of the Kazakhs, had to be explored. The imposition of Soviet planning on the Kazakhs is part of a more general problem, applicable everywhere in the Soviet Union. In the course of the investigation the methods of labor-force analysis were brought to bear on the question of current relations between Russians and Kazakhs. The various occupations, such as farm laborer, transport worker, industrial technician, bookkeeper and accountant, manager and farm director, were rated as to degree of specialization of training required. These were then broken down into nationality composition within Kazakhstan. It was found that the Kazakhs were proportionately most heavily represented in occupations requiring little specialized training, and most poorly represented farther up the scale. This is especially true of Kazakh women.

The findings in the analysis of occupations by nationality were corroborated by the analysis of membership in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; it was found that Moscow was especially concerned with [127]

[28 the low proportion of local nationals in the Party and had repeatedly
[27] notified the local Party leadership to that effect. Again this was especially true in the women's cadres. This pattern was borne out in examination of marriage rates by nationality: The rate of Kazakh intermarriage with Russians was found to be virtually zero. Linguistics contributed also to this aspect of the investigation.

Methodologically, the inquiry into nationality proved to be most interesting inasmuch as three separate problem areas were involved, each with its own technique. Analyses of the labor force, of Party membership, and of the intermarriage rate all led to the same general conclusion that the degree of contact between the Russian and Kazakh peoples was low, and in certain places nonexistent. Again, the reluctance of either group to associate with the other was postulated; neither was more willing to do so than the other. Analysis of the urban pattern, while it did not present findings so clear-cut as those above, tended to support them. That is, there is some evidence that the different nationals live in distinct and separate sections of the various cities. All this points to a situation of poor intergroup and race relations.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED

To sum up the problems and methods thus far: The attention of the investigating team was focused on the Kazakhs because of a known demographic problem, a people who underwent a loss in population while the Soviet Union as a whole was gaining. The official Soviet explanation was regarded as unsatisfactory. What methods would best afford a fuller understanding of the problem, and at the same time supply background material for a general picture of the life of the Kazakhs and their accommodations and blocks to Sovietization? A number of approaches and disciplines were brought to bear on the subject: demography, economics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

An interplay between all these disciplines was drawn upon. Problems posed in one discipline, such as demography, found an answer in sociology or anthropology, for instance, in the question of the population loss. A problem in sociology or anthropology concerning the nature of intergroup relations could be solved by applying the methods of labor-force analysis, and by drawing upon the findings of political science and economics. Historiography called attention to a problem in attitudes toward older heroes which could be subjected most readily to anthropological analysis. For drawing the general picture of Kazakh life, all disciplines had to be called upon.

There are inherent limitations in the methods of each of the separate disciplines. The demographic analysis could not afford insight into social tensions, although it could call attention to an area where social tensions might be found. Moreover, the data of demography supplied the basis for important measurements of relations between Slavs and Kazakhs. Possibly the most important of these measurements or indices was the marriage rate between the two peoples. A question was posed, one frequently asked by anthropologists and sociologists, regarding the composition of the family: Were there many mixed marriages? The demographic analysis made possible an answer to this question. The interpretation of the findings revealed a potential in the field of group relations for the formation of psychological warfare themes. Similarly, the historiographic method had certain limitations. Behind the question of the rewriting of history lay the changes in Soviet line, a political matter, and the changes in the Kazakh social

order, an anthropological one. It is clear that each of the disciplines employed was needed to help the other; the limitations of each method demanded this kind of cooperation. 128

From one point of view, all these methods exemplify the functional approach in anthropology, which starts from the idea that every people, nation, or society is formed of parts which combine into a closely interrelated whole. The parts are determined by asking questions about political behavior, economic activity, marriage relations, and so forth, in order to establish the form of the political, economic, or family institutions. A change or a trouble spot in one of these has repercussions in all the others, just as a man who is deeply concerned with matters in his office might bring them home with him and disturb the family peace by scolding his child with unaccustomed loudness.

Sovietization has changed the political, economic, legal, and religious insitutions of the Kazakhs. These changes are presumably in accordance with a master plan of the leadership in Moscow. Of course this plan has not worked out completely, since man and his institutions are far too complicated to be mastered thoroughly, or for social behavior to be predicted except in the grossest terms. The Soviet leaders believe they have objective control because they alone have mastered the laws of history, and know in advance the direction in which societies necessarily must move. However, common sense tells us that man's culture is not so easily decreed, that the science of culture is far from perfect. Soviet leaders must fill the gap between their aims and their achievements, between collectivization in theory and in actuality, for example, by the systematic application of force to bring the resisting peasants into line. Functional analysis can show how a breakdown in one part of the whole, say a failure in the plan for collectivization, has repercussions in the rate of marriage or in Party membership. For this kind of inquiry Soviet theory is not well equipped, just as it is not equipped to answer the question of why a Kazakh herder will not take to farming.

THE LOCAL PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES

Closely related to the considerations of methods employed in the Kazakh report is the matter of sources used. Local sources, which meant first and foremost the newspapers, were systematically explored. The local press of Kazakhstan, just as for all other parts of Central Asia and for many parts of the Soviet Union, is available in this country, with very few gaps in the various series. These newspaper files exist most fully in the Library of Congress, thus making all other cities in the country secondary to Washington as a center for this kind of investigation. 127

The local press, just as everywhere in the Soviet Union, has two levels of writing. On the top level, in the reports which first strike the eye, there are the articles expounding Party doctrine. These may be quickly scanned and set aside; their information content is low, and is of interest only to those who follow the evolutions of the Party line. Since this is uniform for the entire Soviet Union, little in it is relevant to the local scene.

The level below the doctrinary one has proved to be a rich source of information, for the entire life of the Kazakh republic is spread out before the investigator. With utmost frankness, the shortcomings in various fields of activity are discussed, whether in politics, economics, or elsewhere. The local press records the entire system of rewards and punishments, praise and blame, what is being built and what has failed of expectation.

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

●131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[143 cont.]

131 it is 60 versts /64 km./. And the water is salty in the Blue Sea. The river Arzas flows out of the Blue Sea and into the Sea of Khvalymsk.

"And in the east the Amu-Darya River flows into the Arzas 131 133 River. The Amu-Darya is 300 versts /320 km./ long, and the Arzas is 1,060 versts /1131 km./ long. And 300 versts from the Blue Sea is the Uruk Mountain (1). The Uruk is 90 versts /96

1. The Uruk or Airuk, or Airuruk, is a branch of the Mugodzhar ridge.

km./ long, and out of it flow three rivers: the Vor (Or) River, which flows into the Yaik /Ural/ River to the north (toward the night); the Irgiz River, which flows into Lake Akbashly (2), to

2. Now called Aksakal-Barbi.

the east; and the Gem (Emba) River, which flows south toward the Sea of Khvalymsk and falls into a lake before reaching the sea.

"And 280 versts /299 km./ from the Irgiz River toward the Blue Sea are the sands of Barsuk-Kum. It is 25 versts /27 km./ across these sands, and the sands of Kara-Kum, 200 versts /213 km./ from the Sea.

"The sands of Kara-Kum are 250 versts /267 km./ long and 130 versts /139 km./ wide, and these three /sic/ sands reach the shores of the Blue Sea.

"The Syr flows into the Blue Sea in the east, and the Kenderlik flows into the Syr. And the Kenderlik River flows out of the Ulutau Mountain in two beds.

"And from the mountain, [144] the course of the Kenderlik is 330 versts /352 km./ (1). And another river, the Kenderlyk,

1. We spoke of this river in the geographical description [not translated].

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

KN 563 361

pockets of various ethnic groups scattered about the republic and even localized in sections within cities. The most important reasons for this uneven ethnic distribution are, first, the extensive utilization of Slavs in mining and other industries requiring skilled labor, and second, the establishment of political and administrative divisions with little regard for ethnic relationships.

KN [135]

The distribution of mining towns (coal, oil, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, tin, wolframite, and chromite) creates small groups of Russians and Ukrainians among the native Turks throughout Central Asia. Some of these Slavic centers antedate the revolution; some have been created by forced labor, by deportations, and by resettlement policies during World War II. During the 1940's, miners and factory workers were transported from Moscow, Baku, and the Don basin to Kazakhstan. (During the same period, the lands of the Slavic Cossacks along the Ural River were confiscated and the settlements dispersed; this was the only important countertrend to Slavic immigration.) Russians, Ukrainians, and other Slavic groups predominate in the black-earth farming in the north, in truck farming generally, in the extractive industries, and in urban commercial and light industries.

K [101]

Turkic Uzbeks predominate near the southern border, in the cotton-growing regions contiguous to their own republic. As a result, the Kazakhs have been hemmed in by Slavic black-earth farmers in the north, Uzbek irrigation farmers in the south, and Slavic laborers in the urban and mining centers developing in the Caspian region (oil), around Karaganda and Chimkent (coal), and around Balkhash and in the Altai Mountains (minerals). The native Kazakhs have been gradually squeezed into the arid center of their republic, in an arc to the west, north, and east of the Aral Sea.

K [131]

There is no free intermingling of nationalities on the land. Peoples tend to stay within regions determined by their economic specialization and traditional occupation, a tendency already described for the principal populations, the Kazakhs, Russians, and Uzbeks. The smaller populations of the republic present the same pattern. The rural Tadzhiks in Kazakhstan are gathered into one district in the region of Dzhambul, in the south. The Uigurs and Dungans live only in the eastern part of the Ili River valley. Turkmens are found only in the west and south.

KN 563 369

The rural segregation of nationalities presumably is true of the cities also. Although no clear proof exists on the matter, available data suggest that ghettoes have formed in the cities, where groups live in their own separate centers of communication and social interaction. The Slavic and Turkic elements keep themselves apart. This conclusion is supported by the extremely low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples.

KN 563 631

The establishment by the Soviets of political and administrative boundaries has led to a number of incongruities. During the 1920's, Russian leaders officially advocated following ethnic boundaries, but this policy was enforced only half-heartedly. By the end of the twenties, the Soviets had decided to reconstruct the political divisions of Central Asia which had existed prior to the Revolution (although the previous policy of following ethnic boundaries was never fully retracted). Thus

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 1[illegible].9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liqui- [165] dated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, 131 nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

were settled in other neighboring republics. In 1926 the Kazakhs had numbered just slightly less than 4,000,000, of whom 93 per cent lived within the 1926 boundaries of Kazakhstan. There had been important shifts in the territory of the Kazakh republic during the interval—in some cases territory was added, in others taken away. The total area in 1926 was 2,850,000 square kilometers; in 1939 it was 2,730,000, a reduction of 4.2 per cent. Table 1 summarizes the 1926 and 1939 population figures.

K [6] [31] KN [31]

Table 1

TOTAL AND KAZAKH POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN, 1926 AND 1939

KN [162]

Year	Total Population of KSSR	Number of Kazakhs in KSSR	Kazakh Per Cent of Total Population
1926	6,503,000	3,710,000	57
1926 (1939 boundaries)	6,074,000	3,468,000	57
1939	6,146,000	2,640,000	43

In 1926, Kazakhs constituted a majority of the population of Kazakhstan (57%); by 1939, they had shrunk to 43 per cent. This change in the ratio of Kazakhs to non-Kazakhs is due in part to the decrease in number of Kazakhs, and in part to the migration of Russians into the republic. In 1926 there were about 2,500,000 non-Kazakhs within the 1939 boundaries of Kazakhstan. The number of such persons had increased by 1939 to approximately 3,550,000. Natural increase could have caused only part of this growth; migration of peoples into the republic must have been responsible for most of it. This influx must also have exceeded the movement of non-Kazakhs to the new industrial developments in southern Siberia.

KN 167 [162]

This migration into Kazakhstan consisted largely of urban and industrial workers. Kirov, one of Stalin's aides in the early 1930's, initiated the policy of resettling thousands of Russians from the Leningrad region to build the industrial area around Karaganda. A second wave of migration took place during World War II, when again many people from the factories of Leningrad and Moscow and the mines of the Don basin were moved to Kazakhstan.

According to Soviet sources, Kazakhs and Russians (exclusive of Ukrainians and Belo-Russians) made up 80 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan in 1939. If 43 per cent is the correct figure for the Kazakh proportion of the total population at that time, then the Russians constituted approximately 37 per cent of the whole, or about 2,275,000, and the Kazakhs numbered about 2,650,000.

KN 162

The urban population more than tripled between the two censuses, growing from 519,000 to 1,706,000, from 8.5 to 28 per cent of the whole. Slightly more than 800,000 were located in the seven major cities of the republic, those with populations greater than 50,000 in 1939. This increase by 3.3 times exceeded the average rate of urban increase for

during the postwar period may be estimated as follows: 2,800,000 in 1948, 2,900,000 in 1950, and 3,100,000 in 1954. However, there is good reason to believe that this ratio of 43 per cent no longer holds true. Heavy Slavic migration into the republic since 1939 has probably increased the proportion of non-Kazakhs, even though the Kazakhs may have had a higher birth rate. Secondly, if the Kazakhs constituted 43 per cent of the 1954 population, they must necessarily have increased by more than 20 per cent of their 1939 number. This seems unlikely, in view of the losses and the probable reduction in birth rate during the war. It seems most probable, then, that the proportion of Kazakhs has decreased to a ratio somewhat below 40 per cent of the total population of Kazakhstan.

KN 162 K 161 KN [167]

WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF KAZAKHS

K 161 131

According to a Soviet estimate in 1939 there were about 400,000 Kazakhs outside the USSR, who together with the 3,100,000 resident in the Soviet Union made a total of 3,500,000. Those outside the Soviet Union lived in Sinkiang and in western Mongolia, with scattered thousands in Afghanistan, Iran, Kashmir, and Turkey. Numerical data on these Kazakhs are even scarcer than on those within the USSR.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [22] [596] [348]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 62 [177]

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 29 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Kurbo and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important. 177 114 779

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1] [131]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2] [171] 769 [182] [177]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so 756 [158] [180]

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1] K 177 241

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization. K 177 10

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry. KN 464

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley. KN 24 563 K [243] KN [361]

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population KN 233 K [131]

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

KN 233 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[1] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have K [31] the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

KN [61] In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of K KN Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than 463 the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The 464 Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own.

K 562 Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another per- 464 spective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of KN Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. [462] For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[2] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance K and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks [463] (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[3]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[4]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. K The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; 562 women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1952.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the impqrtant peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

351 /209 cont. /Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342]
[346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities
342 have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with
35 a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [391] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations; so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533 musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
342] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[143 cont.]

131 it is 60 versts /64 km./. And the water is salty in the Blue Sea. The river Arzas flows out of the Blue Sea and into the Sea of Khvalymsk.

131 133 "And in the east the Amu-Darya River flows into the Arzas River. The Amu-Darya is 300 versts /320 km./ long, and the Arzas is 1,060 versts /1131 km./ long. And 300 versts from the Blue Sea is the Uruk Mountain (1). The Uruk is 90 versts /96

1. The Uruk or Airuk, or Airuruk, is a branch of the Mugodzhar ridge.

km./ long, and out of it flow three rivers: the Vor (Or) River, which flows into the Yaik /Ural/ River to the north (toward the night); the Irgiz River, which flows into Lake Akbashly (2), to

2. Now called Aksakal-Barbi.

the east; and the Gem (Emba) River, which flows south toward the Sea of Khvalymsk and falls into a lake before reaching the sea.

"And 280 versts /299 km./ from the Irgiz River toward the Blue Sea are the sands of Barsuk-Kum. It is 25 versts /27 km./ across these sands, and the sands of Kara-Kum, 200 versts /213 km./ from the Sea.

"The sands of Kara-Kum are 250 versts /267 km./ long and 130 versts /139 km./ wide, and these three /sic/ sands reach the shores of the Blue Sea.

"The Syr flows into the Blue Sea in the east, and the Kenderlik flows into the Syr. And the Kenderlik River flows out of the Ulutau Mountain in two beds.

"And from the mountain, [144] the course of the Kenderlik is 330 versts /352 km./ (1). And another river, the Kenderlyk,

1. We spoke of this river in the geographical description [not translated].

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.

133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers, [311 233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the [101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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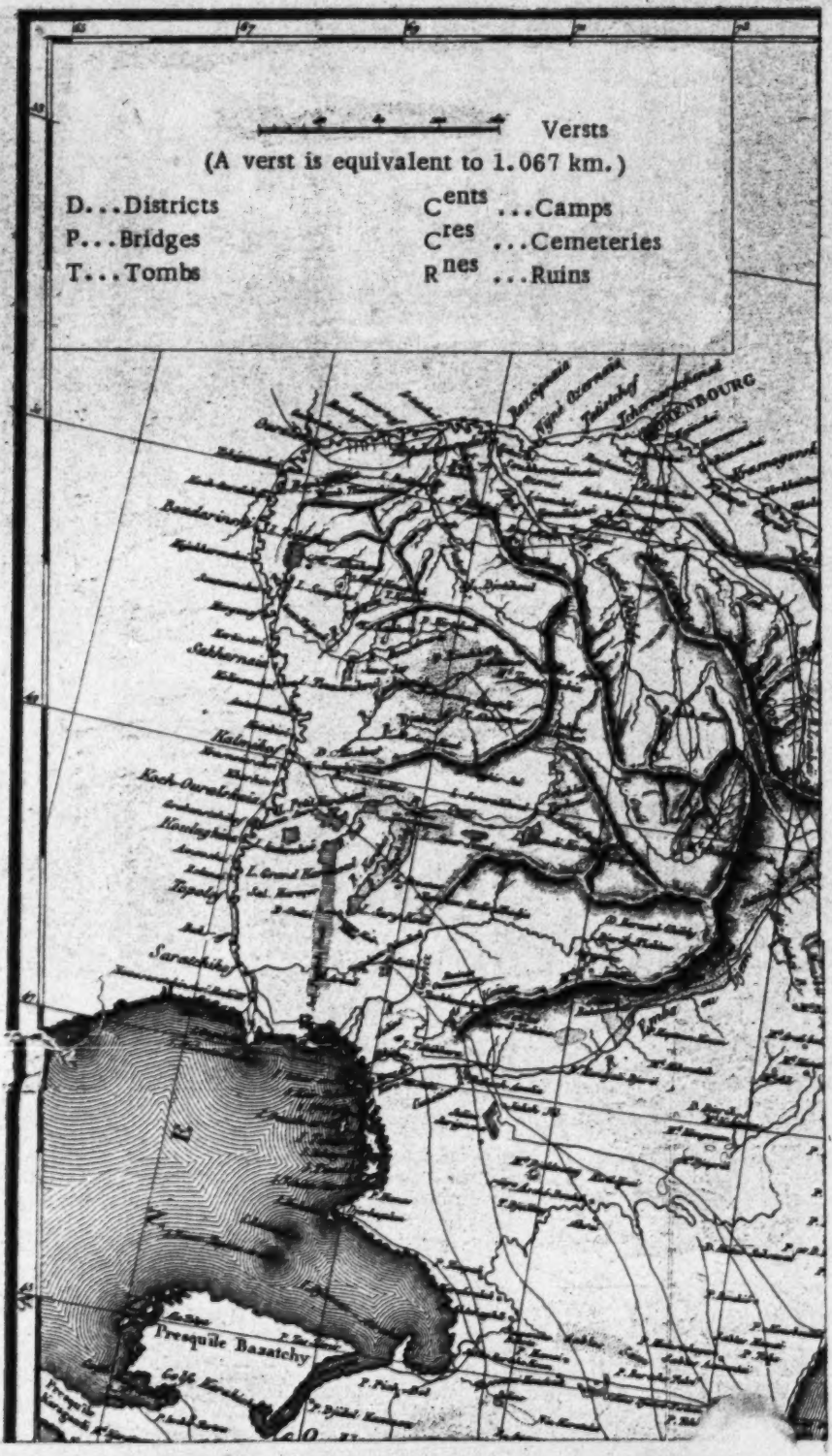

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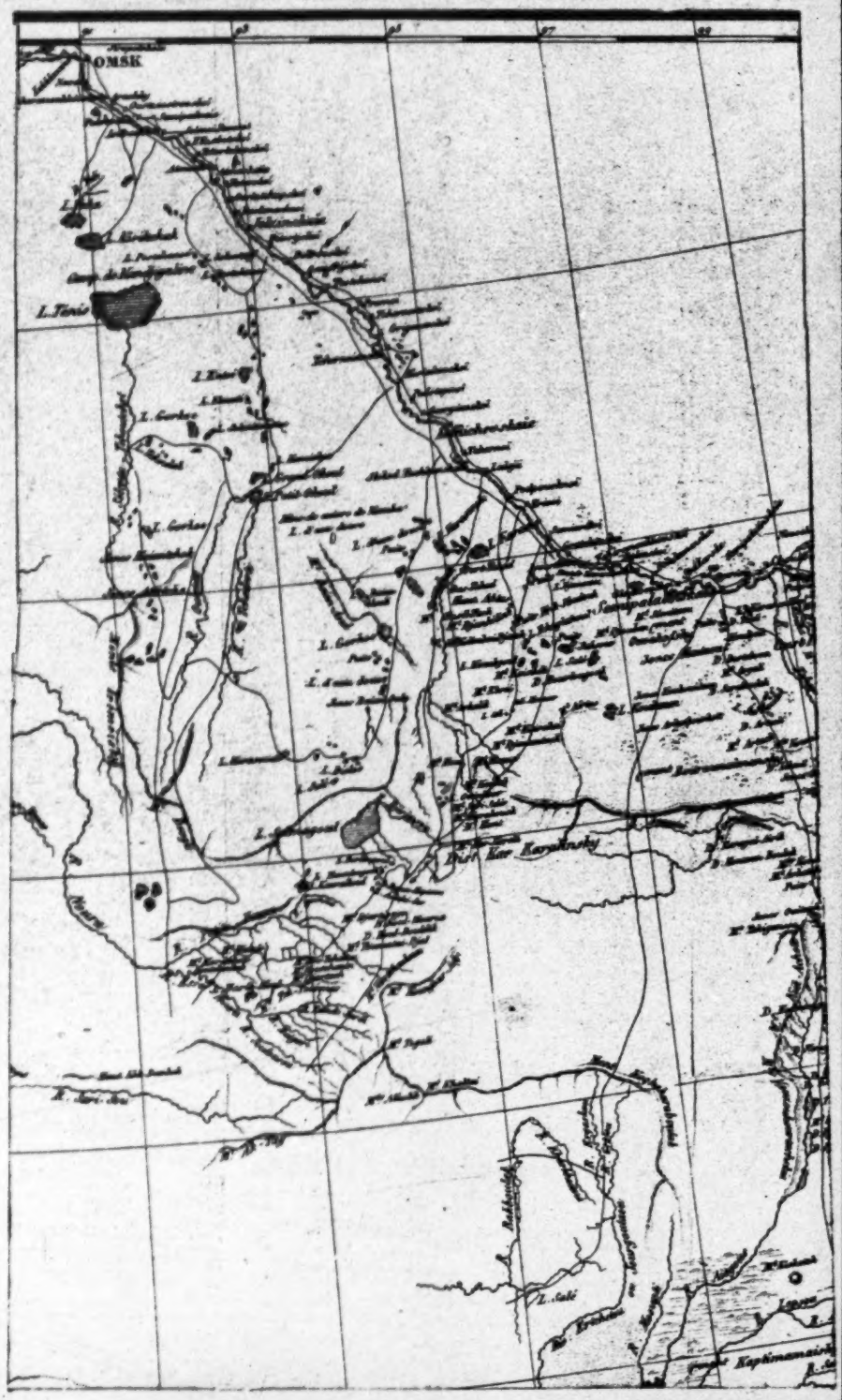

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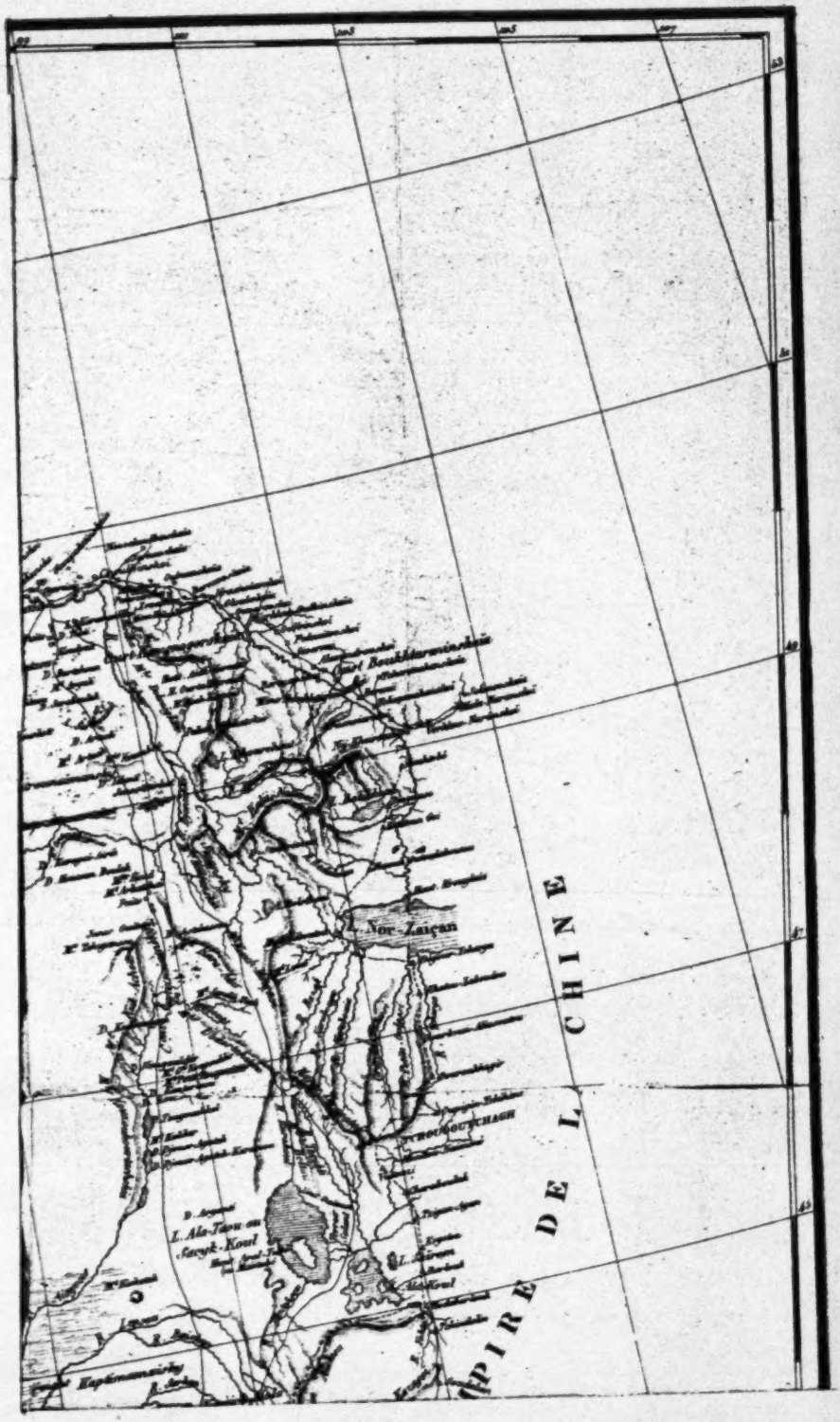

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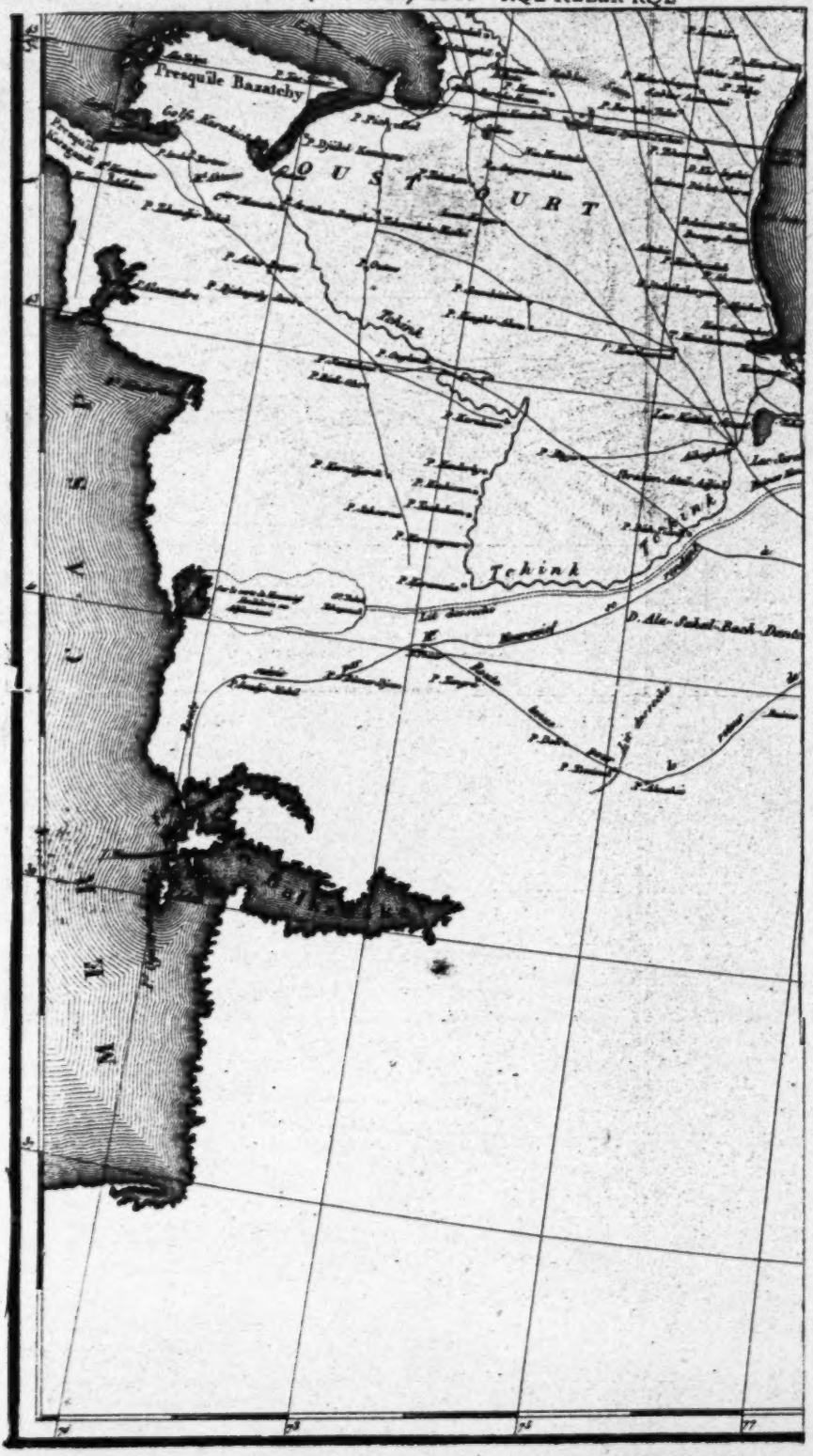

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5: Levchine--198 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--200 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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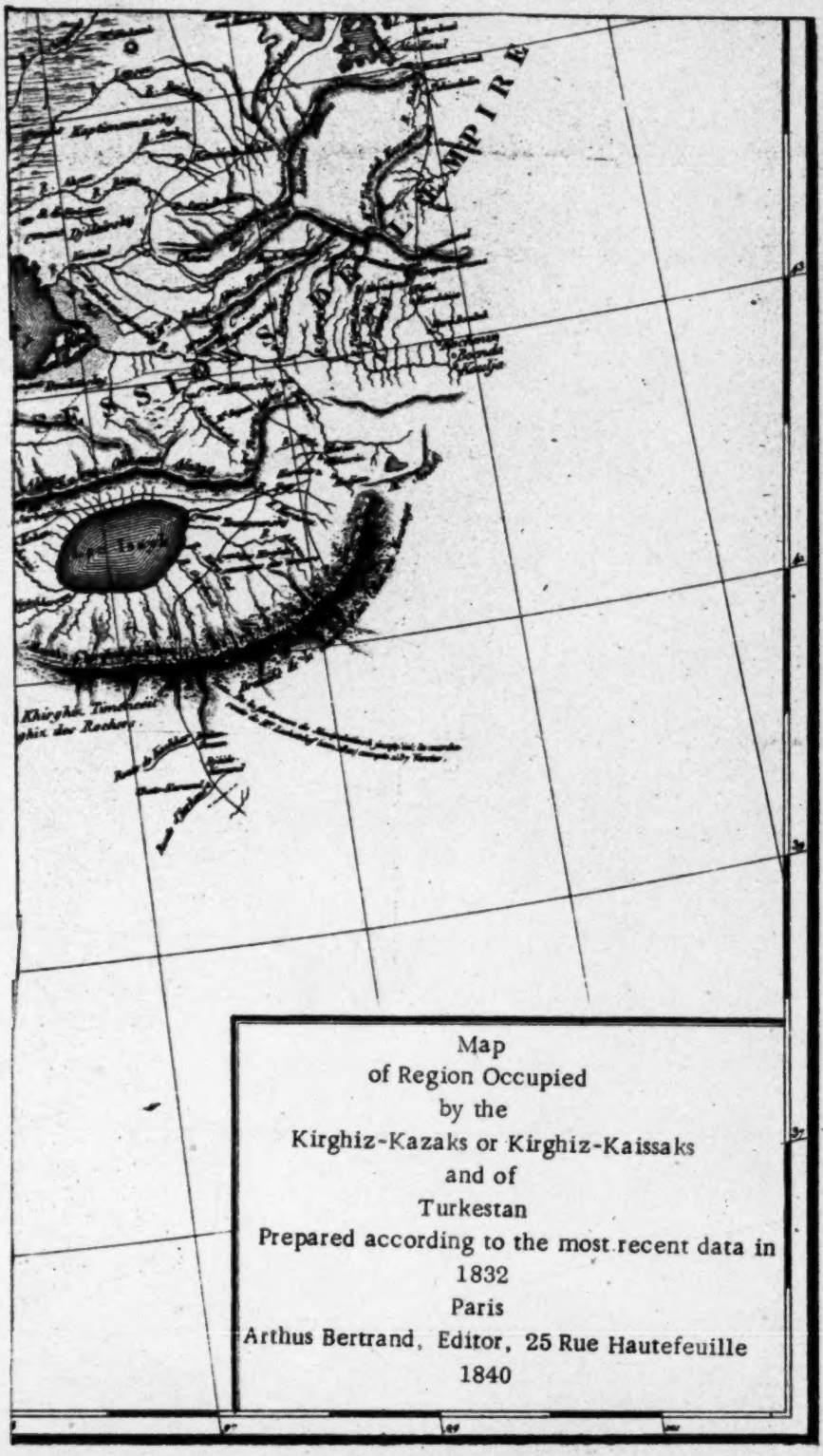

Map
of Region Occupied
by the
Kirghiz-Kazaks or Kirghiz-Kaissaks
and of
Turkestan
Prepared according to the most recent data in
1832
Paris
Arthus Bertrand, Editor, 25 Rue Hautefeuille
1840

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --15 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

KK 175 619 648 /146 cont./

rivers and beyond to the Volga (1630). War broke out among the other tribes for priority, which was won by the Dzungarians, and indeed the former alliance began to be called Dzungaria after them. United by valiant commanders, Dzungaria became a dangerous neighbor, not only for the eastern Mongol, Altai, and Baraba tribes, but also for China. The latter suffered much from the attacks of the Dzungarians in its western provinces, until after several campaigns the many soldiers of the Chinese army inflicted a decisive defeat (in 1696) upon the armies of the Dzungarian kontayshi

K 361 133

Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter camp in the steppe.

KK 175 619 648

(prince), the famous Galdan-Tsyren.

This somewhat weakened the power of Dzungaria, but the return of the Torgout, who wandered back from the Volga, again strengthened its influence on the surrounding tribes. This influence was so strong that the Baraba Tatars, who were nominally subject to the Russians, nevertheless acknowledged the power of the Dzungarians and paid duty to them and not to the Russians. Finally the Russians, too, were obliged to clash with them, and at first to give way. In 1714 the Russian government sent Buchholz to set up a series of fortresses along the Irtysh river (by which it was proposed to link the gold deposits of Yarkand with Siberia). The latter established a fortress near the settlement of Yamyshev (where the main trading between the Russians, Dzungarians, Bukhariotes, and Tashkentians was concentrated). The

KK 175 648 KK [439]

[36]

CHAPTER V

KAZAKH-KIRGIZ

Introduction

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The Kazakh-Kirgiz are Turkic-speaking pastoralists whose domain stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to the Chinese border in the east; they number among the largest of the Turkic groups in terms of population. Their neighbors to the west for three centuries have been the Kalmuks of the Volga, while to the east dwell other Turkic groups, certain western Mongols, and the Mongols of Outer Mongolia. In the south of their territory lie great salt inland seas: the Caspian and Aral, and Lake Balkhash in the east. Stretching between these seas with their surrounding salt marshes are the vast stretches of desert and semi-desert, bearing characteristic names: the Kara-Kum or Black Sands, the Bet-Pak-Dala or Hungry Steppe. Much more favorable for human and animal existence is life along the rivers which run into the seas: the Ural and Emba which empty into the Caspian; the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes of the Ancients) which flows into the Aral; the Ili which flows into Balkhash. In addition, there are the mountain streams in the east, and a number of other streams with interior drainage

101 whose headwaters are in the eastern Urals.[1] Much of
123 this territory is now and has been for some time given over to agriculture; where the topography is neither too arid, nor wet enough to support agriculture, the Kazakh domain continues to support a nomadic pastoral economy.

101 The name Kazakh is derivative of the Turkic word for bandit, freebooter, presumably referring to the reputation enjoyed by these steppe nomads among their neighbors.[2] The second name applied to them, Kirgis, derives from the Turkic words for forty, kyrk, and daughter, kyz. The ethnonym Kazakh appears late in Central Asian history, after the Mongol period--i.e., after the 14th century. On the other hand, the term Kirgis appears early; in the region of the upper Yenisei and along the Orkhon during the 6th-8th centuries, a Turkic people bearing this name is reported in the contemporary indigenous records, the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turks.[3] Much confusion arose during the 19th century regarding the question of exactly which people which name referred to. We know that there was no direct ancestral connection between the 8th

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[1]Berg, 111-124.

[2]Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v., and W. Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v.

[3]Cf. Radloff, Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei; V. Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, 1896; Thomsen, Turcica, 1916.

5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

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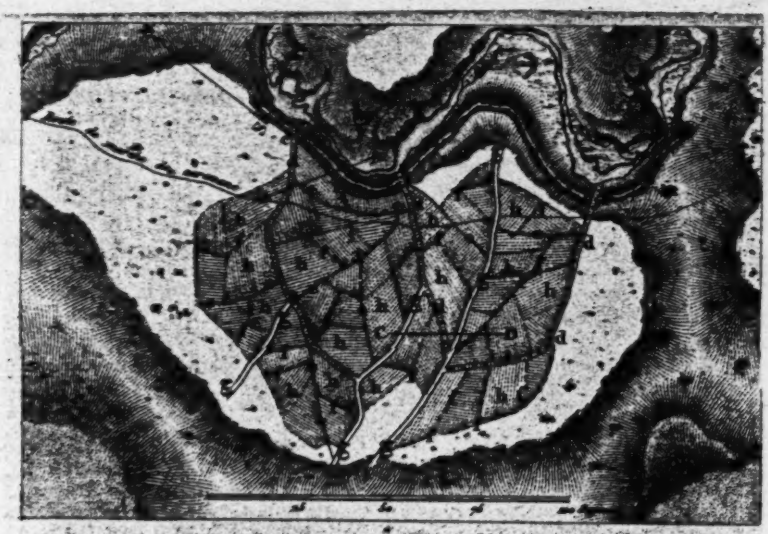

Profile of Irrigation Canals

Sandy clay soil

Sandy clay soil

/200 cont./

101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

101 619 142 144 /201/ The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

/201 cont./

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5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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293
411
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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

5: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

231
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Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

/199 cont./

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805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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594

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

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KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia. |121 |114

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union. |101 [161] [197] [149]

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration. |121

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. |122

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form. |104

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

/199 cont./

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181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them- [147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

/202 cont. /

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here. /

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

[159 cont.]

x648 721 We are obliged to note with surprise, however, that in spite of these conquests and hostilities of a people subject to Galdan Tsyren, the Great Horde never dared to go and attack the Dzungars, nor even to call themselves independent of them.

x648 662 Some years later, in 1749, Tiul Biu, who had been driven out of Tashkent by Kusiak [sic] Bek and was dissatisfied by his insignificance, wished to elevate himself through the protection of Russia, and he sent deputies to Orenburg to propose that he become a Russian subject (1). His weakness was no doubt known

1. Tevkelev mentions this in one of his journals.

to the Russian government, and his proposal also had no effect.

[152] The terror with which the Dzungars filled the Kazaks and the apparent submission of the latter lasted until internal dissensions began to weaken the Dzungars and until these dissensions finally led to the complete dispersal of this people, as is known. The disagreement had scarcely begun to be noticeable when the Kazaks took the most active part in it. They offered asylum to all the exiled Dzungarian princes and zaisangs, and joined with [726] them to avenge their wrongs. They attacked their enemies, and on the pretext of helping the unfortunate, they never let the opportunity pass of weakening their old enemies by raids. Finally, when the Chinese wished to interfere in the dissensions of the Dzungars, and the success of their arms had reduced Galdan Tsyren's successors to a state of utter weakness, then the Kazaks of the Great Horde took Amursan's (2) side and formed a part of

2. This prince was the last Dzungarian sovereign. At first he was a subject of China, then her enemy, and he died in Russia.

the army which opposed the invaders [160] until 1756, the time when the Dzungarian empire, which had been so powerful ten years earlier, fell under the blows of the Chinese. The people who had

[192 cont.]
their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[200 cont.]

×248 662 No matter how insincere the Kazaks' protestations of obedience were and how vain their promises to return the prisoners, protect the caravans, etc., at least from the moment they had declared themselves vassals until the year 1743, neither they nor their subjects had dared to make raids openly on the Russian borders or against their fortresses. But in the course of this year, they gave evidence of extraordinary daring, secretly incited by the same Abulkhair, who never ceased to assure the Russian government of his good faith and of his carrying out of all the duties of a faithful subject. Having been met with a formal refusal to accept his illegitimate son Chingis in place of his son Khodja Akhmet, he was ● [152] so angry that he began to incite the Kazaks to attack the border villages. One can imagine that his subjects were not slow to profit by counsel which was both advantageous to them and in accord [579] with their customs. At once pillaging, murder, and the carrying off of men and beasts began. Groups made up of from 1,000 to 2,000 bandits threw themselves upon sparsely settled villages, which had only just been founded, and carried away across the Ural River everything which could not escape them or which they could not destroy. Even the fortresses and fortified posts were exposed to their attacks. In one day, [201] 82 men were carried off from the small town of Iletsk. We will not enumerate the other robberies and violences which were committed (1), but limit

1. See the reports of Nepluev to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ourselves only to saying that the leader of these furious bands was Derbeshali, a sultan and kinsman of Abulkhair, and that his aim was to go to the fortress of Sarachinsk where Khodja Akhmet was and carry him off, after he grew tired of brigandage. Russian troops prevented him from carrying this plan out, but being busy building forts, they could not stop the other raids. Part of their horses were worn out by labor and part ran away into the country, and this made them a prey to plunderers.

[201 cont.]

×248 622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [61] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[724] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

[204 cont.]
[648] this he used threats and favors by turns, and finally he bought
[662] various Russian articles at his own expense which he had sold to the horde, not only without profit but even at a loss.

[186] Although the circumstances were so opposed to the views of the Russian government, yet the hereditary and inveterate hate of the Kazaks for the Dzungars still had enough power to keep them from being entirely indifferent to the hints of the Russians. They preferred to leave their border in peace rather than neglect the opportunity to attack their perpetual enemies, who at this time threatened to reduce them to complete subservience. In spite of their submission to Galdan Tsyren, the khans and sultans feared his domination more than that of the Russians. However, they took part with the people in the preparations for hostilities which were being made. The tribes of the Middle Horde, who were still suffering from the ravages committed against them in 1741, almost under the walls of Orenburg, were the most anxious to help the Russian troops. They were only waiting for the opening of war between them and the Dzungars, and at the first news of the beginning of hostilities they would have thrown themselves upon the settlements of their enemies with all the fury of semi-primitive people. But their hopes were dashed, for the Dzungars, in spite of their threats, left Russia in peace. This was the only way the Kazaks could have avoided the storm which threatened them, for in spite of all the patience with which the Russian government had borne their raids on the border for more than a year, it had been firmly decided to use the troops [205] stationed on the Orenburg line and others to be added to them in order to punish the Kazaks severely.

During the interval, Sultan Khodja Akhmet, who until then had been detained as hostage in the fort at Sarachinsk, was transferred to St. Petersburg. Although Abulkhair could not have been
● [152] happy to see his son taken further away when he wished him closer, and although he was furiously angry with Nepluev and allowed
[721] himself new violence in his relations with him, still his subjects

[208 cont.]
100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

[211 cont.]

This act against a people considered subject to Russia and the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders, and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea. Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons, he was poisoned (2).

> 2. In the papers preserved in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg it can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little Horde who came to the Russian border then affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

x648 [214 cont.]
[114]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

x648 765 result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

[152 661] Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

[217 cont.]

x648 the Dzungarian kungtaidji. She had incited his son Sanzhip to
584 depart for Dzungaria with 15,000 tents in 1701. If the
662 Dzungars, who had already subjugated the Great Horde long since and had hostages from all the sultans of the Middle Horde, also were united with the Little Horde through the alliance of their sovereigns, then the entire population of the lands [218] beginning from the western territories of China of that time until the northern part of the Caspian Sea could be put in movement at the first signal of one single chief, and the entire length of the Russian border, from the upper Irtysh all the way to the mouth of the Ural River, could be exposed to attack on the same day.

In order to avert this danger, it was indispensable for the Russian government to forbid Nurali to become the brother-in-law of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, and it was ordered that all proper measures be taken to prevent this alliance. It was regarded as most efficacious to use the counsels of a man respected by the Khan and known to all the Little Horde, namely Tevkelev. To this end he was sent to Orenburg expressly to have a conference with Nurali. In order to support the advice, favors, and promises with which Tevkelev was to load the Khan, Nepluev was commanded to begin the funeral monument for Abulkhair immediately and to add residences for the khans in order to please Nurali and his brothers. It was likewise decided to accept the illegitimate Chingis as hostage in place of the khan's legitimate brother (1), a thing which had often been refused to Abulkhair.

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 2, 1749 and August 13, 1750.

During the interval, Nurali was dismayed by the rumor which
●[152] was spread that if the Dzungarian kungtaidji had a son by his sister, he would exterminate all the Kazak chiefs and their descendants in order to give that son the position of sole khan of all the Kazaks.

x648 The death of Abulkhair's daughter destined for the chief of the Dzungars, which took place in 1750, reassured Russia.

[249 cont.]
x648 662 643 father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

x648 [167] While studies were being made on this subject and the correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

¶[152] He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the [152 578] authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by the marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by using them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

K [250 cont.]
x648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578] act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[66] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.

K The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the
[721] Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

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648
167 upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate
EK enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks,
KO which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destina-
648 tion to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks
167 and now became their allies. We will now give the history of

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote 152] that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [728] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[276 cont.]

he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- ● 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
● 152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

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1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families 578 in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re- [166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:

166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always

578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the

361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads

181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and

636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form

177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

/202 cont./

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here./

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are coming forward [illegible]. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and pro-
K [562] moted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women
[181] in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and
K where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way
[154] of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will
K increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Neverthe-
[177] less, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide
KN assurance that the process is far from complete.
665

The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

KN The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—
665 their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very
563 much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth
K only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest
[154] in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

"FAMILY RELATIONS"

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G02
G48
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The organization of Kazakh society by kin groups, bound together by strong ties of blood relationship into disciplined and cooperative units, has both interfered with Soviet planning and increased the extent of Kazakh suffering. The resistance of one person involves all his relatives in the ensuing punishment. At the same time these large family groupings do not fit into the Soviet conception of social and economic organization. The Soviets have, in fact, an explicit policy against "family relations." This phrase has two meanings, one literal, the other figurative. Literally it means nepotism, the use of his position by a man in power to obtain a good post for a relative. Figuratively, it denotes personal relationships on the job, relationships which the Soviet regime feels may permit one person to cover up the failings of another, and which may even become conspiratorial.

In Kazakh society all action and decision take place within the framework of very literal "family relations," and this pattern inevitably is carried over into Soviet-sponsored activities. The bulk of the membership of a collective farm in Kazakhstan today is likely to comprise a single group of blood relatives, its leaders the older men of the group. This is particularly true of those areas in which herding remains important. The retention of kin group solidarity, where it has been permitted, has had two important effects. It has eased the adjustment of the Kazakhs to collectivization, while at the same time making possible maximum cooperation between collective farm members in covering up violations of Soviet directives and policy.

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[G01]

The problem becomes even more acute when Kazakhs are drawn into industry and into the Party and government. They naturally try to surround themselves with their relatives. Paradoxically, Soviet policy has often tended to foster this tendency; political affiliation, like everything else among the Kazakhs, tends to be a family matter, and a willingness to cooperate with the Communists is confined to certain—usually a very few—families in a given locality. Yet, political (Communist) reliability is necessary for admission into governmental, Party, and technical fields. Hence if Kazakhs are to be utilized at all in these activities, the chances are good that many of them will be related, whether through deliberate nepotism or not. And with this go all the hazards the Soviets see in "family relations."

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SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

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In general, the Kazakhs participate only to a restricted degree in higher-level activities, particularly those which the Soviets feel are vital for the building and consolidating of the USSR—industry, transport, the Party, and government. There appear to be two reasons for this. The first is that the Slavs do not extend to the Kazakhs equal opportunity for training and advancement. Experiences reported by Turkic soldiers captured from mixed units in World War II suggest that they are generally looked upon as inferiors. Furthermore, in a society in which political

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it" (dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

● 157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in
• [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them-
[147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

874 of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Ḳazān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Ḳazān in 1861. According to the census of 1897, Ḳazān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

161

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(W. Barthold)

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p. 838-A

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia. 121 114

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union. 101 [161] [197] [149]

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration. 121

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. 122

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form. 104

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 137–62.

[5] Mohammed Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Aftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

gens, and then adds that relationship in the male line was an obstacle to marriage through nine generations.

The Yakut concept of the exogamic gens as defined by generations is apparent in the quotation given above from Seroshevskiĭ's informant.

Present information is inadequate to explain completely the relation between group and generation exogamy, but it seems possible that the latter may have developed in connection with and as a result of the constant tendency of the gentes to give off branches, each of which considered itself related to the others and to the parent group by descent from a common ancestor. Thus as a result of rapid branching and formation of new groups, membership in different divisions might be no indication of the absence of close relationship which could be guaranteed only by the actual genealogies. The application of the method of reckoning possible matings by the number of intervening generations would then only be necessary between groups who were conscious of their recent separation. In other cases group membership would be accepted as indicative of a lack of close relationship.

The ultimate causal factor in the constant development of new groups appears to have been economic. Cattle raising could not be carried on in one place by large numbers of people because of the lack of sufficient grazing land. Sections of the original group therefore tended to depart in search of new pastures. Such an explanation of the branching process need not necessarily involve the assumption that the total number of groups was continually increasing. Some groups became extinct through the dying out of family lines or annihilation in war. In discussing Kazak uru genealogies my informants noted the names of several groups which had ceased to exist. Those which survived, however, and did increase in numbers inevitably tended to split. That there was an actual growth of population which favored the branching process is indicated by census reports, although most statistics for the numbers of the nomads are little better than rough estimates. The Russian census figures for 1897 and 1911 which deal in very round numbers and do not distinguish carefully between different groups, suggest an increase in population during the fourteen year period of between fifteen and thirty percent for the various steppe tribes.[16] The Soviet census figures for 1926 are not readily comparable with these because of the different classifications employed. Levshin's estimate of the numbers of the three Kazak ordas together in 1832 as between two million and two million four hundred thousand[17] was based upon the guess of the Kazak themselves, who might more probably exaggerate than understate. That they did so is suggested by Ujfalvy's figures of 1,300,000 or 1,400,000 in 1878 which, however, are themselves without firm foundation.[18] According to the Soviet census of 1926 there were then 3,959,900 Kazak in Kazakstan and the other republics of Central Asia.[19] A comparison of Levshin's probably high estimate for 1832 with the 1926 figures suggests a possi-

[16] See Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 33–47.

[17] *Description des hordes*, 300.

[18] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 25.

[19] *Handbook of the Soviet Union*, 7; figures for the 1936 census are not available.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

ble doubling of the nomad population in slightly less than a hundred years. This is not a phenomenal growth[20] but it must be remembered that it was accomplished during a period of increasingly active domination by an alien culture such as is frequently marked by a decline of native populations. If maintained steadily over a period of several centuries it should be sufficient to necessitate the frequent formation of new groups in the pastoral economy.

On this point Bogoras writes:[21]

> Extensive cattle breeding, when practiced for a long period of time, like agriculture, creates abundancy of food and so makes it possible for the tribe to grow in numbers from one generation to another. In this way the tribes of real nomads increased largely and became populous nations numbered in hundreds of thousands. . . . On the other hand the tribes of the primitive culture, living with reindeer breeding, hunting or fishing never have large numbers. The paleoasiatics of Siberia . . . are numbered often in simple hundreds, or at the utmost in a couple of thousands.

Although increase in numbers was apparently the underlying cause of fission, the immediate causes were no doubt various, differing somewhat in each instance. Usually the process would appear to have been a gradual one in which the new group came to be considered as a separate unit only after several generations. The custom of giving to each son a share of his father's cattle, by which new economic nuclei were constantly being created, favored the centrifugal tendency. Quarrels between individuals, and the dissatisfactions and rivalries of different leaders and factions no doubt frequently produced sudden divisions within particular groups. My informants emphasized that disputes between the large herd owners over the use of pasture land would often end in the breakup of the group. Personal jealousies and dislikes easily led to separation, or even to the expulsion of minorities who must then shift for themselves.[22] Pallas[23] noted the frequency with which the clashing claims of rival relatives produced regroupings of the people among the Kalmyk. Also secession to minorities sufficiently organized to make use of it, was a means of escape from the exactions of overbearing rulers. In this connection Radlov remarks:[24]

> Die einzige Abwehr gegen Ungerechtigkeiten und Gewaltthätigkeiten ist eben festes Zusammenhalten der Familien und Nachbarn unter Anführung bestimmter Persönlichkeiten; in diesen Vereinigungen liegt der Keim zu immer neuer Gruppirung der Geschlechter.

The appearance of new groups by fission also took place on a larger scale than that represented by the branching out of blood related gentes. An excellent example of this is

[20] See for example, Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, 26–29. The population of Java is stated to have increased fifteen times in less than a century and a half.

[21] Bogoras, *Paleoasiatic Tribes*, 260.

[22] The exclusion of Jaouredai from the gens sacrifices by his half-brother, as cited above, is a case in point. Jaouredai departed to establish his own group.

[23] Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, 1: 187.

[24] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 418.

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578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

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Part III. Statistical Information on the Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who [578] governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

[66] A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most

vorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed
e Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them
at it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in
ed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast
panse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

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161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, three sons divided it among themselves, and that according the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --67 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

/Between pp. 176 and 177/

K
102
H.T.
102
563

1. Kirghiz /Kazak/; 2. Great Russians; 3. Little Russians; 4. Belorussians; 5. Latvians and Estonians; 6. Mordvinians; 7. Tatars.

K
H.T.
102
161

1. less than 1 person; 2. 1-2.5 persons; 3 more than 2.5 persons.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [605]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [033] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] [560] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 197 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

8:Krader & Wayne .E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in [649] the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

[1]Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this 114 report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography 113 by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Graunan (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 649 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

648 A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

[494] During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. [565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [162] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry [167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 [67] [131]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1939 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [171] [197]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1932. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant [165] factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in
131 the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

were settled in other neighboring republics. In 1926 the Kazakhs had numbered just slightly less than 4,000,000, of whom 93 per cent lived within the 1926 boundaries of Kazakhstan. There had been important shifts in the territory of the Kazakh republic during the interval—in some cases territory was added, in others taken away. The total area in 1926 was 2,850,000 square kilometers; in 1939 it was 2,730,000, a reduction of 4.2 per cent. Table 1 summarizes the 1926 and 1939 population figures.

K [6] [31] KN [31]

Table 1

TOTAL AND KAZAKH POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN, 1926 AND 1939

KN [162]

Year	Total Population of KSSR	Number of Kazakhs in KSSR	Kazakh Per Cent of Total Population
1926	6,503,000	3,710,000	57
1926 (1939 boundaries)	6,074,000	3,468,000	57
1939	6,146,000	2,640,000	43

In 1926, Kazakhs constituted a majority of the population of Kazakhstan (57%); by 1939, they had shrunk to 43 per cent. This change in the ratio of Kazakhs to non-Kazakhs is due in part to the decrease in number of Kazakhs, and in part to the migration of Russians into the republic. In 1926 there were about 2,500,000 non-Kazakhs within the 1939 boundaries of Kazakhstan. The number of such persons had increased by 1939 to approximately 3,550,000. Natural increase could have caused only part of this growth; migration of peoples into the republic must have been responsible for most of it. This influx must also have exceeded the movement of non-Kazakhs to the new industrial developments in southern Siberia.

KN 167 [162]

This migration into Kazakhstan consisted largely of urban and industrial workers. Kirov, one of Stalin's aides in the early 1930's, initiated the policy of resettling thousands of Russians from the Leningrad region to build the industrial area around Karaganda. A second wave of migration took place during World War II, when again many people from the factories of Leningrad and Moscow and the mines of the Don basin were moved to Kazakhstan.

According to Soviet sources, Kazakhs and Russians (exclusive of Ukrainians and Belo-Russians) made up 80 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan in 1939. If 43 per cent is the correct figure for the Kazakh proportion of the total population at that time, then the Russians constituted approximately 37 per cent of the whole, or about 2,275,000, and the Kazakhs numbered about 2,650,000.

KN 162

The urban population more than tripled between the two censuses, growing from 519,000 to 1,706,000, from 8.5 to 28 per cent of the whole. Slightly more than 800,000 were located in the seven major cities of the republic, those with populations greater than 50,000 in 1939. This increase by 3.3 times exceeded the average rate of urban increase for

KN 162

the USSR as a whole. Yet the total population of Kazakhstan remained virtually static, increasing by only 72,000 from 1926 to 1939 within the 1939 boundaries, an increase of 1.2 per cent. The rural population, however, decreased by more than a million, from 5,550,000 to 4,440,000. This comparison of rural and urban population figures summarizes the chief economic trends of the period: the loss of farmers and herdsmen through starvation, liquidation, and migration and the growth of the cities through the influx of industrial workers.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KAZAKHSTAN TO 1954

KN 161 K [12]

It is difficult to make accurate estimates of Soviet population since the 1939 census, but methods have been devised for making estimates. Through figures for school registrations and for numbers of voters and voting districts, one can derive some idea of postwar Kazakh population trends (Table 2).

Table 2

ESTIMATED RECENT TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Population Estimate	Per Cent Increase Over Previous Estimate
1948 (January)	6,560,000	6.7[b]
1950 (December)	6,800,000	3.8
1954 (March)	7,200,000	5.9

[a]Estimated through voting district analysis.
[b]Per cent increase over the 1939 figure of 6,150,000.

The 1939-1948 period showed an over-all population increase in Kazakhstan of 6.7 per cent. Since this period included the war years, losses due to the war were apparently compensated for by natural increase and migration into the republic. Possibly by 1948 some of those who had moved into Kazakhstan during the war had returned to their former homes. One example of this was the film industry, which established itself almost completely in Alma-Ata during the war, but which had returned to Moscow and Leningrad by 1948.

KN [54]

The total estimated increase in population from 1939 to 1954 amounted to approximately one million. Forty per cent of this increase occurred in the nine-year period from 1939 to 1948, and 60 per cent of it in the remaining six years. The higher rate of increase during the more recent years is plausible, because of the elimination of the losses due to the war and to the movement out of the republic in the years 1946-1947. There is evidence of continued migration into Kazakhstan to the present day, in addition to natural increase, but it would be difficult to assign relative weights to these two factors.

KN [161]

If the preceding estimates of the total population of Kazakhstan are correct, and if the percentage of Kazakhs in the population remained at the estimate for 1939 (43%), then the number of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan

KN 162 K 161

KN 162 K 161 KN [167]

during the postwar period may be estimated as follows: 2,800,000 in 1948, 2,900,000 in 1950, and 3,100,000 in 1954. However, there is good reason to believe that this ratio of 43 per cent no longer holds true. Heavy Slavic migration into the republic since 1939 has probably increased the proportion of non-Kazakhs, even though the Kazakhs may have had a higher birth rate. Secondly, if the Kazakhs constituted 43 per cent of the 1954 population, they must necessarily have increased by more than 20 per cent of their 1939 number. This seems unlikely, in view of the losses and the probable reduction in birth rate during the war. It seems most probable, then, that the proportion of Kazakhs has decreased to a ratio somewhat below 40 per cent of the total population of Kazakhstan.

WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF KAZAKHS

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According to a Soviet estimate in 1939 there were about 400,000 Kazakhs outside the USSR, who together with the 3,100,000 resident in the Soviet Union made a total of 3,500,000. Those outside the Soviet Union lived in Sinkiang and in western Mongolia, with scattered thousands in Afghanistan, Iran, Kashmir, and Turkey. Numerical data on these Kazakhs are even scarcer than on those within the USSR.

Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems. 121

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking. 127 121

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities. 121 128 161

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

175 However that may be, they continue to appear as one people a century later, and their present division into three hordes dates only from the 17th century. However, even after the Kazakhs had been divided into three hordes, they were united from time to time under mighty Khans, such as Khan Tiavka in 1698.[33] But at the beginning of the 18th century the three hordes were definitively separated.

[177] During their occupation of the steppes of Turkestan the Kazakhs have been at a constant state of war with the Kalmuks,[34] but they have interacted with the Kalmuks, or the western Mongols generally, on other levels as well: they have also intermarried with them, and some of the implications of this will be taken up below.

● 161 The Kazakhs in toto combined to form the second most numerous Turkic population in the world[35] at the end of the 19th century; this condition existed before that time, and is the case today as well. Levshin, whose data were gathered about the year 1830, reported the following population for the Kazakhs: a combined total in all the hordes of about 400,000 tents or families, which was to be multiplied according to Levshin

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[33] Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. Ḳazaḳ.

[34] Spuler, 355-357.

[35] Aristov, Zametki, 350.

161 by five or six individuals per family or tent, making a total population of 2 to 2.4 millions.[36] The latter figure must be questioned, because few serious writers on the Kazakhs estimate more than five per conjugal family, that is, three children. Aristov estimates for one of the hordes an average of four to five people per conjugal family, which seems more reasonable. Von Hellwald likewise implies an average of four per tent.[37] Radlov puts the total Kazakh population during the 1870's at about 2 million, i.e., at about the same figure as the lower and more credible estimate of Levshin a half century earlier.[38] Kostenko published a report on Central Asia in 1871 and in it gave a figure of 2.5 million for the Kazakhs,[39] which allows for some natural increase. So much for the more or less impressionistic estimates. In the census of 1897, there were approximately 4.08 million Kazakhs registered,[40] while in the 1926 census there were 4 million,[41] thus yielding a static picture during a thirty-year period according to the sources in which formal census-

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[36] Levchine, 300.

[37] Aristov, loc. cit.; Hellwald, 20.

[38] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 255.

[39] Kostenko, 31.

[40] D. Klements, Kirgizy, 143.

[41] Lorimer, 58.

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of those who had followed

[42] Levchine, 299-300.

[43] Kostenko, 30.

619 social bodies.
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173 These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh—and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

619 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a
121 total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

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385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.[58] The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.[59] Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.[60]

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Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which lineage size and clan size tended to vary. Some twenty to thirty years later, after the conquest of the region by the Russians under General Kaufman, a marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group set in. Radlov records figures for the administrative units that now replaced the clans, which although corresponding roughly with them, are in some instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families; twelve comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5350 and 12,000 families (or tents) strong.[61] In the inter-

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[58] Ibid., 395.

[59] Ibid., 396.

[60] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

[61] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 238-240.

[Great Horde]

000 Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.
161 Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest of all the hordes during the 19th century.[63] Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 440,000 individuals in the past third of the 19th century.[64]

616 In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces
619 of a dual organisation, the division of the horde into an eastern wing and a western. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into ten clans.[65] It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, and the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organisation, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the functioning of the principle of exogamy to this unit.[66] However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term dual organisation is the lack of distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically,

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[63] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 235.

[64] Aristov, Opyt vyiasneniia, 398-400.

[65] Radloff, op. cit., I, 235.

[66] Lowie, Primitive Society, 118.

672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
573 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of kalym, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yüz, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radlov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.[166]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

[166] Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 450; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

[Little Horde]

631 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

•161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Little Horde]

161 1876 and 1885; the Lesser Horde contained 150,000 to 160,000 families, and the Inner Horde about 30,000.[175] This represents about a 20 percent increase over the figure given for the Little Horde alone in 1830 of 177 160,000 families by Levshin.[176] The Little and Inner Hordes were closest to European Russia, and had been the longest of all in close contact with the Russians; the degree of acculturation was not different in any marked manner from that of the Middle Horde Kazakhs. Because of the readier accessibility of the Little Horde, however, we have fuller data on certain aspects of their social structure and kinship relations than we have for the more distantly situated hordes.

614 The clans of the Little Horde, as those of all the other hordes, were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent from a common ancestor; this ancestor sometimes gave his name to the clan; otherwise the clan name was drawn from the stock of names which are associated with glorious events, great traditions designed to inspire the Kazakh warriors to emulate those who bore that name in the past. One clan name in the Little Horde was Yappas, a derivation from the name Japhet, the son of Noah, who appears ever again in Kazakh etymologies; other clan

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[175] Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304. The lower estimate is that of von Hellwald, 20. Schuyler and Lansdell gathered their materials through interviewing local officials.

[176] Levshine, 300.

[Inner Horde]

619 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little
565 Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hair, the last great Khan whose fame was recognized by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hair, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later,
619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner
167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadization--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levchine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

1 [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. Cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 491.--Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

613 162 and it was likewise important to know what the range was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

233 613 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

[1] [Cf. ent. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for Context -- Analyst]

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks RD2
Kaizak RD2

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is still at a primitive and wasteful stage. Then comes the cultivation of wine and tobacco plantations. The Asiatic Cossacks are well known as traders.

CONCLUSION.—Having traced the origin of these curious communities, followed their evolution, and seen something of their present state, I should now like to lay before you two momentous problems, one connected with the Kaizak, the other with the Cossacks, the solution of which is of vital importance to Eastern Europe and to Asia.

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The first problem arises out of the existence, the character, and the circumstances of the Turkic Kaizak (*i.e.*, the Turkic Cossacks). They are a body who, despite their nomadic condition, have an importance not to be lightly estimated, for any cause, either within Russia or without, which has their support will be very considerably strengthened thereby. Numbering from four to five million, by no means thoroughly subjugated by Mongol or by Russian power, this half-nomadic race of the Kaizak, whom, as we saw, the Russians erroneously call Kirghis, represents a considerable fighting force in its own land, since its clan organization still remains strong. Lying between Europe and Asia, its country extends from the shore of the Caspian to Pamir, and is on the route to the fabulously rich mines of Altai and Sayan and the other wealth of Siberia.

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The Kaizak may be regarded as an advance-guard to the Turks of Bokhara, Khiva, and other countries of Turkestan, but their sympathies are detached, for although they have much in common with these Turks racially and linguistically, their want of strong feeling for Mahometanism sets them apart. This is hardly surprising, since Islam was only brought to them two centuries ago, and it has never been in them a driving cultural force. On the other hand, they have always been in opposition to the Central Russian Government, an opposition of which the rising of 1916 and its subsequent massacres is a recent proof.* Their relation to the Russian Cossacks has been that of an insubordinate native tribe to a conquering Russian army, and yet Russian Cossacks and Turkic Kaizak have more in common with each other than either have with the Central Russian Government. Wherever Russian Cossacks have settled among Turkic Kaizak, it is the latter who have kept the upper hand, the Russian Cossacks adopting their mode of life and social outlook. In disregarding their essential kinship, and fostering dissension between the Russian and the Turkic Cossacks, the old Russian Government made a grave mistake. Friendly feeling and friendly terms have grown up and been established between the Turkic Kaizak and the progressive element among the Siberian colonists, which is a consideration worth noticing. There are two alternatives before the Kaizak, one of which

* For a fuller account on the Turkic Kaizak, see M. A. Czaplicka's "Turks of Central Asia," now in preparation (Oxford University Press).

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Ka. KAZAK RQ2
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popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ, Kenesarī, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842, was killed in 1847 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up down to 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarī and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultanī Kenisara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlya pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnowlm*, Tashkent 1889. Review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv., p. 122 *sq.*

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the xix^th century by the Ozbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestān (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882), Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestān), the government of the Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand after the revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳistān"; since 1924 this "Republic" has included a vast territory, little smaller than Russia in Europe, but of course less thickly populated. According to the latest Russian figures before the revolution the Ḳazāḳ numbered about 4,000,000 compared with about 500,000 genuine Kirgiz. The present numbers of the population cannot be very different from these. Čuloshnikow's (see below) reckoning by which the Ḳazāḳ and true Kirgiz would now be about 8,500,000 together is certainly much too high. In the northern part of the Kirgiz steppes between 1920 and 1923 the population is known to have declined by 21.2%. According to figures in the official publication *Sowietskaya Kirgiziya* (1924, N°. 8—9, p. 4), the population of the "Kirgiz Republic" is 6,536,000 including 4,008,310 Kirgiz (61.3%).

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The *Bibliography* of the Kirgiz is very large: see the attempts to collect it in A. Kharuzin (*Etnograf. Obozreniye*, 1891 and 1892) and A. Alektorow (*Izv. Obshč. Arkh. etc. Kazan*, xx. 1904). The fullest history of the Kirgiz steppes is that by A. Levshin, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepei*, St. Petersburg 1832; this is supplemented by many quotations (especially from the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* and the *'Abd Allāh Nāmī*) in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Issledowaniya o kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, vol. ii. On the everyday life (esp. of the Ḳazāḳ) in the xix^th century: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, vol. i.; do., *Proben der Volkslitteratur* etc., vol. iii. and v. On laws: N. Grodekow, *Kirgizī i Kara-Kirgizī Sīr-Daryinskoi Oblasti*, Tashkent 1889; review by N. Veselowskiy in *Zap.*, v. 115 *sqq.* On present conditions: *Obzor narodnogo khozaistva Kirgizskoi A. S. S. R. 1924 god. Pod redakciyei J. P. Krutilina*, Orenburg 1925. Later essays on the history of the Kirgiz: A. Čuloshnikow, *Očerki iz istorii Kazak-Kirgizskogo naroda, Čast' I. Drevneye vremya i sredniye veka*, Orenburg 1924. M. Tynishpayew, *Materiali dlya istorii Kirgiz-kozakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925. (W. Barthold)

P. 1026-B

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162 COMPOSITION OF POPULATION--distribution of population by age, sex, locality, marital status, mode of life (e.g., rural and urban, nomadic and sedentary), and by social groupings (e.g., occupation, religion, class, ethnic group); size of families; etc. See also:

Defectives and dependents	73	Ethnic stratification	563
Literacy	212	Age at marriage	582
Location and distribution of settlements	361	Incidence of plural marriages	595
Urban and rural differentiation	369	Statistics on crime	674
Occupational specialization	463	Educational statistics	871

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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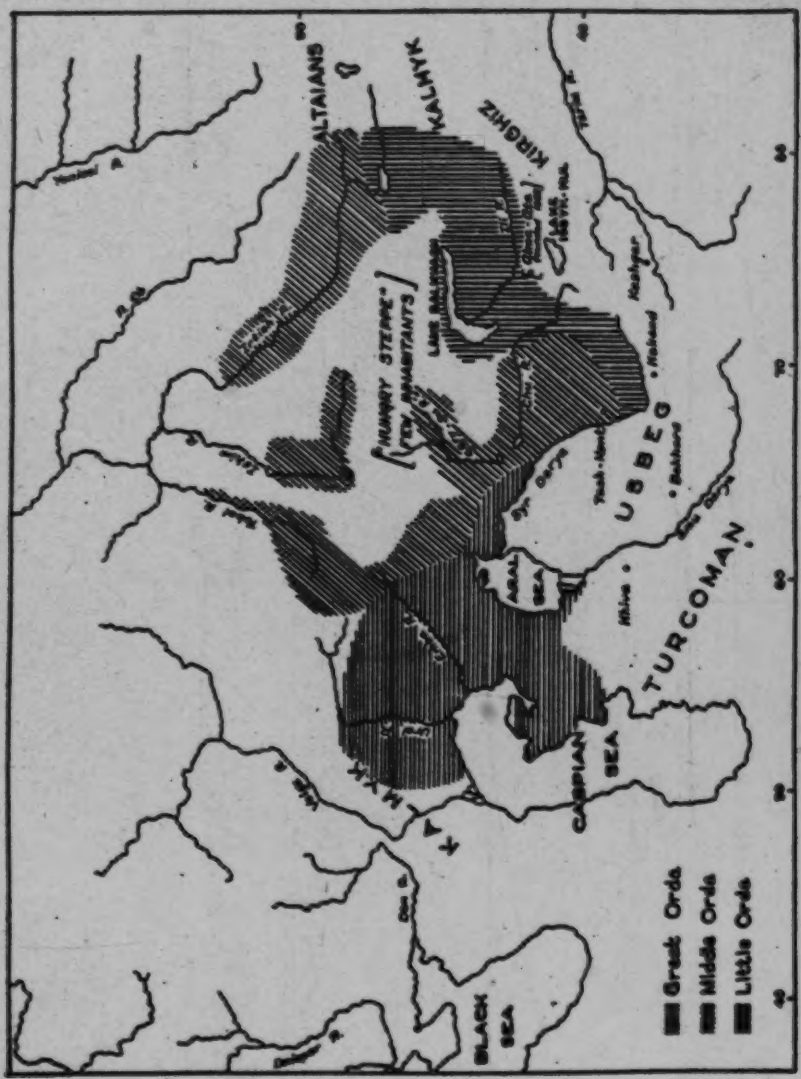

Approximate location of Kazak Ordas and principal surrounding tribes in the middle of the eighteenth century.

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[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --8 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

162 [101] /141 cont./ According to the data of the governor's reports for the 1890's, /142/ there are 1,875,000 of them, of both sexes, constituting 58% of all the Kirghiz-Kazak, including those living in China, in the Bukhara and Khiva dominions (1). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and

1. The population of the steppe oblasts calls itself "Kazak." Many fantastic explanations exist for this word. The colonel Kolchi-Kadyr was ill, dying of thirst, and left to the mercy of fate, and he prayed to heaven to send him a speedy death. But the heavens took pity upon him, and one of the good spirits, a peri, descended in the form of a white goose kaz-ak. The goose flew away for water, gave the sufferer a drink, and remained to live with him. The offspring of this marriage received the name Kazak. The word "Kirgliz" which has come into use also signifying "Kazak" was originally completely unknown to the latter, and they first began to hear the word primarily from Russians. In the older horde of the Kaisak there is a "Kyrgyz" clan. This is one of the most ancient Turkic tribes. The Kyrgyz were known of old for their attacks on cities, villages, and caravans, and their name became hated by their neighbors. The later "Kazak" began to be called Kirghiz as a consequence of their raids on their neighbors. This word has come into general use, gradually forcing out the real name used by the people--Kazak.

101 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts consist chiefly of certain Turkic tribes: the Kerei /or Kerey/, Naiman /or Nayman/, Alchin, /or Kipchak/, Alchin, and Argyn.

H.T. 175 361 162 [167] [496] /181 cont./

Only in the 1890's when immigration into the region was intensified and especially after the Siberian railway had been laid, the towns along it began to grow and develop markedly. In the diagram on page 73 the growth of several Siberian towns is shown. The following diagram on page 76 shows the size of the towns in thousands of inhabitants, and the number of males and females, from data for 1900.

H.T. 162 The non-urban population of the region can be divided into rural and nomadic groups. According to the data of the general census of 1897, it is distributed among villages, nomadic villages /aul/, and campsites in the following manner:

Oblasts	Populated Places	Residents
K [162] Akmolinsk	6,552 (1)	608,316
Semipalatinsk	8,913(1)	634,345
Turgai	499	430,096
Ural	849	582,703
	16,813	2,255,460

1. Including small Kirghiz /Kazak/ camps of 25, 10, and fewer persons.

H.T. 361 162 In 1900 there were the following number of Russian villages:

In Akmolinsk oblast	...198	with	77,057	people in them
" Semipalatinsk "	...160	"	47,047	" " "
" Turgai "	... 30 (?)	"	21,781	" " "
" Ural "	...158	"	172,415	" " "

H.T. 361 The number of these villages is very small in comparison with the area of the region over which they are scattered. In the Akmolinsk oblast, there is one Russian /diagram appears here/ village per 2,420 square versts, in the Semipalatinsk oblast there is one per 2,514 square versts, in the Turgai oblast one per

[Text continues on p. 77]

H.T. /181 cont./
361 13,361 square versts, and in the Ural oblast one Russian village per 1,800 square versts. Thus if one takes the total number of settlements (and towns), one settlement is found for every 95 square versts. For those who do not know what a Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlement is like, this last figure may be misleading in relation to the actual density of population. In the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts together, for example, there are about 13,000 such Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements (camps and aul) in which the population is not greater than 50 persons. For the Russian villages the average can be taken as /182/ a village of 500-800 persons. Villages with a population of 1,000 or more are very few in number and these are only old settlements.

K 361 162

H.T. 361 162

The distribution of the population by sex (the number of males and females) is shown on page 78 indicating that the males predominate in the region by a considerable margin (53%) This difference is particularly noticeable in the Semipalatinsk oblast, where there are 31 women for every 37 men. The population of the Turgai oblast has a more equal distribution (22 women for every 24 men).

H.T. 162

The distribution of the sedentary population by estate is represented in the next diagram on page 79. It shows that the peasants are the most numerous, in spite of the fact that they began to settle in the region only recently. The Akmolinsk oblast has the largest proportion of peasants, 54.2%, and the Ural oblast has the smallest (16.5%). After them come the Kazak /Cossacks/. /Diagram appears here./ They are most numerous (in proportion to the other estates in the Ural oblast (75%), and least in the Akmolinsk oblast (25%), while in the Turgai oblast there are none at all. The petty bourgeois, the aristocracy, and the raznochinetz /intellectual not belonging to the gentry/ are most numerous in the Turgai oblast (48%) and the Semipalatinsk oblast (41.6%), and fewest in the Ural oblast (8.5%). If one considers the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as an estate, they are the largest group in number (72.1%), as is clearly evident from the diagram. The other estates, constituting, when combined, 27.9% of the population of the entire region, are distributed as follows: 37.5% are peasants, 34.5% are Kazak /Cossacks/, and 28% are aristocrats, clergy, merchants, petty

K [162]

KN 563 631

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

K [101]

KN [162]

At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

KN [248] KN [316]

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

K [101] [162]

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

K [648]

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.[1]

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

KN 563 631

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

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KN [248] KN [316]

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

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K [648]

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they [565] were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in [162] the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry [167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [114] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society [181] together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 8

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PROPORTION OF KAZAKHS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	Population	Kazakh Proportion of Total Population (%)	Party Members and Candidates	Kazakh Proportion of Total Membership (%)
1926	6,503,000[a]	57[b]	32,000[c]	35[c]
1939	6,146,000[a]	42[b]	109,000[d]	52[d]
1949	6,650,000[a]	41[f]	229,000[g]	40[h]

[a]USSR Census.
[b]Lorimer and Goldware estimates (89).
[c]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[d]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[e]By interpolation from Goldware estimates for 1948 and 1950 (89).
[f]Based on Goldware's report on KSSR population (89).
[g]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[h]*Ibid.*, 16 Jun 51.

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Table 9

WOMEN IN THE KSSR COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	All Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)	Kazakh Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)
1927[a]	7.7	1.3
1940[b]	13.9	ND
1945[b]	32.1	ND
1949[c]	19.2	4.0

[a]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[b]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[c]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.
ND: No data available.

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[562]

criticisms by Party leaders indicate that more women would be welcomed into the ranks and that the Kazakh Communist Party has a bad recruiting record; one can therefore assume that the rather low number of women in the Party is not due to any officially stated policy of exclusion. Only during the war years were any significant gains made. Especially poor is Party recruiting performance among women of Kazakh nationality (see Table 9). A set of figures, however, cannot adequately describe the role women play in the Kazakh Communist Party. In recent times women have been placed in responsible positions in increasing numbers. In 1951, for example, 12 out of 85 members of the Central Committee were women, and every regional committee and almost 90 per cent of the districts and cities had one female secretary.[1]

[1]According to figures in Meissner's book (98) and in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47 and 26 Feb 49, women took a considerably more active part in government. From 1947 through 1952, consistently over one-third of all local Soviet delegates were women; out of 400 Supreme Soviet members, 149 were women (37%); *Sovetskaia Zhenshchina*, Sep-Oct, 1952.

Committee. Since that time, Party and government have been publicly associated and closely allied in personnel, operation, and performance. KN 665 642

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF KAZAKHSTAN

The administrative structure of Kazakhstan[1] is at present identical to that in other soviet socialist republics in the USSR, and for that reason no detailed description of the structure itself will be given here. (See Figure 5.) There have, however, been a number of changes in the administrative organization of the republic in the past, and these will be briefly noted. KN 631 [647]

In 1925 there were 6 regions, 2 circuits, and 123 districts. The district (raion) was first formed in 1924 and may be regarded as a "miniature region" whose boundaries are determined primarily by economic factors. During the 1920's a transition took place from territorial to economic divisions. The last province (gubernia) was abolished in 1930, and in the same year the circuit (okrug) went almost completely out of existence. With its disappearance, the districts became directly subordinated to the regions. Autonomous republics were under the direct jurisdiction of a union republic; Kazakhstan was such an autonomous unit until 1936, forming part of the RSFSR.

Each district is administratively subdivided into village, aul, collective farm, and other soviets (councils). Cities and other settlements of an urban nature form another part of the administrative structure. Usually they are directly subordinated to a district, but large and economically important cities come under direct regional or republic jurisdiction.

By 1936 Kazakhstan had nine regions (oblasts). In 1949 the territorial subdivision of Kazakhstan looked like this: 16 regions; 36 cities (the capital, Alma-Ata, of republic jurisdiction, 20 cities of regional jurisdiction, 15 cities of district jurisdiction); 203 rural districts; 9 municipal wards; 2,674 rural (village or aul) soviets; 115 settlements of city type.[2]

In 1928, out of a total of 3,888 village-aul soviets, 2,199 were Kazakh, 1,209 Russo-Ukrainian, and 115 Russo-Cossack; 140 were "mixed," and there were 225 soviets of unenumerated minor nationalities.[3] By 1931 the total village-aul soviets numbered 3,763; of these, 2,169 were Kazakh, 1,470 "others," and 124 "mixed."[4] No ethnic breakdown is available for the 1949 figure of 2,674 village-aul soviets. Of the 182 districts listed in 1930, 112 were Kazakh;[5] for 1949 no ethnic breakdown exists. KN [162] K [162]

Some information is available on the nationality and social composition among the Supreme Soviet representation. At the 1947 Soviet Congress the 300 deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the KSSR included KN 665 647 K 648

[1]See *Constitution of the Kazakh SSR*, as amended through 1951.
[2]SSSR, *Administrativno-Territorial'noe Delenie Soiuznykh Respublik*, May 1949, pp. 272-298.
[3]*TsIK, Materialy k Otchetu . . .*, 1928.
[4]*Vos' Kazakhstan*, 1931.
[5]*Revolitsiia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 6, 1930, p. 14.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Table 18

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Number of Schools	Total Number of Children in School	Kazakh Children in School[b]	Kazakh Proportion of Total Number of Children (%)
1914	ND	105,000	8,400	8
1920-21	2,410	144,000	ND	
1927	3,944	274,000	82,000	30
1929-30	ND	352,000	ND	
1932-33	ND	576,000	230,000	40
1935	ND	797,000	ND	
1939	8,381	1,130,000	ND	
1945-46	7,899	797,000	244,000	30.5
1948-49	ND	1,000,000	ND	
1951-52	ND	1,346,000	ND	
1954	ND	1,200,000	ND	

[a]Tashiev 1967, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoie Stroitel'stvo*, 1946, pp. 58, 251; *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 1st and 2nd eds.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all children instructed in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

of Kazakh school children and from the proportion of Kazakh school teachers (see Table 19). Unfortunately, no data are available on the proportion of Kazakh teachers after 1946, which was the first full school year after the war. Nevertheless, the 1946 percentage of almost 32 per cent is consistent with the last published figures on the proportion of Kazakh school children in the schools of Kazakhstan.

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[563]

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Table 19

TEACHERS IN KAZAKHSTAN SCHOOLS[a]

Year	All Teachers	Kazakh Teachers[b]	Kazakh Proportion of all Teachers (%)
1914	3,725	ND	ND
1939	42,500	13,500	30.1
1942	30,000	12,900	40.3
1946	37,835	12,000	31.7

[a]Includes primary and middle schools (through the 10th grade). Tashiev, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoie Stroitel'stvo*, 1946, pp. 58, 251; *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 1st and 2nd eds.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all those teaching in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
525 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Hair. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭŏk, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭŏk, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karuts on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

618
162

aristocracy as a lineage, they numbered eighteen. Of these, ten numbered between 120 and 900 families; four numbered between 1100 and 1500 families; three contained between 2600 and 3200 families, and one had 5000.[230] These lineage figures indicate the range in the number of people who considered themselves close agnatically. There is the consanguineal tie recognized by all Kazakhs, and that which is recognized by members of a given horde. There is finally a consanguinity vaguely recognized between a member of a clan bearing the name Kongrad among the Uzbeks, and the Kongrad clan of the Kazakhs. But closeness of relationship in the paternal line such as is found within lineages and measured by the functions that such a grouping has, is not found among the larger units. One might marry outside one's clan, or even outside one's horde; but the real exogamic unit was the lineage, whether major (maximal) or minor (minimal); the lineage members supported each other and their bii in humble matters, such as the supplying of an oath-taker or a witness in a dispute, supporting the judgment of the bii, helping to pay a major or minor indemnity; making common cause against rustlers or feuding parties; dividing and sharing pasturages; and so forth. For these reasons, it was important to know how many kinsmen a man had for purposes of the daily life of the community;

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[230] Idem.

[Inner Horde]

613 and it was likewise important to know what the range
● 162 was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

233 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought
613 together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

[1] [cf. ent. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for Context -- Analyst]

/202 cont. /

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here. /

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factor which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [197] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant [165] factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, 131 nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
●166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[153 cont.]
175 [66 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

x648 [163 cont.]
726 He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners de-
[727] capitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously
[721 828] resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

x648 Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in
[727] their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally
[651] he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighbor-
[166] ing him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[171 cont.]

648 only slavery and oppression in this submission, not the tranquility and peace which would be its fruit, and they forcibly opposed the Kazaks who were partisans of Russia.

648 669 This opposition was not enough for them, and they attacked the Bashkirs living within Russia, but were driven back by force. Shortly afterward a second attack was prepared against the Bashkir settlements, and Khan Shemiaka, who had sworn loyalty to Russia, did not refuse to lead the campaign. However, this second attempt was just as unlucky for them as the first.

648 The unrest fomented by these displays of the partisans of liberty affected those Kazaks who had sworn the oath of loyalty. They became uncertain once more and began to disavow their oath, and Tevkelev's position again became very critical. At that time he began to dream of ways of returning to Russia, but they did not wish to allow him to leave. Yielding to circumstances and lucky to escape death, he had to be content with permission to send his suite back to Russia with reports on the state of matters entrusted to his charge. He himself remained with the horde under the protection of Abulkhair.

Thus it appeared that Tevkelev had been abandoned as a sacrifice to the semibarbarous Kazaks. The danger which menaced [66] him seemed to become even more imminent when he was forced to accompany Abulkhair when he went to camp at the mouth of the Syr [Darya]. But this journey, on the contrary, was the source of the very successes for which the government had hoped and which its representative among the hordes had striven to obtain.

Abulkhair's move to the Syr took his subjects further away from [172] those who stood for independence and from his personal enemies, and it brought them closer to the peaceful Karakalpak nation, which had long been oppressed from all sides. As soon as they perceived the power of Russia, they sought her protection through Tevkelev, acknowledged themselves as subjects of the empire, and took the oath of loyalty immediately. Abulkhair was the man who took the most active part in this event, for two reasons: first, to make his power and services more glorious in the eyes of Russia; and second, in order to use this example in

[211 cont.]

This act against a people considered subject to Russia and the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders, and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea. Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons, he was poisoned (2).

2. In the papers preserved in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg it can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little Horde who came to the Russian border then affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

[221 cont.]
x648 ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[431] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[721] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[727] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[644] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[726] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

•[166] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[643] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[222 cont.]
x648 acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[643] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai
[662] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu
● [166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[261 cont.]
x643 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
673 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

x648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

x648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
● [166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[266 cont.]

*648 and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They
[727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use
[233 every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent in-
[66] tentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[290 cont.]
x648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a
council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.
x648 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim.
Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali,
but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of
Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council,
inspired much more confidence in the government and had much
more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled
near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year
Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little
Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little
Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by
Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.
x648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643 often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554] but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled
by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to
promise various advantages. However, what followed did not
justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not
[579 act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
[578 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
721] raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde.
The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples,
which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to
dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish
the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy
which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks in-
creased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread
everywhere.
[669 These circumstances produced very important consequences.
● 166] Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River
withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the
descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[291 cont.]
x 648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
● 164 Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[298 cont.]

578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

[299]

Part III. Statistical Information on the Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who [578] governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

● [66] A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most favorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed the Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them that it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in fixed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast expanse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101] Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies. [166]

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 173

believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

K 173 602 K [648]

The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

K KN [166]

These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648

During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [162] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

● 166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native [584] districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

[151 cont.]
175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
● 167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
● [167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[644] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[164 cont.]
x 48 foreign domination. In 1814 this territory became the property of the khan of Kokand, and the Kazaks were also obliged to submit themselves to this new master. Even on this occasion some of them proved how difficult it is to control a nomadic people against its will. Those branches which were in the neighborhood
● [167] of the town of Chimket /Chimkent?/ abandoned their arable fields and even their gardens and retreated toward the Chinese border (1).

1. See the memoirs of Nazarov, who was sent to Kokand in 1813 and 1814, p. 34.

The result of what we have said above is that the Great Horde does not form any whole. One part is obedient to China, another to the khan of Kokand, and a third is regarded as independent. Several thousand tents of the last group, which was camping on the site of Semrek [Semirechye] (the seven rivers) as well as near the Kuk-Su and Kara-Tal rivers and close to the Chinese border were recognized as Russian vassals in 1819, under the command of Siuk, son of Khan Ablai.

In addition some Kazaks of the Great Horde have left the steppes altogether to become settled in one spot within the Russian borders. This was how Sultan Churigei was received with 4,000 Kazak tents of both the Great and the Middle Hordes. He received a concession of lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk, by ukase of the Empress Catherine II of February 28, 1789.

[165] Likewise, in 1793, Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, petitioned to become a subject immediately, forever, with a hundred tents of his subjects who had actually crossed over the border into Siberia.

[193 cont.]
of 1741 gave reason to doubt the sincerity of their demonstrations and promises. We said above that Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir [167] rebels, had retreated to the Kazak hordes. It is not known which khan or sultan took him under protection, but it is recognized that having announced himself to be the brother of Galdan Tsyren, the general of the Dzungars, he went out and laid waste the settle- [726] ments of the latter people at the head of a large number of armed Kazaks. Galdan had been warned of this attack and sent to punish these brigands an army of 15,000 men, who pursued them [727] almost to Orenburg across the Kazak steppe and devastated the auls in their path, killing or taking away men and livestock. The subjects of Abul Mahmet and Ablai suffered most from this situation, which causes one to suppose that they had supported Karasakal and aided him, and that this had brought down all these misfortunes upon them. The swift advance of the Dzungars was stopped by the commander of Orenburg, who saw them approaching the border and sent word to them that they were violating the peace which existed between Russia and Galdan Tsyren. The head of the Dzungarian army withdrew at once, after declaring that neither he nor his master had been informed of the submission of the Kazaks to Russia, and that these peoples had made all their neighbors lose patience with them because of their constant brigandage. They were told that in future they should address their [194] complaints about the Middle and the Little Hordes to the Russian government and not take justice into their own hands. It can be imagined that neither Galdan nor his general could understand the justice of this diplomatic solution, and that they continued to act toward the new Russian subjects as they had during their independence.

This event made Abul Mahmet request the Russian government to erect a fortified city in the midst of the grazing lands of the Middle Horde. He knew that a similar promise had been made to Abulkhair, and he considered himself worthy of being treated on the same footing.

[726] Although the Kazaks had been given a strong lesson by the Dzungars, a still more terrible storm menaced them from the

[239 cont.]
died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place, but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[242 cont.]

x648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the ● [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

x648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[246 cont.]

x 648 [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[249 cont.]
x648 662 663 father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

x648 While studies were being made on this subject and the ●[167] correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

[152] He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the [152 578] authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by the marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by using them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

K [250 cont.]
x 648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578] act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[661] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.

K The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the
[721] Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

x K
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● 167 upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate
EK enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks,
KO which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destina-
648 tion to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks
167 and now became their allies. We will now give the history of

x K 648 [167]
EK KO 648 [167]

[251 cont.]

that event (3). The land of the Kalmuks, or, more precisely,

KO EK [114]

> 3. We regard it our duty to inform our readers that the description of the flight of the Torguts and the battle they fought with the Kazaks is drawn from two good sources: the first from the journal of Captain Rychkov, who was sent with the Russian troops in pursuit of the fugitives, under the command of [252] General Traubenberg; the second, the description of that flight by the Chinese prince Tsichi [Ch'i Shih?], a work whose translation we owe to Mr. Lipovtsov (see the Siberian News /Sibirskii Vestnik?/ of 1820).

of the Torguts, [252] whose bands are nomadizing today on the right bank of the Volga, in the Astrakhan government, were located in the present territories of China in the west. They left them because of the constant attacks of their neighbors, the Dzungars, whose power had not ceased to grow from the beginning of the 17th century and who threatened to subjugate them entirely. The lack of forces with which to avenge themselves upon their enemies and the fear of one day becoming their slaves led the Torguts to leave their old territories and to withdraw to the west.

In 1636 they came into Russia, and Tsar Michael Fedorovich accepted them among his subjects, giving them the vast lands on the two shores of the Volga as pasture land.

After the conquest of Dzungaria by the Chinese in 1756 and the destruction of most of its inhabitants, the weak survivors, numbering 10,000 tents, all composed of the Derbet, Khoit, and Khoshut descent lines, remembered their compatriots on the Volga, and forgetting their old emnity, they joined them, under the command of Sheren, one of the most zealous companions-at-arms of the Dzungarian prince, Amursan, whose acquaintance we have already seen.

K 648 [721 186] EK KO 648 [721 186]

[254 cont.]

ancestors, they hastened out to fight against them and despoil them. In less than a month the Kazak hordes were under arms, and the entire length of the country, from the shores of the Yaik to the borders of China, was covered with bands of warriors waiting impatiently for the appearance of a people whom the Kazaks burned to immolate for injuries suffered and for the hatred they aroused simply by their name and their origin. Nurali replied to the letter patent that he was not only ready to comply [255] with the wishes of the Russian government but that he was already on the march with his subjects against the fugitives. At the same time news was received that Ablai and his horde were ready for combat. Aichuvak and other sultans wrote in the same vein, and Kaip, who had been khan of Khiva and who lived within the Little Horde after his expulsion by his subjects, promised to join the Russian troops. East of the Kazak steppes, the Kalmuks were awaited by the Sultans Abulfenz, son of Abulkhair Khan, and Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, and finally by the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, who surpassed all the neighboring peoples in daring and ferociousness.

EK KO K [721 167]

What a terrible series of battles the Torguts had to endure! What a succession of attacks, murders, and robberies occurred on their route all the way to their destination on the banks of the Ili, traveling not with an army always ready to fight, but taking along with them their wives, children, herds, and all their possessions!

Several detachments of Russian troops were immediately detailed to restrain the Kazaks, but various circumstances prevented them from acting in a manner which corresponded to the hope of the government. From then on all hope was lost of seizing the Kalmuks, and the arming of all the Kazak hordes served only to exterminate a large part of the Torguts, without contributing in any way to their return to Russia.

The first barrier which should have been opposed to them was the army of the Ural (Yaik) Cossacks, whose lands they crossed. After the Kalmuks had passed, the Cossacks were firmly ordered to pursue them, but they rebelled and openly refused to leave their homes.

European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (Oirat) AH5

K
648
[721
167]
EK
KO
648
[721
167]

[255 cont.]

A second detachment was composed of Orenburg Cossacks. They entered the Kazak steppe and joined Khan Nurali in the first half of February. But their horses were so exhausted by the lack of fodder that this [256] detachment remained in the rear and was finally forced to pass into Russia.

Regular troops were detailed to replace them. But the same lack of forage in the steppes beyond the Ural River during the winter and the loss of precious time in correspondence and preparations prevented this corps under the command of Major General Traubenberg from leaving the fortress of Orsk until April 12. He was directed to join Khan Nurali and to await the Kalmuks on the Irtysh, but he did not reach this river until they were already on the Turgai. Having thus lost the opportunity of action in any other way than against the rear of the fugitives, the Russians who had joined the troops of Nurali (1) and Kaip (2) marched swiftly

1. On this occasion Nurali paraded his devotion to Russia in the presence of the commander of the Russian troops and complained of the fact that they had not asked his help in the Prussian War or the one against Turkey.

2. Nurali effected his meeting with the Russian troops near the Aksakal Barbi lakes, and Kaip did so on the Karaganly-Turgai, 754 versts /805 km./ from the fort of Orsk.

in pursuit of the Torguts. Near the Ulu-Tau Mountains famine and bad water caused swelling ailments to spread among the soldiers, and the horses tired and began to die in large numbers. Meanwhile the fugitives were moving farther and farther away, and the impossibility of reaching them became more evident every day. Finally, General Traubenberg was obliged to turn from the east to the north and to return into Russia by the fort of Uisk, which was the nearest point on the border.

European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (first) AH5
Cossacks RD2

x K 648 [256 cont.]

[721 ●167] EK MO 648 [721 167]

The Kazaks alone could not seize the Kalmuks, and they did not need to. The aim of their cooperation was better accomplished by their endless and repeated attacks, their pillaging and the capture of a large number of prisoners. Sultan Aichuvak routed one section on the Sagiz. Nurali delivered a violent blow to another section toward the east, and he also carried off several victories over them near the Mugodzhar Hills and on the Ishim River. Ablai [257] fought them with constant success. In some regions he acted in accord with Sultan Abulfenz, and their united forces caused immense losses to the Kalmuks, especially through the number of prisoners they took.

Erali, sultan of the Great Horde and at the same time paladin of the court of Peking, invited Ablai to join him against the Kalmuks several times. The latter refused to aid him, but this did not stop him from carrying out the plan he had devised. Erali found other allies and caused the fugitives to undergo enormous losses in men, animals, and personal belongings. We saw the details of this event in the historical account of the Great Horde.

When they were finally free of the Kazaks, the Kalmuks fell into the hands of the Buruts, and the misfortunes which the latter inflicted upon them were much worse than those they had suffered previously, particularly with regard to losses in prisoners. The Buruts, who were as greedy as they were ferocious, pursued them all the way to the Chinese border, to the new line established on the lands of the Dzungars. Ubashi crossed this line, not as he had imagined when he left the Volga as an independent sovereign, but as a humble subject who wished to save his life. He brought to China less than half of the Kalmuks who left Russia with him, the rest having perished en route.

K X 648 669 662 C 648 669 662

In 1773 and 1774 Pugachev's revolt caused violent agitation in the provinces in the southeast of Russia. The lands washed by the Ural River, almost from its source to its mouth, were most exposed to this, because the Yaik Cossacks were the first accomplices of the false Peter, and the Bashkirs were his first allies. The troops forming the border guard assembled in the principal forts to defend them against the rebels, and the borders remained

[274 cont.]

course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[167] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [643] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [646] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

[291 cont.]
x 648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166 Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
727 Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646 president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
167 government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167 about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727 occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[294 cont.]

[643] very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, [101] or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed [72] to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[72] [18] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[81] [643] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [67] [311] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

KK. /146 cont./
175 Dzungarians however, would not permit the Russians to estab-
648 lish themselves there. In spite of the fact that Buchholz was accompanied by a considerable detachment (3,000 men), they besieged him and forced him to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om and to renounce his aim. Only five years later, with the consent of the Dzungarians, the Russians did succeed in founding several fortresses along the Irtysh (Omsk, Staro-Semipalatinsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk).

K As we have seen, in 1723 the Dzungarians defeated a
175 part of the Elder and Middle Hordes of the Kirghiz /Kazak/
648 (wandering west of them). The Younger Horde and the part of
167 the Middle Horde that remained independent moved northwest
KK. to the Siberian border of the Russians and to the Bashkir. Mean-
175 while the khans Abulkhair and Semeke swore allegiance to the
648 Russians in order to protect themselves better from the Dzungarians.

KK It was during this period that the kingdom of Dzungaria reached its
175 greatest power and might, extending from the Altai across the
631 southern part of the present Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and
648 Turgai oblasts to the Aral Sea, and southward to the foothills of the Tien Shan. In 1739 the Dzungarians attacked the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and drove them to the Ural (Yaik) River, in the course of which many Bashkir who were subject to the Russians were killed. The Russian government, however, decided not to punish the Dzungarians for the attack, for it still recognized them as a powerful enemy. These Dzungarian kontayshi considered themselves so powerful that they paid no heed to good relations with their strong neighbors -- China and Russia. Only after /147/ clan dissensions once again arose in Dzungaria did its power fall, this time finally, and the Chinese and Russians did not fail to take advantage of it. In 1751 the kontaysha Amursana was seeking to rule Dzungaria. Since he had no hope of achieving his aim by his own power, he turned to the Chinese government for help. The latter, expecting to gain an advantage from the war which was beginning, sent an army to Amursana, which did indeed help him to gain rule. Instead of acknowledging

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK. /147 cont./

175 himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana
631 took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them
648 suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian
KK kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only
[167] a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the
K southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the
175 Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some
648 of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went
[619] over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as
[167] we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

P.T. Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena
172 of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

S:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [609]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [154]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

Soviet border as a sieve; it is not, and at present movement out of Soviet Central Asia to the surrounding countries is difficult. But it is not impossible. Archeologists in northern Iran have reported the presence of individuals who were obviously natives of Central Asia but plainly not of local origin. It was explained to one of the archeologists that these newcomers were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. KN 167

In recent years articles have referred to a flow in the opposite direction. The Ismaelian sect of Islam has had a strong and faithful following among the tribes of the Pamir Mountains for many centuries. Collectors of tribute in postwar years have appeared in southern Tadzhikistan to collect the age-old due, and this practice has been the subject of complaint in the local newspapers.

On a broader scale, there have been flights from the Soviet Union into all the surrounding countries. During the 1930's, over 30,000 Kazakhs appeared in Outer Mongolia, a region in which few Kazakhs previously had lived. There they remain to this day. Untold numbers of Kazakhs fled across to Sinkiang; some made a second trek, from Sinkiang to Kashmir, when the agents of Mao Tse-tung appeared in the Chinese province. K [167]

Thousands have migrated from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, their number increasing steadily from the 1920's through the 1940's. The Afghan government at first announced a protective policy toward these migrants, but this policy was never put into practice and recently it has been officially revoked. As a result the people suffer as much outside the Soviet Union as they had within; there is much unrest, and many return to the USSR. Suffering and unrest are evident in Iran as well, although the flow has not been as noticeable there; strangers lose themselves more easily in Iran than in Afghanistan. K 121

Here is a vast field for fruitful work. These migrant peoples are potential sources of information; they are channels of communication into and out of the Soviet Union. Extensive interviewing and survey work among these groups could reap rich rewards.

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 649 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

648 A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of
161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers.
648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated
[474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses.
[565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the
[162] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry
[167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 167 [171]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1939 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [171] [197]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant [165] factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, 131 nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

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The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

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COLLECTIVIZATION

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Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

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During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 898 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
•167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of these who had followed

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[42]Levchine, 299-300.

[43]Kostenko, 30.

Khan Bukei in 1801 re-crossed the Ural River and fled 167 •
the Russians, rejoining the Little Horde, because a rumor had spread among them that the Russians wished to settle them in fixed localities.[44]

From this we get a picture of constant reshuffling of alignments and the formation of new groupings. There were special forces at work to cause these movements during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, namely, the freeing of a great expanse of favorable steppe country by the flight of the Kalmuks, and also the increasing role of Russia in the steppe. Nevertheless it would be false to assume that migrations and alignments such as these were limited to this period. Except during periods of domination by a single great center, such as Chingis Khan or Imperial and Soviet Russia, the peoples of the steppe were constantly in flux. Pressure from the Chinese, local wars, droughts, frosts, floods, epidemics of man and/or beasts--any and all of these could decide a pastoral group to move to a new locality. These are migrations in the strict sense of the term, and are sharply to be distinguished from the normal yearly round of nomadic movement which was a more or less constant phenomenon. Details might vary, but the general readiness of the nomads to move is a constant. Above all, it is interesting to note

[44] Levchine, 300.

167 that motivation to migrate in one case is ascribed to the fear of being forced to settle down.

Kazakh Clan and Lineage: General Considerations

619 It will be recalled that during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Kazakhs were united into one nation, with relatively well-recognized boundaries, under a single ruler. Even though the three component hordes had already been formed during this period, their separation in fact took place only in the 18th century. The resulting triple division was not fixed and permanent. First we note the separation again of the Inner Horde. Again, various tribes and clans were continually leaving and re-joining different hordes. According to Valikhanov, the Little Horde itself was formed by splitting off from the others (probably during the 16th century). Thus according to local tradition, the Great and the Middle hordes are the senior divisions.[45] This tradition supplies us with a datum regarding the over-all dual organization of the steppe societies.

619 167 Again there was much internal movement, as an instance of which the following may be cited: elements of the Kangly, Chaichkly, and Kereit clans of the Great Horde separated from that horde in the 17th century, and nomadized together with the Kongrad clan of the Middle

[45] Valikhanov, 290.

619 167 hordes down through the 19th century.[46] The process of combination and recombination was not restricted to movements inside the Kazakh hordes, they also combined with non-Kazakh Turkic groups of the steppe, but the pattern was different. The clans were groups which usually bore the name of an eponymous ancestor, or recreated the name of an illustrious Turkic or Mongol group of the past days of glory. In both instances, whether through reference to an individual (mythical or actual) or to a group, the consciousness of unity over the course of history, and the affirmation of the unity of that history was asserted. In this way an unmistakable symbol was given to a Turkic clan or people, and its unity, real or fictive, mythological or historical, was established by tradition. Certain names, primarily the most glorious, recur again and again, among the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and so forth, which formed a small reservoir continually tapped. Clans bearing common names recognize an affinity with each other regardless of whether they belong to the same Turkic nation now or not.

619 The relationship established by bearing the name of a common ancestor, or of a previous group of common descent, was a weak one, but was related to certain rights of admission or combination with the distant

[46] Ibid., 286.

[Inner Horde]

619 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little
565 Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hair, the last great Khan whose fame was recognized by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hair, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later,
619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner
●167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadization--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levchine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

1 [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. cont. 11b, AH1 Mongolia, p. 491.--Analyst]

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 101 175 619

the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they attacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward, to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonstrated or disproved.

[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

342 days of suffocating heat it is cool and there is no dust inside. During heavy frost it remains quite warm within the good tent covers, [164] and only the smoke from the hearth is bad for the eyes, developing the eye disease, which is one of the most wide spread diseases among the nomads.

The yurt, containing all the property of the Kazakh, and providing certain conveniences for the disposal of various household articles, can be dismantled and assembled easily and quickly, in about half an hour, can be loaded conveniently and is light enough so that [492] the whole establishment of a tent of medium size can be packed on one camel. All the felts, piled up in several layers, are put over the backbone of the animal; the kerege, the uks, and the chiy mats, rolled up into a tube, are hung on his sides, while the chagarak is put over the humps, and all this is very skilfully looped on. This same camel with his load, when he comes to a new station, at the place where the yurt is to be - indicated by a lance which has been left in the ground by the householder when he went there ahead - is quickly unloaded, two women set up the kerege according to the indicated circumference with kanaats, and fasten them; two others or the same ones. after finishing the first job, put up the chagarak over the center of the space being formed, with the help of bakans, insert the uks into it, and at once fasten the other ends to the side screen, which they cover with chiy and side felts, on top of the uk they put the felts and the tunduk felt, fasten all this down, and the tent is ready within the half hour. On the floor of the yurt they spread out felts leaving in the center

113, 171, 681, 604 Kazak RQ2

[For a Kalmyk parallel with Kazak legal private seizure of property, and the inheritance rights of maternal nephews, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 274-279.]

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house. 574 565

It may be noted here that qonaqaçb (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals. 527

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tambr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject. 608 431

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tambr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tambr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tambr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16] [171]

[11] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

4:Grodekov--18 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 631 618

Dzhanys volost	Clans:	Chegyr	416 tents
		Dzhanys	603
/20/		Sirgeli	11
		Total	1,030 tents

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

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The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat. 671 171

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the exchange of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with the meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife", the fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the expiatory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established (among the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the repetition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

171 theft (among the Buriats), the succession of the children without
171 allotment (among the Yakut), the obligation to reciprocate in giving gifts (among the Yakut), Suyunchi (among the Buriats), matchmaking at a young age (among the Buriats); the woman's lack of property (among the Yakut); her private property consists of clothing and ornaments; in place of the dead bride, her sister is given away (among the Buriats); the widow marries a kinsman of her husband (among the Buriats); she is free not to marry at all (among the Buriats and Tunguz).

Among the Kirgiz, the zang or adat is the same as it is among the Kazakhs, with small deviations.

171 In the customary law the customs of private life are not distinguished from judicial customs; moral duties are not demarcated from juridical duties, nor domestic and administrative payments from court payments.

In the old customary law there was no difference between authority, being of good birth, and the court and administrative powers.

The word "law" /pravo/ in the European sense does not exist in the Kazakh language. The word khak means: 1) truth, 2) God, and 3) the right to receive something.

The oldest law was the right of the strong. (1) There could be

1. There are the proverbs: for one person two persons are God; "the people is holy", i.e., the will of the people is holy.

no individual rights. (2) Freedom (kengchilik) was not differentiated

2. On the contrary, the individual was entirely in the power of the clan. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers articles were entered from the collection of Kaitakh customary laws of Rustem khan of the 12th century: "if any village which belongs to the Kaitakh society detaches itself, it must pay 300 rubles" and if any one person detaches humself from the society he must pay 100 rubles."

from willfulness. The violation of someone's interests led to a fight resulting in victory or reconciliation. In the course of time the custom was worked out of reconciliation on the basis of mutual satisfaction. Voluntary concessions, for example, kunakasy, the allotment of inchi, are founded on the fear of confiscation by force.

Now the individual is undoubtedly beginning to be conscious of

/203 cont. /

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
191 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 [67] [731]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

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From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [599]

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 140-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[3] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[3] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1]Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 621 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [583] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps 595
to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has
not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent 586
back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed 593
with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children.
Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may
remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has 589
no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic [587]
marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband).
If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of
the husband.

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses 581
that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is
great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the
line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for 587
thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male 596
head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the [581]
extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no 596
one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is
the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, [561]
the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable
and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are [593]
ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority
or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to [606]
the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother
does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second
brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order.
A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother,
and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls [593]
them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, 642
in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are
modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, 171
the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanstsov, 1897, p. 11.

●171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, 642 since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh 538 literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; [498] the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have 565 been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [622] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed: another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mohammedans, whereas in the last [18th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Musulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Musulman to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Musulmans, and to our treating them as such. As incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (110), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

*Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinc-*tion regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the [565] Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of contact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. [538] The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes *Allah, and the Arabic devil,* Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustahay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

S 563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
K 342 tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud
or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the
wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one
K room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
[556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
K sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor
[361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in
one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year
around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for
protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs.
They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to
K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
[272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities.
Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they
substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for
K 291 color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and
their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
[171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather
[556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are
hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long
turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple
of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-
K in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
[885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family,
and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives.
Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uigh-
ur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same
K 769 as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding
171 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a
wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion
only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and
family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and
food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There
are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present. [171]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 535 [191] S 563 K 526

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311 N *563 M 614 622 [195]

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 144 174

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

[Great Horde]

616 and reflect a mode of organization in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Great Horde]

619 hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1] However, in the
631 case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extra-
171 polated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

619 Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the
642 Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

1 [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

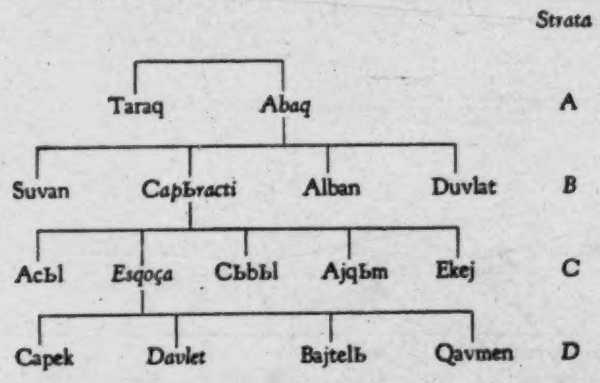
61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.

Great Orda



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capbracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of Capьracti and the grandson of Abaq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins.

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata.

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the Capьracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (Acьl, Esqoça, Cьbьl, Ajqьm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgiz Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26.

CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone-Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from [77] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan
• 173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

that the Kazakhs were descended from the former. He has also heard the story that the Moguls fought with the Tatars and were conquered by them. From the battle 300 men survived who began to be called the three hundreds (hordes), and who found shelter in the mountains. Here they multiplied and came out onto the steppe. 173

The tradition concerning the formation of the Kazakh people from parts of various Uzbek tribes lives to this day on the lips of the people.

According to the tradition which is widespread in the Syr-Darya region, the father, i. e., the first chief of the Kazakhs, was a contemporary of Alasha-Khan, Alash, for which reason the war cry (uran) of all three hordes is Alash. (1)

1. The war cries of various clans are entered in supplement No. 1. 1

Alasha-Khan sent three detachments of unmarried horsemen of various Uzbek clans to a border region to guard his dominions. (2)

2. The Kazakhs indicate a place near Turkestan /the town/, from which the original three hundreds were sent out in various directions.

Since they were there for a long time without women, they attracted 300 tents of Doly (Gypsies or wanderers) to themselves by stories of their wealth and persuaded the women to kill their husbands, after which they took the Doly women for themselves. The leaders of the three hordes after Alasha were his three sons. The leader of the Great horde was Baishura, (3) the leader of the Middle horde was Dzhanshura,

3. It must be assumed that Baishura was the youngest son of Alasha and did not receive his share. At any rate it is said: the paternal changarak (the upper circle of the tent) remained in the Great horde. Therefore the Little horde calls the Great horde "the offspring of the father" (ata balasy) and the Middle horde "the offspring of the elder brother" (aga balasy).

and that of the Little horde was Karashura. As they multiplied and grew rich, the Kazakhs began to spread in all directions. The Great horde (ulu yuz) took the south, around the populated places, while

1 [Not translated .. A.]

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the [illegible] livestock. (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 1

1 [Not translated -- A.]

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the 721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic gen-

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

eral (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[149 cont.]
175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
● 173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

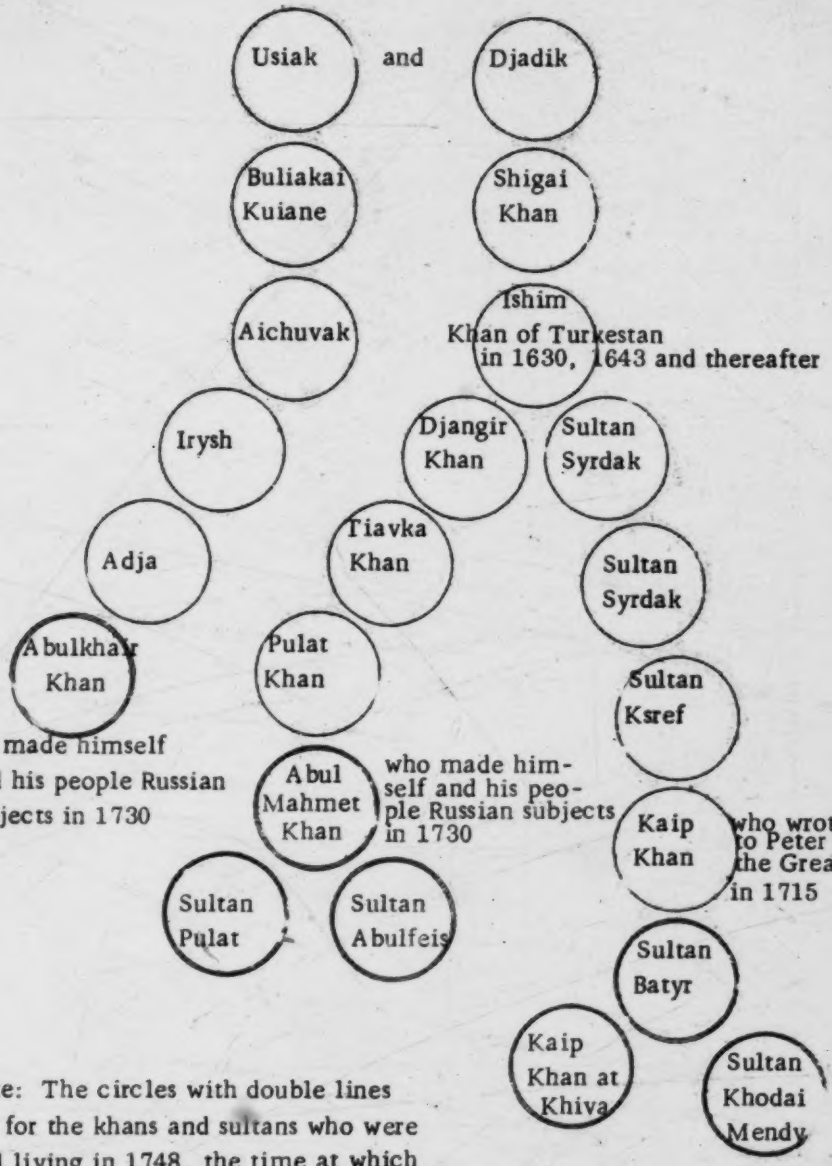
5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

173
643
613

Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



636
643

Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

5: Levchine--183 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chart II

173
643
613

Genealogy of the Second Branch of Khans

Bukei Khan
Kuchak
Khodai Mendy
Tursunl Khan

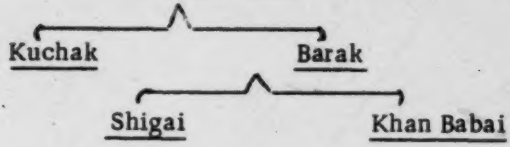


Chart III

Genealogy of the Third Branch of Khans

Vali
Ablai
Vali
Ablai Khan

The last was still khan in 1748

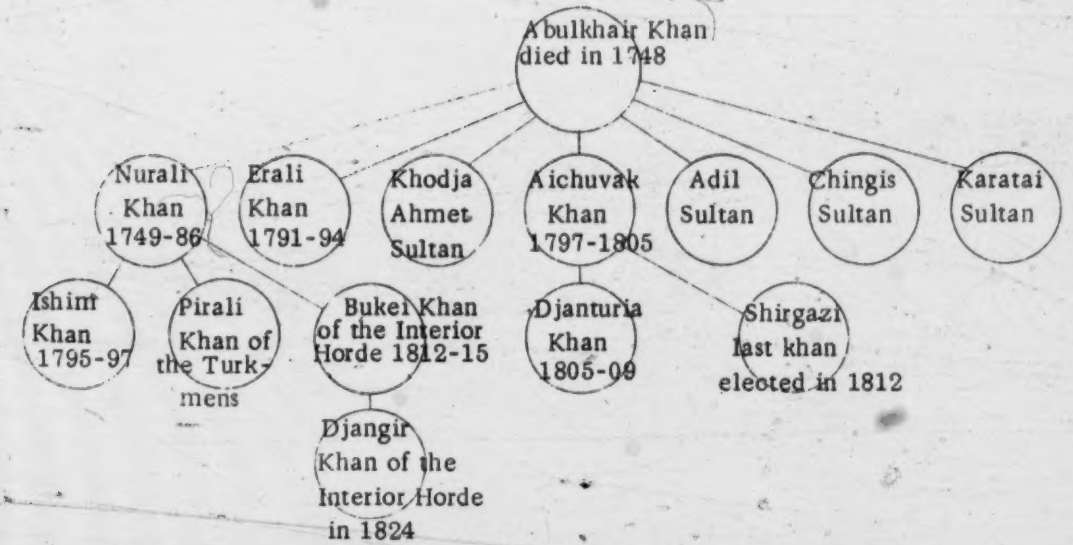
Note: Those whose names are underlined were still living in 1748.

5: Levchine--184 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

173
643
175
613

Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

KAZAKHSTAN RQ1

K
KN
175

times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

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However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

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believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

K 173 602 K [648]

The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

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These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648

During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River north of the Aral Sea, they entered a farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

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Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order in which he was descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1]Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2]Samoilovich, in Radloffe *et al*, 1900, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.

[3]Khorezin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature con-
[611] ducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the
[186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been
[175] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5]Radlov, Obrastsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6]Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7]Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AHI/Mongolia, Cat. 116, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

173 of Fortes, the native history which counterfeits history.[8]

173 186 The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their own men of letters, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.[9] This myth further affirms the Turkic descent from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally, that is, from this ancestor they take their name. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to their own: the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgazi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,[10] and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are an Islamic people.

173 61 The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgis and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a

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[8]Fortes, Dynamics of Clanship, pp. xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

[9]Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

[10]Idem; cf. Bichurin, I, 222 (260).

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common genealogy and origin. It is to this tradition that Kharusin and Aristov have reference when they assert the common origin of the Kirgiz. Fortes in a recent statement has ably demonstrated the role of a genealogy as a kind of origin myth in a unilineal descent group, of which the Kazakh-Kirgiz are one.[11] These genealogies supply a charter for the descent group, the charter supplying the foundation for Fortes' theory of the unilineal descent group as a corporate structure. To make this theory applicable to the Kazakh-Kirgiz, as well as to other Asiatic pastoral societies, it need only be added that all descent lines, from the maximal, i.e., Turkdom as a whole, to lesser descent lines, such as the Kirgiz, etc., and still lesser, such as clans, lineages within clans, and even extended families, all bear certain marks of corporate structure, such as the genealogical charter. However, a clarification is necessary: the mythical nature of the charter lies only in the larger corporate entities: the clan, the nation (i.e., the Kazakh), or the Turks as a whole. The lesser structures or descent groups, such as the lineage or the extended family, lack this mythological component. The clan, the nation, etc., being larger, require longer genealogies, whose more distant reaches are lost in ob-

[11] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 25.

*173 61 security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

829 611 Turkic savants, such as Abulgasi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a complete genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

619 643 829 there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

619 173 The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[53] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

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[53] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

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173 are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

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643 As an instance of this,[1] portions of two Kazakh genealogies which purport to give the ancestry of a famous Kazakh Khan, Abul Haïr, who led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730, follow. The two genealogies are simply ten generations cut out of much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was composed by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's;[54] that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, fifty years later, in the 1920's.[55]

I	Kerim	I	Urus (1361-1376)
II	Tuigash	II	Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III	Kurenbai	III	Barak
IV	Djalyntus	IV	Djanibek
V	Bab-kasym	V	Usak
VI	Er-bulantai	VI	Bula-kai-kuyan
VII	Sabaz-batyr	VII	Ai-Chuwak
VIII	Er-djomart	VIII	Irysh
IX	Alpyspek	IX	Adja
X	Abul-Haïr	X	Abul-Haïr (1730)

[54] Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 394-395, note 2.

[55] Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

[1] [i.e. the validity of contradictory genealogies; cf. Cat. 619, p. 389-- Analyst]

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The two genealogies were collected fifty years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They give the ancestry of the famous khan, but one who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantay and Bula-kay-kuyan. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: The ten generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends fifty-four generations from Adam to Abul-Hair. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapys). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.[56] The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts nineteen generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the 19th century. The prestige

[56] Aristov, op. cit., 394.

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of Abul-Ḥaīr was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through fourteen generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the 19th century. Abul-Ḥaīr becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by fourteen generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 9.3 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of the genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Ḥaīr, making the head of the Botpay clan junior to no one, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.[57] Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle: in the account of Dikambay-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of oldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession

[57] Ibid., 395-396.

619 173 643 pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

619 181 173 This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguinity between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

619 181 173 social bodies.

These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh--and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

619 121 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

000 be demonstrated or disproved.

●173 619 The point is that a record of this sort[1] is entirely different from the traditions of the Naiman themselves. The Middle Hordes Kazakhs of the Altai assert that the common ancestor of all Naiman was he who gave his name to the Naiman race. He had three sons, one of whom was an adopted son; nevertheless the claim of the adopted son's line to descent from the eponymous ancestor was not impaired by the fact of adoption. The genealogy collected by Margulanov follows:[259]

	Naiman			I
Ukresh	Rokban	Klata (adopted)		II
Telegetai	Sugurshi	Kelbuga	Kentuga	III
				IV

Naiman's great-grandsons, in the generation of Karagerei, are regarded as the founders of eponymous clans, of which only the seven descended from the sons of Ukresh are represented in the Altai region. It may be that adoption is imputed to the Klata line of the Shirsheit clan <u>because</u> they are not found in the Altai, <u>because</u> they are removed in space, hence only distantly kin; and the imputation of adoption may be the genealogical

[259] Margulanov, appended genealogies.

[1] [Cf. cit. 175, pp. 524-525 -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 619 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Klata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 614 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sök) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

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[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 524-526--Analyst]

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

361 **KAZĀN**, also written Ḳāzān, in the xv^th and xvi^th centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xix^th century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian freebooters from Novgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q. v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Khalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiabka had to submit to Khān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Khān in his place. In 1496 the Khān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Khān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Khān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Khān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Shāh ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Djān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Shāh ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāi who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāi from

the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāi from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Khān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāi went

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175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarḫān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Ḏjān ʿAlī that was elected Ḫān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Ḫān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ōtemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Ḫān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

361 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Süyünbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Ḏjān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the [668] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviii^th century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their his-
101 tory, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.

According to Radlov[1] the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.[2] They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun[3] mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold[4] and Samoïlovich,[5] however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov[6] and Samoïlovich.[7] The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.[8]

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

[1] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.
[2] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 136.
[3] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.
[4] Bartold, *Kazak*.
[5] Samoïlovich, *O Slove "Kazak."*
[6] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.
[7] *Op. cit.* 13.
[8] *Idem*, 5–13.

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for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between the Ural and Emba Rivers.[9] 175

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.[10]

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:[11]

> On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533–34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.[12] His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.[13] A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.[14] Asfendiarov suggests,[15] probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissable to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes. [101]

[9] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 141–42; Ibn Battûta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 222–40.

[10] Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, 2: 142; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 238.

[11] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[12] Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

[13] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

[14] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 142.

[15] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77–81.

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175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipchak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Babar[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradu-
[221] ally from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas.

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth

[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.
[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.
[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.
[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.
[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.
[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.
[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.
[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.
[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.
[25] Howorth, *op. cit.*, 2: 674.

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century of a fourth orda. This group consisted originally of about 7,000 people from the Middle and Little Ordas who followed their leader Bukei in 1801 to the steppes north of the Caspian. Here their numbers were soon increased by the addition of fragments of other Kazak, Nogai, Karakalpak and Kirghiz groups who collectively were known as the Bukei Orda from the name of their khan.[26]

In this connection it may be noted that the term orda means simply the "court or headquarters of a khan."[27] Carpini[28] says of the word: " . . . sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos et principum appelantur."[29] By extension, however, the word may be applied to all the people subject to a particular khan, in somewhat the same way, for example, that an ambassador accredited to the "Court of St. James" is thought of as ambassador to Great Britain. There is still another Kazak term, çyz, referring to the divisions themselves as distinguished from the restricted use of orda. According to the Kazak dictionary of Begaliev and Gavrilov,[30] çyz means a person or individual; one hundred; the edge of a blade; surface; exterior, appearance, features; as well as one of the three major divisions. The process by which the basic meanings of the word have been extended to include the last is not clear.[31] It is possible, however, that the "one hundred" meaning may originally have had some military significance,[32] which was identified with the orda groupings. My informants were unable to explain to me, or more accurately, I was unable to understand clearly the distinction in use between orda and çyz. They nearly always employed orda but it may have been done for my benefit.

After their separation the ordas were occasionally reunited under an especially competent khan or in the face of a common danger.[33] This happened during the reign of Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century as mentioned above[34] and again in 1738 for protection against the attacks of the Kalmyk.[35] They were never, however, able to unite against the Russians, who successfully played off one Kazak leader against another.

Although commercial and occasional diplomatic relations had existed between Russia and the Kazak khanates from the time of their formation,[36] it was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that Russian expansion to the east and south provoked an active

[26] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26, 33–35, 38; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 297; Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 21, Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 34.

[27] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakko-Russkii Slovar'*, 159.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*, 44.

[29] See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 58, note.

[30] *Idem*, 96.

[31] It is interesting to note, however, that in modern Osmanli Turkish the same word means "part," "portion," "division." Muhtar, *Türkçe-Fransızca Yeni Lugat*, 59; Gordlevskii and Magazanik, *Turetsko-Russkii Slovar'*, 183.

[32] See below, page 96.

[33] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.

[34] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.

[35] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 83–87.

[36] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 2: 24, note A.

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175 clash of interests. By 1720 Russia had occupied the northern steppes along the Irtysh[37] and a few years later (1732) the Khans of the Little and Middle Ordas, being at the time hard pressed by their enemies, acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia in return for protection.[38] Yet this submission did not mean Russian control over the nomads. The Russians merely accorded recognition to particular khans who seldom enjoyed more than a nominal control over their people.[39] Meanwhile some groups of the Great Orda paid tribute to the Chinese emperor and others were strongly under the influence of Kokand and Bokhara.[40] Russian occupation of the steppes did not become truly effective until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the capture of Tashkent in 1865 was followed by the conquest of all Turkestan.

After the solidification of Russian power important changes were made in the administration of the Kazak.[41] Until this time the groups nominally subject to Russia had enjoyed almost complete autonomy under their own khans and within their own tribal system. In 1868, however, the entire steppe was divided into a number of administrative units among which the tribal groups were apportioned arbitrarily. Local officials were elected subject to government supervision and Kazak common law was systematized.[42] There is some evidence that the native Kazak organization was rather lightly abandoned by the people. Thus Radlov[43] observes that the names of the official subdivisions had very quickly acquired more significance than the old tribal names, and Schuyler[44] in 1873 found that "the clannish feeling for the members of the same family and tribe is being transferred to the members of the same volost and district." My own informants usually started discussions of tribal organization in terms of Tsarist administrative units.

The regulations of 1868 remained in force with minor changes until the revolution of 1917 and the subsequent organization of Kazakstan as an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union.

[37] Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 242.

[38] *Ibid.*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 31; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–88.

[39] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 32.

[40] Asfendiarov, *op. cit.*, 87.

[41] The numerous decrees and regulations regarding the administration of the steppe provinces from the 1820's on, are indexed alphabetically and chronologically in the "Complete Laws of the Russian Empire" (*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*).

[42] Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 32–33; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 146–55.

[43] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.

[44] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 34.

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and
● 175 written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or
[114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient
[101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the
721] ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic gen-

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

eral (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 631 727 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peoples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[139 cont.]
●175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [72] [181] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who [77] had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[139 cont.]
175 101 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are [721] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

175 648 439 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[648 439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 797] Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[141 cont.]
175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.
648
662

3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22..

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[721] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

● 175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

[233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 721 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[145 cont.]

175 721 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 [114] Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is referred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

[662 578]

175 721 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[146 cont.]

175 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the
721 Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely exterminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent
722 lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring
175 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed
723 half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of
648 Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

[147 cont.]
175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[721] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[114] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 643 728 669 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 643 In spite of all his services and his influence among the hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 631 173 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into three hordes, without having said when and how this took place. Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[151 cont.]

175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[153 cont.]
175 [166 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [248] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
342] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

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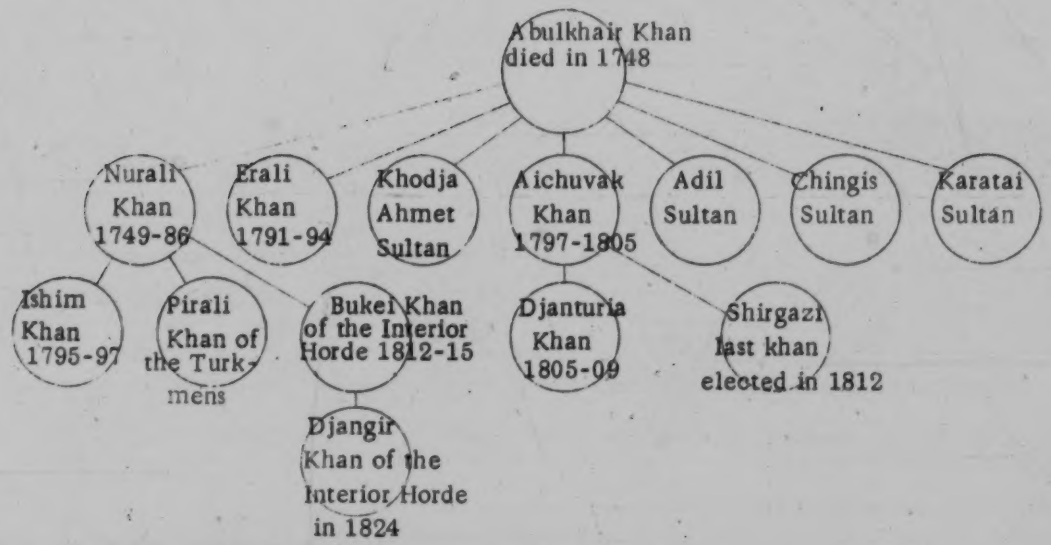
5: Levchine--184 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --T U-4,5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. 175 /141 cont./

completely disappeared from the scene of history after 119 A.D. In 177 A.D. the tribes living in the Kirghiz krai were forced westward by Huns entering from the Chinese dominions. The Huns moved across the southern steppes to the west and completely destroyed the Yuechi tribe, related to the Usun', who were in their path. In the 5th century A.D. the Huns who remained in the region under discussion (most of them had already gone into the southern Russian and Hungarian steppes) fell under the domination of the Mongols moving in from the southeast. Most of them were soon scattered and destroyed by the nearest Mongol hordes from the Uigur tribe, descending from the Altai (in the 7th century). During this period (5th to 7th centuries), after the powerful and conquering Hunnian wave, there came an almost unbroken movement of various Turkic tribes from the east, especially from the Altai. At this time the Pecheneg came to the southern steppes, but were soon forced out by the Turks into the modern Ural oblast and beyond to the Volga. In the 9th century they were already well-known to the Russian princes as a wild steppe (nomadic) people /illustration appears here/ and a troublesome neighbor. In the 11th century another Turkic tribe, the Polovtsi, appeared along the same path. They pressed the Pecheneg and the Turks and also moved westward. They, like the others, had a nomadic economy, and when they reached the Russian boundaries they also engaged in raids on the nearest Russian towns and villages.

K H.T. 175 New Turkic tribes appeared on the historical scene at approximately the same time, known by the general name of Kirghz-Kazak (Kaisak). In view of the fact that this people played and is now playing a great role in the history of our region, we will give a more detailed description here both of their history and of their way of life and their mores (in the following chapters).

H.T. [631] K [101] Our outline concerns a brief history of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ living on the borders of our krai, i.e., the four steppe oblasts: Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Ural. According to the

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/142 cont./

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Alchin, and Argyn. According to the scanty historical evidence about them, these Turkic tribes have long been wandering in the various corners of the continent of Asia. The Kerei lived intermittently with the Mongols on the Kerulen and Onon rivers in the homeland of Genghis Khan and fell prey to his first conquests. In the 12th century the Naiman were wandering southwest of the Kerei between the Orkhon and Irtysh rivers. The Kypchak and the Alchin wandered in the northwestern half of the present steppe oblasts. The Mongols of Genghis Khan, going from eastern Siberia into Central Asia, and then the hordes of Batu, also departing from eastern Siberia, beginning at the upper course of the Irtysh river (where Batu designated the point of assembly) and moving thence through the present Steppe krai to the mouth of the Volga, produced an intermingling of all the nomadic tribes they encountered on their way. Because of the common way of life of the Mongols and the Turkic tribes, the latter mixed with the former. After this mixture, produced by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Batu, it appeared that the Naiman and Argyn, about whom there had been no earlier information, entered the ulus /subtribe/ of Chagatay /Dzhagatai/, the second son of Genghis Khan, and in the 14th century were wandering from the Imil' River southwest to Kara-Tal and west to the Nura River. The Kerei appeared on the Black Irtysh, while the Kypchak and Alchin entered the ulus of Djuchi /Dzhuchi/, the elder son of Genghis Khan, and constituted the nucleus of the Golden or Kypchak Horde of Batu. After the period of Batu the historical fate of the tribes mentioned was closely linked with the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi. Although nominally under the power of the Genghisides, the nomadic tribes retained their tribal way of life and their nomadism. A biy acted as judge in civil and criminal cases, a man who stood out among the people for his eloquence, his knowledge of the juridical folk customs, his impartiality, and the justice of his decisions. Clashes between clans over pasture land took place very often

/142 cont./

101 on the steppe because of the particular mobility which is in-
• 175 evitable in a livestock-herding economy. The struggle between between the clans gave rise to resourceful and daring leaders, who bore the title of batyr? Frequently the biy and the batyr' were combined in one and the same person. The skillful magistrate and wise judge in peacetime was transformed into a scout when he departed for war in defense of the clan, /143/ into a leader of troops, a soldier, and, after the war, into a diplomat. The nomads with their superb horsemen and unusual mobility represented an immense military power in their time, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Every clan, governed by its biy and commanded by its batyr', entered alliances and broke off from them freely, acknowledging over themselves only that superior power which corresponded to the interests of the clan or its leader. The customary struggle for power and appanages among the Genghisides was settled with the constant interference of the most powerful Turkic tribes, which played an active role in the breaking up of the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi.

In the middle of the 15th century, Turkic tribes which later entered the steppe oblasts under the name of Kirghiz /Kazak/ entered the historical scene in the form of an independent political power on the ruins of those uluses mentioned above. /Illustration appears here./

Taking advantage of the weakness of power of the Uzbek khan Abulkhair (1), the Djuchide-sultans Girei /or Girey/ and

1. From the time of their khan Uzbek, who died in 1342, the Golden Horde began to bear his name.

Djany-Bek /Dzhany-Bek/ broke off from him with their adherents and found refuge in the western part of his ulus on the river Chu, thanks to the hatred for Abulkhair of the Chagatayde khan of Mogolistan, Isa-Bug. Here they founded an alliance of nomads which later received the name of "Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak)."

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
● 175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

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643 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
648 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
619 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal. Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 /144 cont./ After the death
643 of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
631 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of
175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again
619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political
631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

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175 In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the
619 designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and
63 Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic
614 tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak,
[101] Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 648 619 631 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sovereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects. He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthening his power, which was tottering because of the enmity between the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 648 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
KalmyK AH5

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175 /145 cont./
648 but these attempts were unsuccessful.

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175 In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the
648 past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai
669 Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents. /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/
K nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people
[533] prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

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175 With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

K.K. /146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people
175 who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk
101 appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove
648 the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented
619 an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning
KK of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the
175 eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628
619 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural
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KK. /146 cont./
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Dzungarians however, would not permit the Russians to establish themselves there. In spite of the fact that Buchholz was accompanied by a considerable detachment (3,000 men), they besieged him and forced him to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om and to renounce his aim. Only five years later, with the consent of the Dzungarians, the Russians did succeed in founding several fortresses along the Irtysh (Omsk, Staro-Semipalatinsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk).

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As we have seen, in 1723 the Dzungarians defeated a part of the Elder and Middle Hordes of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (wandering west of them). The Younger Horde and the part of the Middle Horde that remained independent moved northwest to the Siberian border of the Russians and to the Bashkir. Meanwhile the khans Abulkhair and Semeke swore allegiance to the Russians in order to protect themselves better from the Dzungarians.

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It was during this period that the kingdom of Dzungaria reached its greatest power and might, extending from the Altai across the southern part of the present Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Turgai oblasts to the Aral Sea, and southward to the foothills of the Tien Shan. In 1739 the Dzungarians attacked the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and drove them to the Ural (Yaik) River, in the course of which many Bashkir who were subject to the Russians were killed. The Russian government, however, decided not to punish the Dzungarians for the attack, for it still recognized them as a powerful enemy. These Dzungarian kontayshi considered themselves so powerful that they paid no heed to good relations with their strong neighbors -- China and Russia. Only after /147/ clan dissensions once again arose in Dzungaria did its power fall, this time finally, and the Chinese and Russians did not fail to take advantage of it. In 1751 the kontaysha Amursana was seeking to rule Dzungaria. Since he had no hope of achieving his aim by his own power, he turned to the Chinese government for help. The latter, expecting to gain an advantage from the war which was beginning, sent an army to Amursana, which did indeed help him to gain rule. Instead of acknowledging

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK. /147 cont./

175 631 648 himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

KK [167]

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

K 175 648 [619] [167]

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

P.T. 172

H.T /152 cont./
175 modern Akmolinsk, Bayan-Aul, Kokchetav, and Karkaralinsk.
648 In addition to the Kazak /Cossacks/, Russian industrial people
[167] came to the steppe and opened gold, silver, and copper mines
H.T there. In 1837 patrols were established between Kokchetav and
K Akmolinsk, and in the same year the government raised the
175 question of transferring the southern boundaries to the river Chu,
648 but were restrained from this step by the danger of increasing the fermentation among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, which had been evoked by the rebellion of Kenesary (1). When peace had been

H.T.
[169]

1. From 1847 to 1856, Little Russian /Ukrainian/ Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants of the Orenburg and Samara guberniyas were resettled in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds, constituting over 8,000 persons. Meanwhile all the peasant villages along the Gor'kaya line and along the Irtysh (up to 14,000 persons) were made Kazak /Cossacks/ and attached to the land.

established, the Russian government at last held in its power the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes who wandered on the boundaries of the modern Akmolinsk oblast and the western part of the
H.T. Semipalatinsk oblast. Meanwhile further Russian conquests had
175 been going on in Semirechye. Finally in 1860 the Peking peace
648 treaty was made with China, according to which the Russian
439 /153/ border ran south from the Narym valley to Lake Zaisan (the Chakil'mes mountain) and across Tarbagatai to the Tien Shan. This increase in territory was already called for by trade considerations. By this time the Russian merchants had made millions of exchanges with the Chinese and the Mongols, buying tea and raw materials from them and selling manufactured goods.

The commercial dealings took place through the Zaisan

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --30 U-4.5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2
Bashkir RF3

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H.T.
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/154 cont./

All the uprisings, however, ended in the defeat of the Bashkir and the strengthening of Russian rule. In 1731-32, the Middle and Younger Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes wandered to the border of Bashkiria and submitted to Russian sovereignty. This made it necessary to strengthen the position of Russian rule on the border, in part to defend the Kirghiz /Kazak/ from the Dzungarians, in part to support peaceful relations between the Bashkir and the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The latter, however, was not successful. /155/ There was frequent commotion, contributed to on the one hand by Moslem propaganda, pretenders, and fugitives confusing the population, and, on the other hand, by the provocative form of activity of agents of the Russian government. When the Russian administration gave away the Bashkir land along the Ilek to the nomad Kirghiz /Kazak/, a great uprising resulted (1735-40), which ended in a terrible massacre of the Bashkir.

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Neplyuyev, one of the first commanders of this border, rendered great service to his government in stabilizing the rule. He founded modern Orenburg and extended out from it three lines of fortifications which cut across the region and had a restraining effect on the population. One of these lines, the Nizhne-Yaitskaya Distantsiya /Lower Yaik Range/, extended along the right bank of the Ural (Yaik) to the Caspian Sea. Here nine fortresses were set up, and 19 outposts, whose defense was the responsibility of the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/. In order to increase the Russian population, Neplyuyev arranged that the nameless fugitives might be permitted to settle freely around the advance posts and other parts of the region. The importance of this group of fugitives became especially marked after the administrative colonization (with Russians and Tatars) failed to lead to positive results. In order to attach the Kazak /Cossacks/ (fugitives) to these places, wages were established for all the service men and the right to exclusive use of the abundance of fish in the Ural River. As a consequence service people joined them from the Kama settlements, as well as part of the garrison population from the Orenburg army. These people constituted the first legal Russian population on the Ural border.

/155 cont./

000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 648 167 241 427 K [427] [648] [175] We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

K [427] [648] [175]

H.T. [361]

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175

/156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 179 [241] H.T. 175 648 179

The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --58 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Siberia RR2

H.S. /172 cont. /

175 87 At the beginning of the 1880's the first private society for cultural enlightenment was opened in the region "for the care of elementary education" (in Omsk). In general, education began to make considerable strides in the region beginning from the 1860's. In recent times attention has been turned to agricultural education and the spreading of skills and crafts through the region. Lower agricultural schools were opened in the uyezds in 1885 for this purpose. Finally it would be impossible not to mention the opening (in 1877) in Omsk of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which occupies an eminent place in the history of enlightenment in the region, both in the study of the region and as an educational society, and which is rallying the best local cultural forces around it.

K 175 871 191 The dissemination of reading and writing among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population was founded long ago. Their first elementary schools were opened even considerably earlier than those for the Russian population, but there is very little literacy in Russian among them.

This lack of literacy in Russian among the indigenous population is explained, perhaps, by the fact that at the beginning in these schools there was not as much effort made to teach the children to read and write Russian as there was to give them a definite ideological direction. Thus the first schools were

K 175 871 opened by the administration in 1782 in many mosques, and Tobolsk Tatars were hired as teachers in order to block the influence of the Central Asian mullahs on the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population subject to the Russians. At the same time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were given full access to Russian schools. In the 1870's boarding schools were opened in all the uyezd towns in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively for Kirghiz /Kazak/ children (later transformed into lower agricultural schools). At present nomad village schools are being opened here.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --59 U-4,5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. 175 87 K [87] [175]

/172 cont./

In the Turgai oblast the beginning of public education coincided in time with the founding of the oblast (1869), and 800 rubles were set aside for it. The first school, however, a Russian-Kirghiz /Kazak/ one with two classes, was not actually opened until 1879. After this the development of schools continued with considerable success. In 1883 a teachers' school was opened in Orsk in the Orenburg guberniya (next to the Turgai oblast), and a craft school in Turgai. In 1887, Russian schools appeared; in 1891, girls' elementary schools were opened in Turgai, Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, and Kara-Butak, and in 1892 mobile nomad village schools were established especially for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, with a program equal to the first two divisions of the one-class schools of the Ministry of Education. There are also about 20 church parochial schools. The largest number of schools (up to 54) are in the most populated uyezd, that of Kustanai, while there are fewer (up to 12) in the Turgai uyezd. /173/ There are no intermediate schools in the Turgai oblast. In the Ural oblast elementary education has been established quite satisfactorily. In addition to the Kazak /Cossack/ military schools here, there are schools of the Ministry of Education (Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/) and church parochial schools. Statistical data for 1900 give a picture of the situation with regard to elementary education in the region as follows (see the table on this page /on the next page in the translation/).

K [175] [87]

H.T. 871

The Ural oblast is first in number of schools, and the Semipalatinsk oblast is last. There is one school for every 3,065 persons in the region. The number of effective schools, as we see, is still very inadequate, and the idea of universal education in the region is an almost inaccessible dream.

The position of the region with regard to intermediate and special education is no better. Such important and, comparatively speaking, fairly rich cities as Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk do not have to this day a single intermediate school (not counting the progymnasium for boys recently opened in the former). Meanwhile the need for them is strongly felt, since the intermediate schools which exist in Omsk are overfilled. In Uralsk there is a (military) professional school and

[Text Continues on P. 61]

/203 cont. /

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
212 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
195 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam.
191 Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored
554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door,
352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and
353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/214 cont. /

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

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567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

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1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

KN 563 631

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

K [101]

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At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

KN [248]

KN [316]

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

K [101] [162]

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

K [648]

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

KN 563 631

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REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

K KN 175

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

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of the modern Iranians, who conquered nameless aborigines five hundred years before the present era. The Scythians were later overwhelmed by Huns coming from the east, who were followed by Greeks under Alexander the Great, Persians (Parthians, Sogdians, Bactrians), Mongolian hordes (Hephthalites), Avars, Arabs, Turks, and Turko-Mongols again in successive onslaughts, and finally by Russians in the 19th century.

The predominant life pattern of these peoples is nomadic pastoralism. The classic habitat of nomadism is the Asiatic steppe, and the classic practitioners are the Turks and Mongols. In the course of the past thousand years, many herders have gone over to farming as a more efficient form of land utilization wherever climate and soil factors have permitted it. Farming enables more people to get a living out of less land than does herding. The fertile valleys and oases of Central Asia, coupled with the example of earlier Asiatic peoples, have encouraged many of the Turks to make this transition. Indeed, the history of Asia can be interpreted as a history of the relations between herders and farmers, each of whom needs and trades for the products of the other; conquests and wars result from the breakdown of this traditional symbiotic relationship.

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The various peoples of the region have archaic forms of social organization. However ancient and extensive their states and empires, it is the tie of blood which unites a people. Theoretically, all Kazakhs are descended in the male line from a common ancestor, as are the Uzbeks and the Mongols. The societies and nations of the region are composed of an intricate web of relationships which are partly blood ties and partly political ties. The fact of descent from the ancestor of all Kazakhs determines a man's "Kazakhhood"; the fact that all Kazakhs once formed a single nation likewise determines his membership in Kazakh society.

The modern era of relative chaos on the steppes of Asia began with the death of Tamerlane and the collapse of his empire early in the 15th century. He ruled over the last of the great empires which had drawn their strength from nomadic warriors and had dominated Central Asia for so many centuries. His death marked the end of this long period of political integration; instead of one great and inclusive Turkic nation on the steppe, there began the age of particularisms which continued down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century. Parallel processes were at work in Europe at this time, but, unlike Europe, the local patriotisms and local loyalties on the steppe had no fixed territories, boundaries, or capital cities.

All the great cities of Central Asia lie outside the steppe in the surrounding fertile valleys. These cities—Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar—were once world-famous for their splendor, and their mention still leaves a ring of ancient glory. They were centers of learning, of administration, of trade and caravan entrepots, of bazaars, of arts and handicrafts. During the chaotic period from the 15th to the 19th centuries they failed to achieve domination over the steppe, nor did the herdsmen of the steppe win power over them. Thus the period between the recession of the great nomadic empires and the Russian conquest and engulfment was a time of intermittent wars and uneasy peace. These troubled

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times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

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However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

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Kazakhstan RQ1

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believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

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The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

K KN [166]

These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648

During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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These Kazakhs were united briefly at the end of the 17th century by the great Khan Tauke (or Tiavka), a leader equally gifted as political integrator and as law-giver. With his death, however, they broke up again into the three hordes.

Cossack lines were established to the north and thrust into the steppes from the northwest during the 18th century. The Russian conquest of Central Asia took place in the 19th century, although Russian penetration had begun in the 18th. The principal patterns—as in the history of many other colonizations—were force, persuasion, and good luck. The Russians were able to play one group against another, for example, Kalmuks against Kazakhs; when native Slavs rebelled under Pugachev, Moscow played Turk against Cossack and Kalmuk against Cossack.

There were several important defections from the side of the Turks to the Russians. A famous Khan of the 1740's, Abul Khair, asked Russian aid in the incessant wars of Turk against Turk on the steppe. Early in the 19th century another Kazakh leader, Khan Bukei, a descendant of Abul Khair, led 1,500 Kazakh families of the Little Horde across the Ural River onto Russian territory, seeking refuge from the steppe wars. By 1805 his horde had grown to 5,000 tents or families, and by 1845 to 30,000. At this point a new horde, the Inner or Bukei Horde, was formed.

How he was able to do this, how it happened that enough room for 30,000 nomadic families could be found between the Ural River and the Volga, is part of the long story of the lasting dissensions and resentments on the steppe. At the beginning of the 17th century the Kalmuks had moved from the eastern steppe (Chinese Dzungaria) to the Volga, and pastured their herds on the steppes between the Ural River and the Volga, north to the Don River and the vicinity of present-day Stalingrad, south to the western shores of the Caspian Sea. In 1771, thousands of them fled across Turkestan back to China, decimated as they moved by their Turkish enemies, the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, and Kirgiz. Those Kalmuks who remained lived west of the Volga, and the steppe to the east as far as the Ural River was left free. This part of the steppe was left as a vacuum because Tsarist policy established a military line of Cossack settlements* along the Ural River down to the Caspian, which prevented movement into the steppe. In 1800, Khan Bukei petitioned Moscow for permission to occupy this steppe and Moscow, to gain an ally in the steppe, granted the petition, thus conforming to the old political adage of divide and rule. The new horde was called the Inner Horde, because it lay within the Cossack lines, or the Bukei Horde, after its founder.

The only constant pattern in the history of the steppe nomadic culture has been that of instability. With no over-all political order, it was inevitable that Russian "protection" should be sought by particular factions while others held aloof.

During the 19th century the Kazakhs engaged the Russians in a number of sporadic wars and rebellions. The leaders of these movements have been variously depicted as great liberators or as feudal lords who, jealous of their domains, refused to let the Russians in.

*Dispersed after the Revolution.

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One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

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Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

east, he gained support among many elements of the Great Horde, the easternmost of the Kazakh divisions. He sought the support of China, which was promised him, and the allegiance of the Kirgiz, which they refused. His strategy was to use the Kirgiz mountain pastures as his base of operations against the Russians. He campaigned against the Kirgiz and was at first successful, but in the spring of 1847 he fell into a trap, was defeated by the Kirgiz, taken prisoner, and executed. 175 648

During much of Russian rule Kazakhstan was a place of exile. Banished there were such outstanding individuals as Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of the Ukraine, and Dostoevsky, great Russian novelist.

In the economic sphere, outside capital was brought in during this period by traders and bankers of Tatar and Russian origin. In an isolated case, a British mining development was undertaken at Ridders in northeast Kazakhstan. Religious dissidents came to settle and farm the north and northeast portions of the region. In general, however, the commercial and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and Russia were not deep.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1900

The Kazakhs were sensitive to political developments in Russia, however. During the revolution of 1905 the Kazakhs had a distant echo of the events in European Russia. During World War I they engaged in a rebellion of their own, a year before the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolt the Kazakhs objected to military conscription and to confiscation of their property, which was presumably taken over for war purposes but in fact often ended up in private, non-military hands. There is some indication that Russian private interests "provoked" the revolt in order to confiscate Kazakh land and herds. 175 648 668

At the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Kazakhs already had a year's experience of revolt behind them. In opposition to and under the influence of Russian contact, the Kazakhs underwent their own political evolution; that is, they evolved a political expression of their nationalist consciousness. It took the form of the Alash-Orda party. This was not really a party, for it lacked a formal organization and a platform or explicit political philosophy; it was vague in its aims and in its external relationships to other parties and nations. Its leaders were Kazakh intellectuals who later disbanded, some joining the Bolsheviks, some fleeing to Turkey.

During the civil war, from 1918 to 1922, the White generals Kolchak and Dutov were faced by the Red Army commander, Frunze, who appealed to the workers in Turkestan to support him. In April 1919 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree calling for a founding Congress of Kirgiz Soviets in Orenburg (now Chkalov, in the southern Urals). In July of that year, a Revolutionary Committee for the Administration of the Kirgiz Districts was established. (At that time, the area including the present Kazakh and Kirgiz republics was administered as one unit, which bore the name Kirgiz.) 175 648

By the end of 1919, Kolchak was defeated. With the destruction of Kolchak's southern army in the fall of 1919, direct contact between

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Central Asia and Soviet Russia was established, and in March 1920 the last remnants of the White Army were driven out of Kazakhstan.

A Communist Party organization was quickly formed in the newly won territories. The Central Committee of the Party set up a Province Bureau, in which were united all party organizations, at Aktyubinsk in May 1920, and in October a founding Congress of the Kirgiz (Kazakh) Soviets was held in Orenburg, then the regional capital.

Kazakh participation in the Revolution and civil war was minimal. Their political energy was poured into local Turkic movements rather than into the Bolshevik party. They took little initiative in aligning with the Russian Revolution, and played only a small part in Frunze's campaigns, despite his appeals; their partisan activity in the civil war is skipped over in contemporary accounts. Certainly no Kazakh appears in the leadership of the Bolshevik movement in the early period. Years later, in a search for an honor roll of revolutionary Kazakh leaders, a certain Amangeldy was singled out, and collective farms and administrative districts were named in his honor. It appears, however, that at the time of the Revolution he had acquired little fame.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was formed in 1918; in 1922 it federated with the Belo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Transcaucasian soviet socialist republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1925, the Transcaucasian SSR was divided into the three present republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, and two autonomous republics, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, were raised to the status of union republics.

Prior to 1917 Russian Turkestan was divided into three political units, the province of Turkestan and two vassal states of Russia, the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara. The Revolution and the civil war changed the social structure of Turkestan and with it the administrative picture. The Red Army dissolved the principality of Khiva in 1919; the Emirate of Bukhara was invaded in 1920 and the Emir driven out. In 1920 the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks were organized into the Kirgiz Autonomous SSR. In 1924 Kazakhstan was made an autonomous republic and separated from the Kirgiz ASSR; both republics, however, were still part of the RSFSR and were administered from Moscow. The Karakalpak Autonomous Region was attached to the Kazakh ASSR until 1931, when it was assigned to the Uzbek SSR. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution in 1936, Kazakhstan was separated from the RSFSR and made a union republic, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, its present status.

THE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT

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There is a steady flow of people across the Central Asian borders of the Soviet Union. It would of course be a mistake to regard the

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgiz, both Kazakh-Kirgiz and Kara-Kirgiz, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgiz themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central [611] feature of Kazakh-Kirgiz social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the [186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been • D75] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgiz group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5]Radlov, Obrazetsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6]Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7]Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AH/Mongolia, Cat. IIb, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

[Orkhon Turks]

H.T. 562 842 581 conduct of the inner affairs of the household--within the tent, as Barthold has put it. On the birth of a son she attains the highest set of rights accessible to a woman of her estate, among them the right to hold the family estate in trust should her husband die leaving her only minor sons.

000 The available evidence permits us to say little more on the subject of kinship relations among these early Turks. The data relative to the kinship systems have been set forth, and some of their implications traced through, in their political, legal, and economic aspects. This is the most that can be said at this point regarding the functioning, that is to say, the social correlates of the kinship system and the kinship terminology. The spare, almost skeletal picture is significant, however, not only for its intrinsic message, but also because its features supply us with a certain historic depth, and may be examined in their workings in greater detail in later, more fully recorded eras of Turkic social history.

H.T. 175 Ka. 175 These early Turks moved westward, partly under Chinese pressure, for they had long been a source of trouble for the Chinese. The latter took some pains in familiarizing themselves with the nomadic steppe-dwellers in order the better to control and pacify them; the Chinese attitude was that of a civilizer rather than

[Orkhon Turks]

Ka. H.T. 175 a conqueror, in Gobineau's fine distinction. The concern of the Chinese caused them to record much of what we know today of these peoples. The Turks themselves in moving westward gave up their indigenous letters because they now entered the world of Islam, and encountered a new literary and historical tradition. The period of the first Islamic contact was followed by successive waves of empire-building, the Chingiside and the Timuride. Data for kinship and social analysis during this period are impossible to extract from the record because the fine shades of difference in social structure between the Turks and the Mongols are not reflected in the documents of the period or even later; our sieve is too coarse. We may get a few hints, such as those from a Turkic dictionary of the period,[30] but these are insufficient for our purposes.

H.T. [212]

The Kazakh-Kirgiz[31]

Ka. 175 The earliest historical records of the Kazakhs appear in the 15th century, prior to which date they are said by Howorth to have formed part of the Uzbek domain.[32]

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[30] Carl Brockelmann, Maḥmūd al-Kāsyarī.

Ka. 101 [31] For the purpose of brevity, and to avoid confusion, I shall speak of these people as the Kazakhs, and where the Kirgiz other than the Kazakhs are referred to, they will be called the Kara-Kirgiz.

[32] Howorth, II, part 2, p. 6.

●175 However that may be, they continue to appear as one people a century later, and their present division into three hordes dates only from the 17th century. However, even after the Kazakhs had been divided into three hordes, they were united from time to time under mighty Khans, such as Khan Tiavka in 1698.[33] But at the beginning of the 18th century the three hordes were definitively separated.

[177] During their occupation of the steppes of Turkestan the Kazakhs have been at a constant state of war with the Kalmuks,[34] but they have interacted with the Kalmuks, or the western Mongols generally, on other levels as well: they have also intermarried with them, and some of the implications of this will be taken up below.

16) The Kazakhs in toto combined to form the second most numerous Turkic population in the world[35] at the end of the 19th century; this condition existed before that time, and is the case today as well. Levshin, whose data were gathered about the year 1830, reported the following population for the Kazakhs: a combined total in all the hordes of about 400,000 tents or families, which was to be multiplied according to Levshin

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[33] Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. Ḳazaḳ.

[34] Spuler, 355-357.

[35] Aristov, Zametki, 350.

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of those who had followed

[42]Levchine, 299-300.

[43]Kostenko, 30.

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
●175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward, to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonstrated OR disproved.

[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks RD2
Kazak RD2

C. 101

steppe goose," and *zag*, "a steppe crow," thus making it of Perso-Turkic origin, and implying the meaning "free as a steppe bird."* So, whatever the difference in detail, it is agreed that the term describes a people living a free and wandering life.

Already in the tenth century the land on the Lower Don was called Kazachia (according to Porphyrogenitus), and in the eleventh century we hear from a Persian poet Firdusi (in his "Shah-Nameh") of the nomad Kazak people, armed with lances, and of their chief, Kazak-Khan. These Kazak are probably the ancestors of the Turkic Kaizak who later migrated to Central Asia, where they still live. But it is possible that the term may have remained in Eastern Europe from the eleventh century,† though we hear of people bearing this name in Eastern Europe some three or four centuries later.

K. 175

History of the Asiatic Community.—After this mention in the eleventh century we hear nothing of the Turkic Kazak for two centuries, and it is probable that their organization was amalgamated with some other Turkic power. But in the thirteenth century, after the death of Jinghis Khan, we hear that they were included in that part of his empire which passed to his son Juji.‡

In the middle of the fifteenth century we find the Kazak again asserting themselves as a separate unit. In the meantime they seem to have formed part of the "White Horde" from which the chieftains of the modern Kaizak claim their descent, and were probably united with the Uzbeg. About the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a number of these Kaizak-Uzbeg, discontented with the rule of their Khan, Abulkhayr, migrated with their Sultans Girei and Janibeg into Moghulistan (between Issyk-Kul and Kashgar), and have since been called simply Kazak.§

This Kaizak steppe community continued to exist with increasing power till the end of the seventeenth century. Their Khans were called the Kasimov dynasty, after Kasim Khan, son of the Janibeg‖ who led them on their migration. At the end of the seventeenth century one of their most famous Khans, Tiavka, divided them for

* P. Kurnietsoff, La Lutte des Civilisations et des Langues dans l'Asie Centrale. Paris, 1912, p. 60.

† H. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, p. 280. ‡ W. W. Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," p. 193.

§ Mirza Haydar, "Tarikh-i-Rashidi," p. 82; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, "The Heart of Asia," pp. 193, 194; H. H. Howorth, "History of the Mongols," Part II., Division I., p. 6.

‖ V. V. Velyaminoff-Zernoff, "The Emperors and Princes of the Line of Kasim" (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Description of the Hordes and Steppes of the Kirghis-Kaizak," St. Petersburg, 1832 (Russ.); N. Aristoff, "Attempt at an Explanation of the Ethnic Composition of the Kirghis-Kaizak of the Great Orda, and of the Kara-Kirghis," 1894, pp. 391-486 (Russ.); N. I. Grodekoff, "The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of Syr-Darya Territory," 1889 (Russ.); T. Kazantseff, "Description of the Kirghis-Kaizak," 1867 (Russ.). A. N. Kharuzin, "Bibliography of the Ethnographical Essays on the Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis."

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks
Kazak R.O.2

K, 175

administrative purposes into three groups, called Ordas—the Great, Middle, and Little Ordas. Since then the history of each Orda runs apart.

The subjugation of the Kaizak to Russia lasted from 1734-1864, when they were finally separated by the Russian military cordons from the other Asiatic powers. But they have not ceased to take every opportunity to emphasize their independent spirit. The most important rising was that led by Kenisary, who was master of all three Ordas for some six years, 1838-1844. While the Russian occupation of the Khanates of Central Asia roused the indignation of many people in Europe, the conquest of the Kaizak seems to have met with approval. Sir Henry Howorth, speaking on this question, gives us a somewhat uncomplimentary picture of the Kaizak. He says: "The Kazaks, whose very name is a synonym for freebooters and robbers, have been the scourge of all their neighbours for generations, habitually given to robbery and pillage, bound by no promise and no oath, and constantly disintegrating under the solvent of rival chiefs, with rival reputations as leaders of bandits. The Russians were long-suffering for years to their habitual treacheries and deceits." So much for this quotation. A personal acquaintance with these people produces a more satisfactory impression of their moral. But it is true that it is only with difficulty that they can be persuaded to abandon their nomadic life, and that they ally themselves easily with other nomads, such as the real Kirghis, called Kara-Kirghis, the Kipchak, and other Turkic steppe people.

An analysis of the history of the Turkic Kaizak, especially of the later period, from the middle of the fourteenth century, when their numbers were swelled in consequence of the Chinese Revolution of 1370 on the one hand and the sweeping conquests and imperial régime of Timur-Khan in Central Asia on the other,* leads us to the following hypothesis as to the cause, and even the inevitableness, of their organization.

Big empires composed of nations with such a variation of habits and cultures as the Empire of Mété (3-2 cent. B.C.), of Jinghis (13 cent. A.D.), or of Timur (14 cent.), were kept together only by strong autocratic rule and by imposing on all people one mode of life. Such a rule worked fairly satisfactorily in the regions near the centre of the Empire, but at the outskirts the rule would be naturally weaker, and hence would allow the people to revert, as it were, to the mode of life of their ancestry—*i.e.*, the nomadic life as against the more sedentary life of the Central Empire. The more autocratic and powerful the ruler of the Empire, the more often do we hear of rebellious people on the outskirts.

This explanation of the origin of the Asiatic Cossacks holds good

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* L. Cahun, "L'Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie," 1896, p. 479.

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Ka.22K RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghiz" or Ḳirghizistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳazā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Ōzbeg, cf. the Ka 175 articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Ōzbegs in the xvi^th^ century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xviii^th^ century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ka Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Ōzbegs. At [631] this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *ǰüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*uluʿ ǰüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kiṯi ǰüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta ǰüz*). Towards the end of the xviii^th^ century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th^ century; but it was not till the xix^th^ century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; re- [565] gulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ sūyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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[246 cont.]

x 648 [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still
[439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and
579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and
[316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible.
[712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China.
[439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[343 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture.
[66] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[266 cont.]
x 648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[346] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x 648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[269 cont.]
X648 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784
692 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks. Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

X648 At the same time as this establishment, from which great
[346] advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-
[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from
721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against it and laid waste their enemies.

X648 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance.
721 But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643] a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[272 cont.]

x648 No one stopped to reflect on the possibility or impossibility of carrying out this measure, because the Orenburg administration had proposed it itself and must have the means of accomplishing it.

[177] Having received the approbation of the court, Baron Igelstrom at once began to introduce the new order of things.

His first step produced results which were in perfect harmony x648 with the end to which he aspired.

646 Without the intermediary of the Khan, he sent solemn procla-
728 mations throughout the entire horde, in which, without speaking
668 of the Khan nor of the sultans, he invited the elders and the peo-
177 ple to form an assembly in order to come to an agreement on the means of maintaining order in the horde and living in obedience to the Russian government. He advised them to renounce brigandage and raids and to expect the pardon they deserved for their repentance or severe punishments for the crimes which had been disturbing public order. These proclamations almost completely destroyed the last vestiges of the weak power of the Khan. Many Kazaks who were followers of the Khan abandoned him and joined his enemies, and all together they formed a national assembly which did not contain one sultan, and where Batyr Syrym, of whom we have spoken, twice presided as chief.

x648 The confidence shown by the people in Syrym in this instance
646 is very common, and is in perfect harmony with the Kazak notions
728 of the greatness of spirit. But who would fail to be surprised at the consideration given in Orenburg to this [273] man who the year before had been the leader of a band of brigands, at whose head he had attacked Russian troops and forts?

All Syrym's actions showed that he was a man of vast intelligence but one unsatisfied, restless, and vindictive, and moreover, of an enterprising character rarely found among a half-savage people. After having distinguished himself among the bandits, he soon came to eminence in the council which had assembled to re-establish the general peace, as he believed that new and brilliant advantages lay in this for him. As he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Khan, not so much because of specific disputes with Nurali as of the longing he felt for the heriditary

×648 [277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to
668 this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to
643 recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

×648 The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head,
● 177 and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge
643 themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

×648 Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas.
[579] First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva,
[177 643] [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[278 cont.]

*643 promise given to Abulkhair by Empress Anna to choose khans
● 177 only from among his successors. Third, Nurali had on his side
643 not only his kinsmen but also the most powerful princes of the Middle Horde, the most important of whom was Sultan Khudai Mendi, a man as distinguished for his intelligence as for the large number of his followers and the authority he had acquired over them.

*648 Vali Khan took a great interest in Nurali's fate and argued
664 vigorously with the Russian government (2) on his behalf, and he

2. See Baron Igelstrom's report of December 18, 1786.

also wrote the same thing and warmly defended the descendants of Abulkhair, whom he called the father of all the Kazak khans subject to Russia and the first creator of the submission of the Little Horde (3). Finally, in 1787 a large part of the national

3. See another of Baron Igelstrom's reports, that of September 29, 1787.

assembly expressed the desire to see Nurali returned to the horde, out of respect for Abulkhair, who was considered a saint by many Kazaks. All these circumstances spoke in Nurali's favor, but they did not promise peace among the Kazaks in the future. Therefore, the execution of the latest intentions of the Russian government, to introduce in the Little Horde an organization conforming to that of the interior guberniyas continued unabated.

*648 Meanwhile Batyr Syrym regained his freedom and once again
662 began to influence the people in accord with the plans of the
177 Orenburg authorities, which he seconded as long as they were not contrary to his own views. Under the guise of devotion to Russia and gratitude to the local authority which had chosen him as its instrument, Syrym helped Baron Igelstrom greatly in the reforms which he made in the Little Horde in 1787, which we are about to describe.

[279]

648 The most important was the establishment of tribunals,
682 which were called rasprava. Two of these were opened in the
177 Alimul and Baiulin descent lines, because of their large numbers.
693 The Semirod line only had one. Each rasprava was composed of a president and two members, who were required to meet every day and to examine, with all three present, the petitions addressed to them and to give their decisions, to give satisfaction to the injured and the oppressed, and to give the dissatisfied the right to appeal to the border tribunal sitting in Orenburg. But since the members of these tribunals did not know how to read, all the writing was confided to a mullah, or secretary, who was assigned to each tribunal with an aide. His duty was to stamp the papers which were entered, copy them in a notebook, make the notes and protocols, make the examinations, keep the registers, establish and inscribe the hours of hearings, and write the reports, communications, and orders. All this was to be done according to the forms given by the government of Orenburg.

In addition a principal elder was chosen in each of the three descent lines of the Little Horde and several secondary elders to supervise the conduct of the people.

Batyr Syrym, who belonged to the Baiulin descent line, was chosen as one of the three principal elders.

All those who were elected to fill the positions we have named for the first three years were called upon to swear an oath to serve faithfully. Later they were confirmed (1) by the

1. The preliminary decision of the Empress to open the tribunals was presented to Baron Igelstrom by a rescript of June 3, 1786, and the confirmation of the elders nominated for the places on December 7, 1787.

Empress, and they were given large stipends, partly in wheat and partly in money.

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of
territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re- [166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

H.T 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175 /156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 177 [241] H.T. 175 648 177 The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

/204 cont./

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich). One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally, one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
●177 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
[533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung, of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny" and "olengchi" (like the psaltery and kobza players of old Rus'). The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming," paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most important moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

/207 cont. /

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [177] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here. / Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored 554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, 352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and 353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
• 177 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
177 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [609]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [833] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [469] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [560] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

[567] The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and ●177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

"FAMILY RELATIONS"

K 602 648 197

The organization of Kazakh society by kin groups, bound together by strong ties of blood relationship into disciplined and cooperative units, has both interfered with Soviet planning and increased the extent of Kazakh suffering. The resistance of one person involves all his relatives in the ensuing punishment. At the same time these large family groupings do not fit into the Soviet conception of social and economic organization. The Soviets have, in fact, an explicit policy against "family relations." This phrase has two meanings, one literal, the other figurative. Literally it means nepotism, the use of his position by a man in power to obtain a good post for a relative. Figuratively, it denotes personal relationships on the job, relationships which the Soviet regime feels may permit one person to cover up the failings of another, and which may even become conspiratorial.

In Kazakh society all action and decision take place within the framework of very literal "family relations," and this pattern inevitably is carried over into Soviet-sponsored activities. The bulk of the membership of a collective farm in Kazakhstan today is likely to comprise a single group of blood relatives, its leaders the older men of the group. This is particularly true of those areas in which herding remains important. The retention of kin group solidarity, where it has been permitted, has had two important effects. It has eased the adjustment of the Kazakhs to collectivization, while at the same time making possible maximum cooperation between collective farm members in covering up violations of Soviet directives and policy. KN [601]

The problem becomes even more acute when Kazakhs are drawn into industry and into the Party and government. They naturally try to surround themselves with their relatives. Paradoxically, Soviet policy has often tended to foster this tendency; political affiliation, like everything else among the Kazakhs, tends to be a family matter, and a willingness to cooperate with the Communists is confined to certain—usually a very few—families in a given locality. Yet, political (Communist) reliability is necessary for admission into governmental, Party, and technical fields. Hence if Kazakhs are to be utilized at all in these activities, the chances are good that many of them will be related, whether through deliberate nepotism or not. And with this go all the hazards the Soviets see in "family relations." K [156]

SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

K 648

In general, the Kazakhs participate only to a restricted degree in higher-level activities, particularly those which the Soviets feel are vital for the building and consolidating of the USSR—industry, transport, the Party, and government. There appear to be two reasons for this. The first is that the Slavs do not extend to the Kazakhs equal opportunity for training and advancement. Experiences reported by Turkic soldiers captured from mixed units in World War II suggest that they are generally looked upon as inferiors. Furthermore, in a society in which political

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and promoted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

K [562] [181]

K [154]

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Nevertheless, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide assurance that the process is far from complete.

K [177]

KN 665 The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

KN 665 563 K [154] The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

KN 563 665 Kazakhs who are tried-and-true Communists. Moscow, however, repeatedly criticizes the local Party for the small proportion of natives in positions of administrative responsibility. One result of this pressure is that the Party is forced to accept into its own ranks and those of government and industry marginally reliable persons who, if put to the test, would very possibly prove more loyal to their Kazakh nationality than to their Soviet citizenship. These marginal people—Kazakh and Communist at the same time—deserve particular attention as targets for psychological warfare, because of their psychological vulnerability and also their crucial position as mediators between two cultures. K [121]

RELIGION

KN 798 The religion of the Kazakhs provides the Soviets with yet another problem of policy, at both the local and the Moscow level. Totalitarian governments in general seem to view religion as a threat which must be either neutralized or made captive to serve their own ends. The Communists are no exception. In the Soviet Union they have developed an approach to each of the major organized religions, which has proved more or less successful in attaining these ends.

Most of the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia are thoroughgoing and conservative Moslems. Toward them the Soviets have adopted the familiar procedures of installing puppet leaders and attacking those aspects of the religion which they view as potentially dangerous. But their established techniques and procedures fail to fit the Kazakh pattern. The Moslem religion has had some influence on the Kazakhs, but the aspects of Islam which they have adopted are largely superficial in nature; they still believe in what is essentially a folk religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. During the Tsarist era this fact was apparently never clearly recognized. One assumes that the Communists know better, but their knowledge evidently has not equipped them to deal adequately with the unusual religious blend of Kazakh beliefs and practices. Also, because Kazakh religion is largely local in nature, it has no strong "commanding heights" of organization which can be subverted in order to deliver believers to Communist control. K [111]

As a result of this dilemma, most Kazakhs have been singularly free of attack on religious grounds. Actually, since the Soviets are forced for lack of a better designation to treat the Kazakhs administratively as Moslems, they are in effect in the paradoxical position of encouraging rather than discouraging the Islamic aspect of Kazakh religion. However, although continuing contact with Uzbeks in Southern Kazakhstan has increased the strength of the Moslem religion among some Kazakhs, the old folk religion has retained much of its strength and integrity, and it promises to remain for many years another bulwark of the traditional Kazakh way of life. K [177]

This summary has stressed those aspects of Kazakh culture and recent history most likely to be of pertinent use in planning divisive psychological warfare intended to deflect Kazakh energies away from the objectives of the Soviet regime. The manner of future psychological K 12

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [104] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 698 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known [177] that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they [565] were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [233] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in [162] the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighbor- [167] ing republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 [165] Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in
131 the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2] Samoilovich, in Radloff et al, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Makanov, 1947, pp. 1-38.

[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [622] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 698 [974]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 33.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 208.
[3] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

177 648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their [668] national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World [538] War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Viatkin, Bekmakhanov, Shoinbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such [668] as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Kurbo and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

648 In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken 621 lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communities have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm 474 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the 621 Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining [563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[3]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[4]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[3]Korbe, 1950, p. 71.
[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 580 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The levirafic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 179

[1] Ibid., p. 86.

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar KN [341] architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [262] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 8 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

K 177 186 This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1]*Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2]Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

systematic, and subject to a number of qualifications. What data there are, however, suggest that among the people of Kazakhstan Russians marry Russians and Turks marry Turks. Again it appears that the Kazakhs do not wish to mingle with the Russians, just as, in the political domain, they do not join the Party nor engage in other political activities with the Russians. In general, on the basis of what direct evidence there is, this attitude may be summed up as noncompliance, or a kind of passive resistance. Corroborative data are seen in the economic domain, where the Kazakhs are not fulfilling plans.

THE SOVIET THEORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

The theory of acculturation in anthropology has been devised to describe the social process which occurs when two different cultures come into close contact with each other. This theory has arisen out of the reflections of western European and American ethnologists on contact between their own culture and others. But there is in western civilization no general theory of culture which deals with total control of the social relations and direction of change resulting from such contact. The Russian policy toward minorities within the Soviet Union is nothing other than a theory of controlled acculturation. In their theory of history and in the formulation of their minority policy the Soviet theoreticians have proclaimed a method whereby they—and they alone—are able to control the processes of social development. They boast control over the direction in which the different peoples of the Soviet Union will change; they claim the power to dictate the manner of the change and the form that the ultimate society will take.

Starting out as a society of pastoral nomads in which membership was based on paternal kinship traced from a common male ancestor (a society also divided into aristocrats and commoners), the Kazakhs joined—or rather, were drafted into—the Soviet world. The Soviet ethnographers depict the Kazakh society as an amalgam of institutions surviving from the past, coupled with Soviet features such as collective farm organization, Party membership, and government by soviets. The survivals include the family as the unit of production and consumption, and the traditional village organization, upon which the collective farm has been superimposed. Another survival is nepotism, which is ever present in Kazakh political life. A society steeped in traditions of kinship thinks of kinship as the means for social cooperation; hence, nepotism is inherent in the very nature of Kazakh society and inevitably finds its way into the political life. But it is incompatible with the Soviet pattern and it is attacked as such.

Soviet criticism of these features, and the constant drive to eradicate them, are essential elements in the theory of controlled social and cultural change. This change originating in the contact between the Russian and the Kazakh cultures becomes a part of the general pattern of controlled acculturation. This, however, is only the theory.

In reality there is little evidence that the grand plan for social change is being carried out, or even that there is a means for carrying

177 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen. [621]

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1] [565] [182]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them. [648]

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance. [182]

[1] Krader (77), 1953.

Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

177 114 719 [369]

No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

177 114 719

> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed: another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mohammedans, whereas in the last [18th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mussulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mussulman to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mussulmans, and to our treating them as such. As incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (110), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed tqo much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1] Personal communication.
[2] Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] Ibid., pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda, 24 May 52.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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EVALUATION OF ISLAM IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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The folk religion of the Kazakhs has formed a distinct block to the process of Sovietization. This does not mean that Islam among the Kazakhs is regarded as a key threat by the Soviet regime, but it can be said that the folk religion of the Kazakhs, including certain elements which that religion shares with Islam, is dangerous to the Soviets.

One may gain a clearer perspective by contrasting the situation regarding antireligious propaganda in Kazakhstan with that in Uzbekistan. Islam is singled out in the press of Soviet Uzbekistan as a central heresy. When Osman Yusupov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, reported to the Party's 10th Congress, a large part of his report dealt with the problem of Islam among the Uzbeks. His statement concluded with a resolution to "battle against the Moslem religion."[1] A similar report given to the Fifth Kazakh Party Congress in 1951 by Shaiakhmetov, then first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, made no mention of Islam as a danger in Soviet Kazakhstan.[2] At about the same time Shaiakhmetov, in a report on ideological work presented to the 88th Plenum of the Central Committee in Kazakhstan, devoted himself to the various deviations from the Party line—bourgeois nationalism, xenophobia, autonomism, idealization of the feudal past, and so forth. Again there was no mention of Islam.[3]

On the other hand the sedentary Turkic and Central Asiatic populations of Kazakhstan, such as the Uigurs and the Dungans, are repeatedly attacked for "Islamic survivals." The following attacks on religious heresies in Kazakhstan were printed in Kazakhstankaia Pravda in a little more than a year:

12 March 1952 – Article on the religious survivals (polygamy) in the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region (a district inhabited by Dungans).

12 March 1952 – Critique of the religious mentality in South Kazakhstan Region.

14 March 1952 – Article on the religious survivals among the Dungans of Dzhambul Region.

25 March 1952 – Article denouncing the survival of the feudal mentality among the Komsomols (Young Communists) of Chimkent.

21 May 1952 – Account of the work of the Congress of Scientific Establishments convoked by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata. This Congress denounced the survival of religious activity in the Kzyl-Orda and Pavlodar regions.

6 July 1952 – Article denouncing the survivals of such Islamic institutions as the harem and the sequestration of women among the Dungans of Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

19 September 1952 – Attack on the persistance of the Islamic tradition among the Dungans of the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

[1] *Kizil Uzbekistan*, 2 Mar 49.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28 Oct 51.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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4 March 1952	— At the Sixth Congress of the Kazakh Komsomol, the regional committees of South Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, and Alma-Ata regions, were denounced for failing to combat inequalities in female education.
7 July 1953	— Article of similar tenor on the Kzyl-Orda Region.
2, 3, and 4 April 1953	— Komsomol Congress. Again survivals of traditional religion are denounced with reference to Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, and South Kazakhstan regions.

All the regions cited in which the religious issue has been raised lie in the southern part of Kazakhstan, with the exception of the one case noted for Pavlodar, in the north. The south is the zone of sedentary agricultural tradition, heavily Islamicized for many centuries. Moreover, in many regions of the south there is a large Uzbek population.

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Even if Grigoriev's account of the lack of Islamic influence in the southern part of the Kazakh steppe was true for his day, this situation no longer exists. Tsarist and Soviet policies have combined the Uzbeks with the Kazakhs for administrative purposes, and cultural interaction between these two peoples has increased in the past century. As a result, more of Islam has appeared among the Kazakhs in the south than in the center or the north, a reversal of the trend described by Grigoriev.

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The policy of political combination on an ever-increasing scale has also been applied to the Kazakhs in the religious domain. As a consequence, Kazakh representatives have appeared at official Soviet-Moslem congresses sponsored by Moscow, and they occupy a high place in the Moslem religious administration. The world of Islam within the USSR is divided into four regional administrations under the supreme presidency of the grand Mufti-al-Islam, whose seat is in Ufa, the capital of Soviet Bashkiria. The present incumbent is the Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev. The four regional administrations are:[1]

(1) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the RSFSR, at Ufa, Bashkir ASSR.
(2) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at Tashkent, Uzbek SSR.
(3) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the North Caucasus, at Bunaisk, Dagestan ASSR.
(4) The Spiritual Directorate of the Shia Moslems and the Moslems of all Transcaucasia, at Baku, Azerbaijan SSR.

The second of the spiritual directorates listed governs the religious community of Islamic Central Asia; its territory comprises Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzkikistan. Its mufti, who ranks together with the three other regional Moslem chiefs directly under the Grand Mufti in Ufa, is Ishan Babakhan, and Uzbek; the second in command in Soviet Central Asia, directly under Mufti Ishan, is the Kadi Abdulgaffar Shemsuddinov, a Kazakh.[2]

The Moslem Administration of the Soviet Union has convoked a series of congresses whose timing is of great interest. A congress of all Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union was convened under the chairmanship

[1] *Bossignea* (11), 1952, pp. 12-13.
[2] *L'Oriente Moderno* (87), 1949, p. 11; *Islamic Review* (69), April 1949, pp. 50-51.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[3] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[4] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[5] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[3]Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orient Moderne* (87), 1942, p. 372.
[4]Bennigsen (11), 1952.
[5]One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

choice of the figure Alash, the founding ancestor of Kazakhdom, reflects the general structure of Kazakh society. In reviving its cultural heritage, a society established on the principle of patrilineal descent and organized according to carefully traced genealogies naturally would seek to re-emphasize those genealogies and to glorify the founding ancestors, whether mythical, fictional, or actual. Mythical Alash was not, at least not entirely, for he lived in the time of Tamerlane. It is not clear that he is the ancestor of all Kazakhs, or even of all Kazakhs of the "white-bone" or nobility. He is the founding ancestor of all Kazakhs by a convenient fiction, a fiction which includes the descent lines of the nobles, for only a few of the nobility can demonstrate an actual descent from Alash. Nevertheless, he counts as the ancestor of all, and as such he enters the shadowy domain of half-myth, half-history, which suits the temper of the present Kazakh traditionalism admirably.

Descent from a wolf and a doe is no longer an acceptable expression for one's lineage; the world of the steppe has become disenchanted. But a great historical figure out of the past—distant enough and glorious enough—is a suitable expression of the Kazakh quest for social, political, and cultural unity. The emergence of Alash as a battle cry, the invoking of a distant ancestor in the formation of a modern party, is a Kazakh solution peculiarly their own. The concern of the Kazakh historians of the 1940's with similar figures, in this instance the leaders of resistance to the Russian conquest, emerges from the same cultural theme, with certain additions. The figures of the 19th century Kazakh rebels, Kenesary, Srym, Taimanov, and the others, are ancestors taken from the past. They are the ancestors of many descent lines whose living members are conscious of the relationship; they are symbols of an anti-Russian movement.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and [622] camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. 197 Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 241 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the 565 marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radenko in Baranov, 1927.

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1] K 177 241

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization. K 177 101

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry.

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley. KN 24 563 K [243] KN [361] KN 233

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population K [131]

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

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The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

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COLLECTIVIZATION

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Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

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During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 698 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933.

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas.

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2]Berodin 1946, pp. 116-135.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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The Kazakhs were collectivized more slowly than the Slavs. By 1930, the Pavlodar region, a Slavic farming area since the 19th century, was 76 per cent collectivized while the Guryev region, a Kazakh pastoral region, was only 44 per cent collectivized.[1] Progress on collectivization was slow both because Kazakh herders were among the strongest resisters to collectivization, and because their nomadic existance made the administrative problems in collectivizing them more difficult than for sedentary peoples.

Another indication of the severity of the impact of collectivization on the Kazakhs is seen in the rate of recovery. During the period including World War I, the Revolution, and the civil war, the Kazakhs suffered a number of heavy blows. They had their own revolution in 1916, which resulted in severe reprisals by the Tsarist enforcement agencies, and during 1917-1922 they suffered losses again. But during the 1920's they recovered to a point where the stock total exceeded that of 1917. Such was not the case in the period following collectivization, however; in 1953 the entire herding economy of Kazakhstan had not reached the position which it had attained in any one of the years in the 1927-1930 period. The Kazakhs in the 1920's demonstrated a resiliency and capacity to meet and overcome disasters, a capacity which is part of their *very history as herders. Herding is an economy which has few shock* absorbers; herders may easily be wiped out by a drought, a blizzard, or disease among their animals. Farmers have an ability to store against future need which the herders do not.

K [131]

The Kazakhs showed this resiliency during the first years of the Soviet era, in recovering from the civil war. But they have not recovered, even after 25 years, from collectivization. This loss of capacity to recover in the face of disasters is one indication of the collapse of the traditional Kazakh economy, and is related to a breakdown in the traditional form of the Kazakh society and culture.

THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE RURAL ECONOMY

KN 433

In 1952 and 1953, the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a series of statements indicating the grave situation in farming and herding in the republic.

It has already been stated that of three million hectares of land under irrigation, only 1,300,000 hectares, or 43 per cent, were actually in use. Afonov, until recently the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, attacked this situation in 1953 as a gross waste of resources.[2] In 1952, the same general criticism had been made in a somewhat different form. The then secretary of the Central Committee, and boss of the Kazakh Party, Shaiakhmetov, attacked the farmers of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, the Uzbeks, Taranchis, Dungans, and others, in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan, and Dzhambul, the leading agricultural regions of the republic. The principal charge

[1] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 211.
[2] Afonov, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53.

KN 933 [311] K [433]

The situation in herding is similar.[1] The leading pastoral regions are in the western parts of Kazakhstan, the Guryev, West Kazakhstan, and Aktyubinsk regions. There has been a steady decline in cattle, sheep, and goats in the Guryev region from 1946 to 1953, which means that Kazakh herding in this region has not participated in the postwar recovery (Kazakhs form over two-thirds of the population of the Guryev region). A similar decline in cattle has been reported for West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan. In the regions of East and North Kazakhstan, cattle and sheep are below the prewar figures. Throughout the republic the ratio of cows to the total number of cattle in the kolkhoz herds is disproportionately low (24.3 per cent) and is falling; for instance, in the year 1952 the number of cows dropped by 10.8 per cent. Cattle have been falling in number from year to year in both collective and state farms.[2]

The milk yield per kolkhoz was lower in 1952 than in 1940.[3] This statement is an even graver admission than it seems at first glance, because the individual collective farm is larger in 1952 than it was in 1940 and there are fewer kolkhozy now than then.

In the same period, 1940-1952, the average milk yield per cow dropped 76 liters.[4] The average annual milk yield per cow for 1939 was 650 liters[5]; if it can be assumed that there was little change between 1939 and 1940, a fall of 13 per cent in milk production per cow is indicated for the 1940-1952 period.

Milk production is closely associated with the statistics of gravidity, and there has been a considerable decline in this category in Kazakhstan as well. In 1948, out of 100 cows 88 were with calf, while only 74 out of every 100 were with calf in 1951. Similarly, of every 100 mares, 78 were with foal in 1948; this figure had dropped to 67 in 1951.[6]

The area sown in livestock feed had fallen in 1952 below the prewar (1940) level; this reduction led to the critical situation regarding milk production, and that of meat and wool as well. Despite the tremendous gain in pork, total meat production fulfilled only 60 per cent of plan. The same ratio of 60 per cent holds for wool and cotton.[7] The situation regarding wool is particularly bad; the wool yield per sheep has fallen off even more sharply than the milk yield per cow. In the period 1940-1952 the annual wool yield per sheep fell from 2.4 to 1.9 kilograms, or 4.2 pounds, an over-all drop of 21 per cent.[8]

K 369 [171]

On the one hand, the Kazakhs do not cooperate in the Soviet pattern of production; on the other, the Soviet emphases are such as to exclude the Kazakhs. For example, the stress on such alien foods as pork, potatoes, and garden vegetables, in the development of the urban pattern, means that as the Kazakh moves to the city he must give up many of his old food habits. And yet only in the city can one find higher learning,

[1] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4 Oct 52.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[6] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[7] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 53.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

the uneven commodity flow creates an unbalanced economy. The Kazakh republic is far from becoming economically self-sufficient. Fourth, the key to understanding the industrial picture in the KSSR is the total economic dependence of the Kazakhs on Russia for all consumer commodities. These include clothing, processed foods, furniture, and all electrical and electronic commodities, such as light bulbs and radios; motor supplies, automobiles, and the gas and lubricants necessary to run them; stoves and all other heating devices for using the coal and lignite the Kazakhs themselves produce. KN 433 439

A good example is afforded by the chemical industry. Kazakhstan has long been known for its riches in salts and other chemicals. In the 19th century, shortly after the annexation of the territory by Russia, a small-scale chemical plant was established at Chimkent. To this day, this remains the sole chemical-pharmaceutical plant in the entire republic, although it has been expanded under the Soviets.[1] The bulk of the chemicals are extracted as raw materials, shipped elsewhere for processing, and only then made available to Kazakhstan, within the framework of the general pattern for distribution of these materials. KN [381]

Finally, it is clear that this economic dependence on Russia serves to reinforce Moscow's political control over the peoples of Kazakhstan.[2] KN [648]

The problem of manpower and the training of labor is central here. The industry of Kazakhstan, aside from the prerevolutionary mining centers, was established by means of forced labor camps at Karaganda, which during the 1930's was an NKVD area, and by the transfer of workers from Leningrad in the same period; during the war, workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Donbass were brought in for work in industry and mining. The Kazakhs have not participated in this industrial development. Very few industries requiring skilled labor have been established in Kazakhstan, and those few are based on a labor force derived from Russia and the Ukraine. The Kazakhs are not being introduced to the techniques which Russians are learning to master in the process of their industrial growth. The industrial picture confirms the conclusion drawn from the examination of the social and political scenes: The native Kazakhs are being encouraged by the Soviets to enter into industry, but they are not coming forward to be trained; they are holding back from participation in Soviet life. KN 464 K [463] K [177] [668]

[1]Kunaev, 1949.
[2]Belzak (6), 1949.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter V

CULTURAL AFFAIRS: THE POLITICS OF "CULTURE" AND EDUCATION

SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY

177 Much has been written on the subject of Soviet nationality policy; one calls to mind the ironic promise of full national self-determination asserted by Lenin and by Stalin. In keeping with this, the grandiose, term "union republic" is applied to Kazakhstan and other divisions of the Soviet Union. Lesser areas, such as the Karakalpak region, are called autonomous republics. The lower the political unit in the Soviet hierarchy, the greater the Soviet insistence on this facade of independence and autonomy.

Soviet doctrine states that nationalism is only a formal concern, not a contentual nor substantive one. On the contrary, they say, the substance and reality of Soviet culture is socialism, however much the doctrine of nationalism is preached. "Nationalist in form, socialist in content" is a formula once frequently cited to characterize Soviet nationality policy.

From an anthropological point of view, the Soviet nationality policy is a problem of contact between cultures, or acculturation. But it is based on a special sort of cultural impact. In most of the world, cultures or civilizations have been in continuing contact with one another; the Russian contact with the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia from the 17th century to 1917 was typical in many ways. But the present Soviet pattern is like none of the others. In the past the impact of western civilization on the rest of the world occurred with no thought to the eventual outcome of the impact. The Soviets, on the contrary, have a definite plan. The leaders have determined the path along which the minor peoples must develop toward Sovietization, and they have fixed the image of the final goal. This is controlled acculturation.

Whether the goal will be achieved is questionable; too little is yet known by social scientists about the total nature of culture, and the problems involved in changing the relation of a part to the whole, to permit the effective and predictable realization of such minutely planned change. In the Soviet Union such problems have not been explored at all, if one may judge by the anthropological literature of the USSR.

Thus the professed aims of Sovietization exist only on paper; they have little more value than other items of political propaganda. But

one cannot escape the fact that the various societies and peoples of the Soviet Union are being reshaped and remolded with the image of Soviet culture as the target. The political life is that of Moscow's creation, as is the economic; the religious is that which is permitted by the central regime. The language of each nationality—as it is taught in the schools, or written in the newspapers—is the one which Moscow has decided upon. The various nationalities themselves have been regrouped, often arbitrarily, for the purpose of greater convenience of administration by Moscow. 177

The grandiose and sweeping nature of the changes planned under Soviet nationality policy is sufficient to assure that major change is in fact taking place. A question exists only in regard to the direction such change will take and how far it will deviate from the plan. Whatever the direction of change, the cost in dislocation and suffering among the minority peoples will remain enormous.

KAZAKH ART AND LETTERS

In the chapter dealing with Kazakh religion and religious developments, a discussion of current trends in history writing in Central Asia was included to illustrate the rise of nativism, the idealization of native culture. While the connection between historiography and religion is not immediately apparent, there is an underlying relationship. This relationship may be more easily traced when one is applying the methods of cultural anthropology, as was the case in the discussion of religion. If one starts with the premise that the various aspects of a people's life are an interrelated whole, it follows that the religious life bears upon the economic, the economic on the religious, the political on the artistic. The concept of nativism has been used as a means of synthesizing the different cultural trends in Kazakhstan. The significance of the glorification of their past by native Kazakh historians during the Soviet era is clear. The historical traditions of the Kazakhs are important to them; around those traditions they were building in the 1940's the nucleus of an independent revival of Kazakh culture. The Soviets regarded this as dangerous, and the participants were either purged or warned away from the theme. 668 [814]

This sort of cultural revival is a type of nativism known in many parts of the world; the common feature such revivals share is a distinctive religious tone. But it is not the old religion which is being revived among the Kazakhs; rather, the old traditions are being treated in a religious fashion. These traditions become a religion, and the renewed interest in them a religious revival. The movement among the Kazakhs to revive the traditions of the past immediately became involved in politics. The Russian term kultura usually implies such political ramifications. In this sense there is a cultural politics in the Soviet Union.

The cultural taste of the regime in Moscow serves as a model for the rest of the empire. This cultural taste includes in part that which is pleasing to the political leaders of the Soviet Union. It includes 53 177

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the
[341] climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] Iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, Iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[8] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[9] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[10] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[8] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[9] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[10] Auezov (4), 1951.

538 177 form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.[1] And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."[2]

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.[3] But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.[4]

546 During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.[5]

53 177 Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

[1] Maliesovskii, 1949, p. 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 48
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 6 Sep 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 23 Oct 53.

The form is also imposed by Moscow, whether it concerns the introduction of the novel form in literature or the imitation of the massive architectural style in public buildings. Only the ornament and embellishment are locally derived. 53 177

HISTORY

668 [814]

The same lines of criticism which the Soviets have directed at Kazakh literature and art have been applied to the writing of Kazakh history. The revival of Kazakh historical traditions during World War II developed into a great movement involving many Kazakh historians and writers. In 1950, Pravda published an editorial denouncing the entire movement, choosing for its main target the luckless Bekmakhanov, for his history of the Kenesary movement.[1] The Kazakh Party and press were slow in following the line laid down in Pravda. Only after a four-month delay did Kazakhstanskaia Pravda take up the attack, printing a policy statement from the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, which commented on the Pravda editorial of the previous December and called for a formal Party hearing on the subject. This hearing took place in April and was reported in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 24 April 1951, in an article giving the general Party findings and those of the Party primary organization of the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute. Kenesary was denounced at one meeting as "an enemy of the Kazakh toiling masses" by 11 speakers representing the Party leaders and the academic world. The attack was directed at others: school textbook authors Ismailov and Dzhumaliev, both professors of history; Sauranbaev, director of the Social Science Section of the Academy of Sciences; and one Adilgireev, all in addition to Bekmakhanov. But this was only the beginning.

The attack on Kazakh revivalism continued, centered around the figure of Kenesary, with a different series of authors subjected to the sternest criticism. The line now advanced by Pravda, the Party press of Kazakhstan, and the History Section of the Academy of Sciences, was that there were two kinds of leaders in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries—good leaders and bad. The Kazakh leader Kenesary was bad; he was called a class enemy, a reactionary feudal lord. Other Kazakh leaders were classified as good, for they sought to lead their peoples into an alliance with the oppressed Russian masses, seeking a common solution for their jointly shared troubles. The Kazakh leader Isatai Taimanov, for example, revolted not against the Tsar but against Russian capitalists who were exploiting his people.[2] This indicates, the Soviets conclude, that the Tsars had parallel interests with the poor Russians, while the enemies of both the poor Russians and the poor Kazakhs were the Russian capitalists.

The central Soviet historical journal, Voprosy Istorii ("Questions of History"), published in April 1951 a lead editorial, "On Certain

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Apr 51.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools. K [872]

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged. K 177

Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime. K [369] K [569]

Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2] K KN 872 KN 563

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 53.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by
177 an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

the changes in one group of people which result from their coming into contact with another. This has been covered generally in the anthropological literature. However, contact between peoples, or the establishment of some kind of relationship by government, trade, or religious conversion, usually has been a matter of progressive development, not one of systematic planning based on a detailed preconceived notion of the new form the changing society will assume. The new idea in the Soviet scheme was that of the uniform transformation of all minority peoples in the Soviet Union to the new way of life. The use of force in this context has two purposes; it is used to maintain control; at the same time it is used to bring about change and control the direction of change.

The acculturation process may be described in terms of accommodation and conflict. What institutions do the people undergoing change possess to meet the change readily and accept it? On the other hand, what institutions do they have to oppose the change, to block off the culture contact? A balance sheet of the potential sources of accommodation and of conflict can be drawn up.

An example of this procedure may be taken from the process of forced collectivization of the Kazakhs. Herdsmen by tradition, the Kazakhs regard farming as a task for women and for those too poor to maintain themselves by herding. When the Soviets forced them to settle down on farms in the early 1930's, the Kazakhs resisted strongly. Their reactions might be compared to those of an American told to do something which questioned at once his manhood and his ability to support his family. But the response of the Kazakhs would be even stronger, because traditionally they have maintained a sharp separation between tasks which men perform, such as care of the herds, and tasks which women perform, such as farming. Further intensifying the response was the contempt of the Kazakh herdsman for the farmer.

The Soviet plan to settle the Kazakhs down on farms was motivated partly by economic considerations—to get the Kazakhs to raise farm produce in addition to herd produce. There was also a political factor; it is easier to control a population that is fixed in a definite place, as farmers are, than a group of nomads who might be anywhere within an area of a thousand square miles with their herds. But traditional Kazakh patterns of culture opposed and blocked Sovietization, partly due to the feelings of the people, partly due to their institutions.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the Kazakh way of life helped along the process of Sovietization. When the collective farms were set up, groups of Kazakhs who were blood kin were moved into them. The Kazakhs have traditionally lived and worked together in groups composed of such blood kin. Today, the typical collective farm is composed of closely related families, all descended from a common ancestor, who have been living in close contact with each other for hundreds of years. The Soviets, far from breaking up these groups, simply moved them bodily into the new farms. Thus there existed certain institutions which accommodated to and were readily adopted by the Soviet order.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Anyone engaged in Soviet studies faces the constant problem of the changing historical record: History is at times rewritten by Soviet writers. The comparison of the new version with the old presents two aspects. The first concerns the facts themselves: How have they been changed, that is, what facts have been suppressed and what new facts have now been made available? The second is a matter of the

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 596 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] [241] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed S [622] [634] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted 563 233 361 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] [668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz [622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] [594] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

175 However that may be, they continue to appear as one people a century later, and their present division into three hordes dates only from the 17th century. However, even after the Kazakhs had been divided into three hordes, they were united from time to time under mighty Khans, such as Khan Tiavka in 1698.[33] But at the beginning of the 18th century the three hordes were definitively separated.

[177] During their occupation of the steppes of Turkestan the Kazakhs have been at a constant state of war with the Kalmuks,[34] but they have interacted with the Kalmuks, or the western Mongols generally, on other levels as well: they have also intermarried with them, and some of the implications of this will be taken up below.

161 The Kazakhs in toto combined to form the second most numerous Turkic population in the world[35] at the end of the 19th century; this condition existed before that time, and is the case today as well. Levshin, whose data were gathered about the year 1830, reported the following population for the Kazakhs: a combined total in all the hordes of about 400,000 tents or families, which was to be multiplied according to Levshin

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[33] Barthold, Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. Ḳazaḳ.

[34] Spuler, 355-357.

[35] Aristov, Zametki, 350.

[Middle Horde]

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[W6] Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[77] The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

[Middle Horde]

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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bii in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
•177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǎy yüz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organisation are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

161 1876 and 1885; the Lesser Horde contained 150,000 to 160,000 families, and the Inner Horde about 30,000.[175] This represents about a 20 percent increase over the figure given for the Little Horde alone in 1830 of 160,000 families by Levshin.[176] The Little and Inner Hordes were closest to European Russia, and had been the longest of all in close contact with the Russians; the degree of acculturation was not different in any marked manner from that of the Middle Horde Kazakhs. Because of the readier accessibility of the Little Horde, however, we have fuller data on certain aspects of their social structure and kinship relations than we have for the more distantly situated hordes.

614 The clans of the Little Horde, as those of all the other hordes, were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent from a common ancestor; this ancestor sometimes gave his name to the clan; otherwise the clan name was drawn from the stock of names which are associated with glorious events, great traditions designed to inspire the Kazakh warriors to emulate those who bore that name in the past. One clan name in the Little Horde was Yappas, a derivation from the name Japhet, the son of Noah, who appears ever again in Kazakh etymologies; other clan

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[175] Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304. The lower estimate is that of von Hellwald, 20. Schuyler and Lansdell gathered their materials through interviewing local officials.

[176] Levshine, 300.

177 of deceased brother's children. Again, an affianced girl who has been orphaned may be raised by her father-in-law, who has an interest in her upbringing in view of the kalym already paid for her.[224] This is to be distinguished from adoption per se because, while it does mean the taking up of children not one's own, the female never becomes fully incorporated into her husband's family.

The Inner or Bukei Horde

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177 The Horde named for Khan Bukei was the last such formation among the Kazakh hordes. It was formed in the year 1800 when some 1500 Kazakhs of the Little Horde crossed the New Cossack lines to occupy the steppe between the Ural River and the left bank of the Volga, a steppe left empty for a generation by the flight of the Kalmuks to China and occupied only by wild horses and saiga antelope.[225] The leader of the new horde, Khan Bukei, was encouraged to do so by the Russians, who were seeking to pacify the steppe, and the move was willingly undertaken by the Khan partly for financial considerations, and partly through fear of the internecine wars and raids on the steppe beyond the Ural River.[226]

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[224] Pletnikov, 124.

[225] Ivanin, 5-7.

[226] Ibid., 7-9.

61 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
565 tical cleavage. A sdōk might be identical with a byr top in any given instance, but the principle upon which it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was derived from the superposition of one layer of society upon another, and was a means of building the social hierarchy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage formation without aristocratic and commoner estates is found in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 Two expeditions to the Niaman division of the Kazakhs
127 of the Middle Horde were undertaken by a number of Turkic
●177 specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concentrated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakhstan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan, Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilovich because here the degree of acculturation (such was not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1) why the following data are incorporated at all, and

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

K 203 574 khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

•K 177 Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable K [811] rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand K [809] especially easily an analytic type of exposition. They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101 The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess

8: Kostenko 113-G-4, 5 (1868-80) 1880 RL1 Turkestan
RL1
Kazak RQ2

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at the top so that the kosh looks like a felt cone.

[177] The incomparable qualities of a yurt in summer have been appreciated not only by the armies but also by the Russian inhabitants of Turkestan. The householder who is only the slightest bit wealthy provides himself with such a yurt or yulameika, which he puts up in his garden near his house. In such yulameikas they can be free of the suffocating heat which makes it impossible to sleep in the house.

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A Description of Some Important Populated Places

A description of the town of Tashkent: the Asiatic and Russian parts. Vernyi /Alma Ata/. Kuldja. Samarkand. Khodzhent /Leninabad/. Ura-Tyube.

Tashkent

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Tashkent is the center of the government of the whole region of Turkestan. Both in size and in expanse it is one of the most spacious towns not only in the Turkestan region but in all of Central Asia. In number of inhabitants it is comparable only with Bukhara, and in expanse with Kokand. This is one of the oldest towns, and its origin is lost in the mists of time. It is situated at 41° 19'32" north, and 38° 57'58" east. Tashkent is located on a flat plateau beginning about 30 versts from Chimkent, and is surrounded on three sides with gardens, while the fourth side is contiguous with the Russian town.

RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Kazak RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghīz" or Ḳirghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 181 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Ōzbeg, cf. the Ka 175 articles ABU 'L-KHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Ōzbegs in the xvi^th^ century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q.v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th^ century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of Ka the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Ōzbegs. At [631] this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *ǰüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu ǰüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kiçi ǰüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta ǰüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th^ century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Ḳalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th^ century; but it was not till the xix^th^ century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Sibēria and the western from Orenburg; re- [565] gulations for the government of the Sibērian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ sūyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

P. 1026-A

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Ka. Kazak RQ2
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popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ, Kenesarī, who fought against the authorities in Sibēria and Orenburg from 1842, was killed in 1847 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up down to 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmed, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarī and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultanī Kenisara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlye pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnowa*, Tāshkent 1889. Review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv., p. 122 *sq.*

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the xix^th century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestān (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882), Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestān), the government of the Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand after the revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳistān"; since 1924 this "Republic" has included a vast territory, little smaller than Russia in Europe, but of course less thickly populated. According to the latest Russian figures before the revolution the Ḳazāḳ numbered about 4,000,000 compared with about 500,000 genuine Kirgiz. The present numbers of the population cannot be very different from these. Čuloshnikow's (see below) reckoning by which the Ḳazāḳ and true Kirgiz would now be about 8,500,000 together is certainly much too high. In the northern part of the Kirgiz steppes between 1920 and 1923 the population is known to have declined by 21.2%. According to figures in the official publication *Sowětskaya Kirgiziya* (1924, N°. 8—9, p. 4), the population of the "Kirgiz Republic" is 6,536,000 including 4,008,310 Kirgiz (61.3%).

Ka 161

The *Bibliography* of the Kirgiz is very large: see the attempts to collect it in A. Kharuzin (*Etnograf. Obozreniye*, 1891 and 1892) and A. Alektorow (*Izv. Obshč. Arkh. etc. Kazan*, xx. 1904). The fullest history of the Kirgiz steppes is that by A. Levshin, *Opisaniye Kirgiz-kaisakskikh ord i stepei*, St. Petersburg 1832; this is supplemented by many quotations (especially from the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* and the *'Abd Allāh Nāmeh*) in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Issledowaniya o kasimowskikh tsaryakh i tsarevilakh*, vol. ii. On the everyday life (esp. of the Ḳazāḳ) in the xix^th century: W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, vol. i.; do., *Proben der Volkslitteratur* etc., vol. iii. and v. On laws: N. Grodekow, *Kirgiz i Kara-Kirgiz Sīr-Daryinskoi Oblasti*, Tashkent 1889; review by N. Veselowskiy in *Zap.*, v. 115 *sqq.* On present conditions: *Obzor narodnogo khozaistva Kirgizskoi A. S. S. R. 1924 god. Pod redakciyei J. P. Krutilina*, Orenburg 1925. Later essays on the history of the Kirgiz: A. Čuloshnikow, *Očerki iz istorii Kazak-Kirgizskogo naroda, Čast' I. Drevnyye vremya i srednive veka*, Orenburg 1924. M. Tinishpayew, *Materiali dlya istorii Kirgiz-kazakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925. (W. Barthold)

Ki 113
P. 1026-B

177.16 ----- 177.87

596 and valuistically oriented toward the need for sons, patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then; the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence reckoned in terms of the number of kinsmen came to play a subordinate role.[284] A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

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556 The factor of wealth determined not only the number of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,[285] although the Soviet regime sought half-heartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a laissez-faire policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two; there is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his <u>aul</u> had 13 tents in it, whereas the <u>aul</u> in these parts ranged between

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[284] Ibid., 66.

[285] Ibid., 67.

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an *aul* generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the *bii* himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organisation of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organisation, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
977. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

●177 The reason is clear: the ak süök or white "bone" had been
56 the political rulers in the steppe in view of their des-
565 cent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam.
While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs
it was important to maintain the quality of their estate
by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their
[556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political
meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of
endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated
with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for
social distinction: we have seen how the oil was often
chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by
birth.[2]

The ak süök no longer had any legal privileges;
their principal mark of social distinction was in terms
of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies,
and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a po-
litical structure embodying principles of the consan-
guineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the
kinship system upon which it was based remained in an
altered form.

62 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patri-
lineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed
to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

[95] Idem.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 414 -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
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601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.6] decline generally,[1 A] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
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the ak sŭŭk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177. formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
56] of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 43-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1 A [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Analyst]

[Little Horde]

587 property of the deceased was distributed equally among the surviving brothers. If she had one son, and no matter how many daughters, her children were not taken away from her; all remained by her. But if she had only daughters, and no sons, then they were taken away from her and given to the husband's brothers to raise, and she was permitted to keep one daughter at the most by her.[212]

177.58 587 This was the idealized model of the family around the year 1870; actually the acculturative process had begun, of which the contemporary reporters were aware; and they regarded it as the result of Russian influence. Thus, a degree of loosening of the practice of the levirate was noted, and a newly widowed woman was adjured rather than commanded: "Thou hast the right to reject one person, but not the entire line or clan [of the husband]. With thousands of people there will be at least one who will meet your taste."[213] The widow was considerably freer than the unmarried girl, for she was not under the thumb of a father, and had some choice or option. The husband's family, moreover, was telling her that she should stay among the agnatic kin of her deceased husband, that that was where by custom she should stay, and continue that line which was in the larger

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[212] Balliuzek, 99-100.

[213] Ibid., 101.

[Little Horde]

•177.58
587

sense her husband's; but they were losing control over her.

A generation later it was only a memory that the widow had once necessarily remarried leviratically, and by the turn of the century a number of alternatives had been opened to her in the Little Horde. She might indeed marry her deceased husband's brother; again she might simply go to live in the household of the latter informally; or she might marry away from her husband's kin entirely.[214]

177.58
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Divorce was rare in the 1870's.[215] In the following generation, the same general pattern still existed in divorce as elsewhere on the steppe: the husband needed very little grounds to divorce his wife; the wife was limited to the following grounds—impotence and maltreatment on the part of the husband. The latter is a variant on the desertion or nonsupport for a year as the wife's grounds for divorce. However, she was also permitted to divorce her husband by the turn of the century if he was unfaithful to her. The divorced woman was simply returned to her father; if she married again, it was without the formalities of the kalym, the go-between, and so forth.[216] Husband's infidelity as

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[214] Karutz, Kirg' Hochzeit, 42.

[215] Balliuzek, 90.

[216] Karutz, loc. cit.

177,58 586 ground for divorce occurs now for the first time and may be added to the general transformation of certain traits through acculturation.

428 **Rules of Inheritance and Succession**

We have seen that the estate of a brother was equally distributed among the surviving brothers on his death. The equal division of a man's estate among his survivors is only one aspect of a complex problem. The practice of allotment or apportionment of sons as they came of age was the basic mode of transmission of physical property, which together with the payment of the kalym on behalf of the son, formed part of the total property transfer when the son came of age. For the coming of age was associated with marriage, and entailed both the payment of the kalym and the apportionment of the son.[217]

The youngest son, in contrast to his elder brothers, was not portioned off during the lifetime of the father, although the kalym was paid on his behalf when he came of age, that is to say, when he was married. He shared his father's estate during the father's lifetime, and did not take up full possessive rights until his father's death, when he became the sole residuary legatee of the

[217] Balliusek, 104.

[Inner Horde]

429 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 Divorce is reported as having been easy and fre-
596 quent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but
177.59 since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture con-
[591] tact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an <u>aul</u> generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the <u>bii</u> himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

● 177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Inner Horde]

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
[177.61] this connection is that taifa[1] is of Arabic origin, introduced into the Turkic social organization through the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is a binome composed of the words for father and for child, thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patrilineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in
[614] the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga. These tamga were not property marks, they were clan signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions, becoming the named units to which people attributed membership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand, many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the clan leader was selected by the central administration. The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa, Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. [illegible],

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

1 [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p.496, bot. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
619 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
601 decline generally,[1A] as part of the acculturation picture,
[177.61] are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
564 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

[1A] [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Analyst]

[AHai Kazakhs]

613 have been the statement, for example, of Cham, N. Chamov's father. Chamov himself would have to marry outside his ata, those who shared with him a common ancestor in the ascending paternal line in the person of Sary, the son of Sargaldak, the sŭök founder; Sary was the founder of the ata in question, he being in the seventh ascending generation from Chamov. However, it would be dangerous to infer a universal rule from these data, for we have seen that the exogamic principle has been subject to considerable variation throughout the steppe, and among the Kazakhs as well.

613 A number of marks of acculturation are to be ob-
●177.61 served in the genealogy and commentaries on it.[1] First
563 of all, the concept of the sŭök has changed: no longer is there a distinction between ak sŭök and kara sŭök;[2] whatever social distinction there was, was made between rich and poor Kazakhs, on the basis of wealth and not of birth; Rudenko's comment that family and social life among the Kazakhs was very archaic and conservative in form[264] to the contrary notwithstanding. Again, a Russian system of patronymics was instituted, whereby the Kazakh Chamov was called thus because his father bore the name Cham, thus establishing a system of family names which had never existed before. A follow-up ethnography would probably show a considerable rigidifica-

[264] Rudenko, op. cit., 86.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. nobles and commoners. Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 500-501 -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŭŏk,[265] of the byr top.

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pastures, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŭien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Analyst]

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one of the uezdy is the Karkaralinsk, occupied in the main by the Shorkarakesek lineage, and with a minority from another lineage, the Karaul. These Karaul members are settled likewise in three other uezdy. Now the descent is still agnatic primarily, and residence is patrilocal. Nevertheless, one of the Karaul sub-lineages reckoned its descent through the daughters of the sub-lineage founder, one Botyshor, and are known as the Botyshor dźien (Botyshor's daughter's sons). They live among the Karaul lineage, not among their patrilineal kinsmen who would have been Botyshor's kuyeu (Da Hu). These dźien nevertheless preserved their patrilineal affiliations, at least in the reckoning of kinship.[266]

Significantly, group membership is determined now by administrative district in which one dwells or one's group dwells. This in itself has had the consequence of extending the dźien relationship to a field where it had not been remarked before: in addition to various functions related to inheritance and the distribution of the parental estate, and to the paying of the kalym or bridewealth, the dźien relation is now seen to be a means for establishing residence, descent, the occupation of common pasturage, etc. A sub-lineage such as the Botyshor dźien asserted their right through kinship with the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

[266] Rudenko, op. cit., 59.

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same district with, their cognatic kinsmen. This does not mean that descent has come to be traced bilaterally; it is necessary to differentiate, for the purposes of this analysis, between bilateral and cognatic descent and kinship. Except for the lacuna of one generation, that necessary to establish the relationship with the Mo Fa line, descent is still reckoned patrilineally, and the dźien likewise maintain their own agnatic relationships; although how long the latter will survive if they are not closely correlated with actual functions is questionable. From all this, it may be concluded that the extension of the dźien relationship to the residence and pasturage unit is a consequence of acculturation, and not a spelling out of innate dynamics of Kazakh development. Nevertheless it is consonant with tendencies already set in motion, at least in the 19th century if not earlier, to assign ever wider functions to the dźien, a nonagnatic relationship.

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Lineages continued to change place of residence and fuse with other lineages in the 1920's, forming a sub-lineage süök among other component süök of a byr top (major lineage) and retain its original name. Thus, for instance, a group of Argun Kazakhs moved in among the Karatai byr-top of the Ergenekti ruu of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde. These Argun continued to be identified as such, that is, the sub-lineage which they now formed was known by that name, but they

administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

The Village of the Great Horde

621 The aul or nomadic village (literally, enclosure) of the Kazakhs was a phenomenon of the winter season when its members gathered at the customary encampment after the summer dispersal.[86] These auls were generally [177. 62] composed of closely related families: such at least was the case prior to the end of the 19th century, at which time they were transformed into sedentary units with fixed localities through Russian administrative dispositions and through the increase in agriculture. In certain cases the winter camps might be composed of several auls, forming a larger grouping for mutual cooperation and protection. The concentration of people often required the removal of the herds from the main winter camp, and hence more men would be needed to guard them, making common cause, and defending each other against marauders, both human and animal, of whom the steppe was full. But the close conjunction of many Kazakhs who recognized only vague authority relations among themselves required the constant recourse to the biis[1] in the resolution of disputes.[87]

[86] Dingelstedt, 214.

[87] Radloff, op. cit., I, 513-514.

[1] [i.e. elders; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412-- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 The village head or elder was the aksakal (literally,
177 white beard),[88] who was the senior male member of the
62 highest ranking family as measured by birth in the village. His social position was somewhat comparable to that of the bii, his functions likewise, and it is only later, in consequence of Russian administrative reforms and regularizations that a clear-cut distinction is possible. Radlov reports that toward the end of the century, the bii was the village leader, being the senior member of the wealthiest family in the village, or the eldest male in that family which, in addition to its claim to priority by right of birth or wealth, had the largest number of closely related families in the village to back it up. The inference to be drawn is that the bii, who was a man who regulated affairs between village-kin-groups, now dominated over several groups who formerly had occupied different villages, but now to an ever increasing degree were combined in one. His functions remained the same, it is merely that the composition of the village had changed. By Radlov's day, the Kazakh aul which had an influential bii was usually a combination of several units which formerly would have been separate aules, or else it was one aul which was expanded by the addition of remnants of other aules in the form of families which had once combined to make them up.[89] In

[88] Levchine, 330.

[89] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 513.

[Great Horde]

622 a similar manner, we have seen this very process at work
177. in the formation of new lineages,[1] whether maximal or
62 minimal, or even clans, with the exception that the process here described involves the transformation of the village through new developments in administration and economy. Nevertheless, the acculturative pattern took on traditional forms, that is, the new village was built up by a process already encountered in lineage fusion. The bii, through his wealth, spiritual powers, sense of justice, and large number of kin (who were able to support his word if necessary by their very strength of numbers) thus continued to dominate the new forms of Kazakh life.[90]

622 At the end of the century, the bii[2] was regarded by
177. the Russians as a kind of official judge, beneath whom
62 692 was the aksakal, recognized as a popular judge who lived within the village, regulated its affairs in an informal manner. The bii, in contrast, concerned himself largely with inter-aul matters, which is a formalization of the relative positions as they had been reported in the previous era.[91] One of the most important functions of the bii, whether in the matter of inter-aul, or intra-aul relationships, was the determination and resolution of conflict regarding the winter pastures.

[90] Ibid., I, 513-514.

[91] Sabataev, 66. Sabataev's observations bear rather on the Kazakhs of the Middle and Little Hordes, but may be taken to be relevant for the Kazakhs generally.

[1] [cf. especially Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 405 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Little Horde_ Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 generations.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the workings of another structural principle: the ranking of the minor or sub-lineages according to the priority of birth of the founder by virtue of the principle of differential inheritance and succession.

The Village in the Little Horde

621 Meyendorff made a journey from Orenburg in the southern Ural mountains to Bukhara in the year 1820. In the territory of the Little Horde he encountered a village which was the camp of a great Kazakh chief. By comparison with other villages, Meyendorff accounted this one a large village, containing fifty tents, grouped in clusters of from three to six tents each. He passed through this aul in the month of October, presumably when these pastoralists had gathered together in their winter camp after the summer dispersal.[181]

Radlov has reported that the typical Kazakh aul was composed of from fifty to seventy tents;[182] here it is

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[181] Meyendorff, 14.

●177.62 621 [182] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 518. By Radlov's day there had already taken place the administrative reform mentioned above, namely, the reorganization of villages into volosti integrated into the Turkestan governor-generalcy. By then, too, the office of village elder had become appointive, and was no longer an expression of prestige through birth or wealth alone.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 556 [101] 433 The nomads in question[1] occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur, around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh, as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year round, and supported themselves by caring for their own farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.[268] Hence the following account of sul nomadism is to be understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy Kazakhs.[2]

[177.62]

621 The sul in its several variations was entirely a kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh sul elsewhere, even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homogeneous kin group. This was not so among the northeasternmost Kazakhs. The suls of the latter fall into two categories: the fully nomadic suls, such as those of the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach aimak (Oirot Autonomous Oblast');[269] and suls which are entirely sedentary, such as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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[268] Ibid., 1-3, 62.

[269] Samoilovich, 312.

[1] [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 523ff.--Analyst]

[2] [For further data, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 527-544--Analyst]

621 was that it [1] preserved a number of features of a time We
177.62 when acculturation was less advanced, giving ground in others: the growth of farming and the administrative reshuffling by the Russians were the main acculturative influences, but there were other minor ones, in technology for instance, which were not without an effect on the kinship picture. The increase in the gathering and storage of hay[285] influenced the nomadic cycle of the still-pastoral Kazakhs, encouraging some to continue to be herders, lessening the scope of movement of others, factors closely bound up with kinship. On the other hand, the scythes, etc., necessary for mowing, had to be purchased from the Russians, making for an increase in commodity exchange, closer economic interaction with the Russians, and an acceleration of the acculturative process once again.

Family and Marriage

596 The Kazakh family in the 1920's was an extended family and as such continued to form the innermost of a series of concentric circles of kinship; like the next outer concentric circle, the nomadic village, and like the outermost, the lineage, it was founded on an agnatically related membership, it was patrilocal, patriarchal,

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[285] Ibid., 24.

1 [i.e., the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs (Altai Kazakhs) --Analyst]

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

622 The bii* moreover had important functions in regulat-
582 ing marriage settlements, although he had little authority
692 over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

622 Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th
611 century, when strong acculturative influences were insti-
177 tuted, the principle of descent in the paternal line con-
63 tinued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great
632 Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts
692 called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izrastsov, the influence of the bii* seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

[92] Izrastsov, 82.

* [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63 recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the
632 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship
692 groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various auls, or persons belonging to different families, auls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

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[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 16, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment,[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis,[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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177.
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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

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[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

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[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

622 guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be re-
602 quired to support him in the payment of the indemnity.
695 Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after
613 the Russian conquest, and represents a certain harden-
177. 69 ing of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this harden-
ing was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh
177. 69 society in the previous era. The power of the bii's de-
695 cree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up
602 by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system,
a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the
bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or
less the same as before. The number of degrees of kin-
ship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they
were the same relationships which had been more vaguely
defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire
proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to
the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that
the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian pro-
vincial administration would respond to a judgment of
a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see
how vital the principle of kinship remained in the proc-
esses of adjudication, even under conditions of accul-
turation. We may observe how considerations of kinship
operated in the legal process; and how legal data are
significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal
system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

[Middle Horde]

695 602 584 nence, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 695 428 The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

[170] Ibragimov, 237.

[Middle Horde]

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longer under Russian rule than those of the Great Horde. The acculturative process had proceeded farther in the Middle Horde than in the Great Horde as of the 1870's, as will be seen from the issues raised in the pleadings.) The older brothers argued that the Kazakh customs were no longer in force, and that Russian law required an equitable distribution of the paternal estate regardless of the settlements made on the older sons by the father during his lifetime. The matter thus presented to the biis brought from them the decision that the youngest son, the residuary legatee, had to give up one of his winter camps to the other two. (Evidently a wealthy estate was in question here.) The youngest son appealed to the Russian courts, who advised him simply to comply with the decision of the biis, but to take one of the older brothers' winter camps instead. The youngest son declined both decisions.

His appeal to the Russian courts was strongly resented by the community and he was threatened with arrest, whereupon he removed to a nearby town, and the entire affair was placed in the hands of the local biis, but it was left unsettled. Finally the courts found in favor of the youngest son after the appointment of a new governor general in the region.[171]

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[171] Ibid., 253-257.

[Middle Horde]

177.69
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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bii in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

2: Hudson
61, 178

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qьstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qьstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qьstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qьstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qьstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423
which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558]
as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[55]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178
are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[55a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428
its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (enci) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[56] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[57] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[58] although according to my information it was customary

[55] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[55a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[56] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 43.

[57] *Idem*, 34.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds.

[38] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riazanovskii, op. cit., 57), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riazanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Quran*, 4.13.93.

4:Grodekov--v E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Turgaiskoi, Akomolinskoi i Semipalatinskoi" /Provisional Code for the administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions/. The writer also includes the customs of the Kazakhs of the Turkestan region parallel to the customs of the Siberian Kazakhs.

The latest work on Kazakh customary law is the publication in 1886 in Omsk by the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridcheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov/ Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/ (Pt. 1, Material'noe Pravo /Law of Things/). Data collected by the chiefs of the uyezds of the Semipalatinsk region served as the basic materials for this book. These were collected according to a program provided in 1882 by the Governor General of Western Siberia, and this was studied and supplemented by the compiler of the book, P. E. Makovetskii, a member of the statistical committee, by means of oral inquiries in the steppe, and study of the actual decisions of the biis.

The work of Malovetskii is a valuable contribution to the literature on the customary law of the Kazakhs, containing an indication of the historic origin of certain customs, and of the influence of the Shariat and Russian laws. In addition the book contains a collection of variants of customs according to localities and the circumstances of the case, and also a critical analysis, explanations, etc.

From the first days of my entrance into the administration of the Syr-Darya region, I noted the great gap in evidence on the customary law of the Kazakhs. The material published in this field in Russia has not been very satisfactory for the local present day demands because of the extreme limitations of the materials gathered, and its completely inadequate study. In addition to this, /v/ a considerable change in the customary law has been taking place under the influence of various powerful factors. One has been the influence of Islam, whose propagation among the nomads by ishans from Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent has grown more intensive since our pacification of Central Asia. There has also been the influence of the Russian dominion with new orders and civilization, the transition of the nomads to agriculture, the appearance of new types of industry, etc. The life of the Kazakh hordes and groups of tribes under the rule of the Khans and Sultans and under the strong independent kinsmen under the Kokand begs and hakims etc., is in part changed, and in part long forgotten. A broad wave of new attitudes and concepts has influenced the life of the people. Life has begun to produce new

114 [178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas
128 to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following:1)E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and 618
debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships.

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and 631
Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic 618
population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle.

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the 631
Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, 618
data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, 778
from whom the following answers have been received.

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division [695] to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the

631 618 178 [672]

kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few. After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

[672] [579] [694]

631 618

In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist, although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

the possibility of making use of the conveniences put at his disposal 671
by the /22/ existing order, in the sense of freedom of action, protection by law from persecution, the appeal of decisions, etc. The closer to the town, the more the rights of the individual are respected.

The main theses of the oral tradition of customary law are the 671
same everywhere. The details vary according to time and place. There 178
is already fear that the unity of the Kazakhs is disappearing (kazaktyng birligi kitedi), as a result of the decline of the clan principle and the community of property. The changed conditions of life have brought forth the rise, so to speak, of a new customary law. This has been influenced by the conversion to Islam of the Kazakhs, the proximity of the Kokandians in the fortresses, the transition of a part of the nomads to sedentary life, and the moral influence and decrees of the Russian administration. The main features of the new customary law are: the limitation of the clan bond and clan property to a narrower circle, which was also the aim of the law, according to which the Turkestan region was administered until 1887; (1) giving brides and

1. The Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya regions, 1867.

widows the freedom to choose a husband; the introduction of the use of written acts; the exchange of reckoning by livestock to reckoning by money, etc.

Now the old customary law has lost its force (adattyng kushi ketti), and a new customary law is rising. Formulas like these have begun to be used: in accordance with the customary law of the extraordinary session between these and these uyezds. A considerable part of the business of the present sessions of the biis consists of the adjudication of money for bills of exchange and receipts. Quite often such documents are examined as the certificates of Russian doctors, decisions concerning the capture of thieves corpus delicti, fraudulent records and receipts, reports with the special opinion of the minority, and information from the transport office. One finds complaints concerning the non-issuance of a copy with a decision, on the appropration of money which had been made over to be deposited in the uyezd pawn-broker's with the interest, on a silver watch which was lost at a prostitute's, etc. The session validates land and other decisions (osu ishni nygytamyz), collects the signatures of those who have been pacified, in /23/ anticipation of a renewed claim for the wergeld, and finally, it even ordains judgment by default, an innovation unheard of in the old customary law. Philo-

671 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an ex-
178 ample we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim.... In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz). " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671 562 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
179 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

614 /216 cont. /
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master,
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however,
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the
livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic
use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order,
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already
begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that
is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous,
and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

/219 cont./

585 [431] gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is kneeling. [178] The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particular racing. 585 177 Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for himself. 585 553 After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms 595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

Chapter 3

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and [221] camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. 199 Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 241 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the 565 marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radloff in Baranov, 1927.

KN 241 369

beginning of World War II; the number reportedly increased "by several times" by 1943. At the beginning of the war, the proportion of persons making kitchen gardens in Karaganda—4.7 per cent—was two and a half times higher than that for the USSR as a whole. But Karaganda's percentage was soon surpassed by that of the Soviet Union, which by 1944 had mounted to about 10 per cent, five and a half times the prewar rate.[1]

KN 248 249

The third category of agricultural products includes fiber crops (cotton and hemp), vegetable oil crops (sunflower and olive—dried sunflower seeds are a favored Russian and Asiatic snack), tea, tobacco, and sugar beets. These crops are collectively called "technical crops" in the Soviet Union, because they are processed by techniques other than milling for the production of flour. Together with rice they are grown mostly in southern and southeastern Kazakhstan, where the original Turkic population has an age-old agricultural tradition, especially in irrigated farming. In 1938 there were 110,200 hectares in cotton and 14,000 hectares in sugar beets.[2]

KN 241 K [178] K [221]

The final category, that of agriculture in conjunction with herding, has become the typical Kazakh rural occupation. The trend toward a mixed economy of herding and farming which began in the 19th century under the combined influences of land pressure and diffusion of agricultural techniques has culminated in the virtual elimination of pure nomadism among the Kazakhs.

KN 474

The principal unit of agriculture in Kazakhstan is the collective farm. The peak years in the period of forced and accelerated collectivization were 1930 and 1931; the number of collective farms rose in those years from 4,212 to 7,800.[3] By 1932, the resistance of the rural population began to make itself felt, and there was a falling off in the number of collectives, coupled with a consolidation of those already organized. But the number gradually mounted during the mid-thirties, again reaching a figure greater than 7,000.[4] Just before World War II, with more purges and a second drive toward consolidation, the number dropped. In 1952 approximately 3,200 were reported[5]; this figure is said to be less than half that of 1950, for which no numerical data are available. This was part of an over-all cut; in 1951, the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union was halved.

In recent years, collective farms in Kazakhstan have decreased in number and increased in size. The latest figure for the total number of such farms is 3,145. At the same time, the average number of cooperative farming units per farm increased from 91 to 186. The total number of these cooperative units decreased from 5,558 to 2,047 in Kazakhstan, while the average size of the collective farms increased.[6]

To complete the picture, there were roughly 200 state farms at the end of the thirties; 258 were reported in 1952.[7] Five Machine Tractor

[1] All data from Borodin, 1946, p. 59.
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 62, 70.
[3] *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . . .* p. 66.
[4] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.
[5] *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, 1952, No. 2, p. 50.
[6] *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 1952, No. 2, p. 111.
[7] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 56, and *Kazakhstan v pervyi god . . . .* p. 158.

49 161 385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.[58] The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.[59] Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.[60]

49 161 178 Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which lineage size and clan size tended to vary. Some twenty to thirty years later, after the conquest of the region by the Russians under General Kaufman, a marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group set in. Radlov records figures for the administrative units that now replaced the clans, which although corresponding roughly with them, are in some instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families; twelve comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5350 and 12,000 families (or tents) strong.[61] In the inter-

000

[58] Ibid., 395.

[59] Ibid., 396.

[60] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

[61] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 238-240.

In the inter-
619 vening decades,[1] the Russians had set up a system of ad-
178 ministrative divisions which reorganized to some extent
241 the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this time there was some increase in agriculture among them. As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration in the development of farming among them, and a tendency to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European
619 Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Mountains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 375. "Some of the Kirgiz
178 have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their win-
241 ter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This tendency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoralists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915, and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agriculture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47. The process of transformation as indicated by the above sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries had been making a transition from pastoralism to agriculture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 222-230.

[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

619
642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

[Great Horde]

613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

•178 61 The evidence of Izrastsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izrastsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

[Great Horde]

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest
son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be en-
countered more rarely, for danger forced them
to move as nomads with large auls. Now this
reason for keeping together is considerably
less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are
beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world
without causing any particular worries to his
relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their
own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers.
It is self-evident that in most cases their
devices are actually harmful. In fortunate
cases they consist only of whisperings and
grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases
little peace is allowed the woman who has borne
the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has
/342/ only one right: to name her newborn child.
She does this in a very original way, acting
entirely upon inspiration, often naming the
child after the first object she happens to
look at after the birth. As a result names
occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and
so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them
for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word
Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to
Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and
in general is circumcision inaugurated by
festivities, but does not occur until after
the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially

place especially often in the border regions of uyezds, because the search for the animal and the bringing of a suit in a strange uyezd is accompanied by difficulties, and with the solidarity of the biis, volost officials, translators and other persons with their constituents, it often ends unsuccessfully. As a result, on the borders of the uyezds boys and girls stand watch (kuzetedi) over the livestock until dawn. Long spears (nayza) with standards are erected before the tents of rich men to frighten away thieves.

162/ Professional thieves have accomplices in the neighboring uyezd for the sale and mutual exchange of stolen goods. They steal from their own volost and from a strange volost without discernment, blindly (kuzi sokur ksidey). But there is a proverb among the Kazakhs: "A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea. It is easier for the first to perish from stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief" (uru kasyk ei tengiz, ol urluk kylyb uzi kuruydi onyng ushun ei kurumaydy).

Since a repetition of robbery is punished more severely by customary law, one who has fallen into stealing sometimes moves to another uyezd where he is not yet known, and in case of another conviction he is punished as though for a first case of stealing.

A thief is often registered in another volost, and in case of a complaint, the volost administrator refuses to find the stolen object on the basis that the thief is not subject to him. Meanwhile the administrator of the volost in which the thief is registered is unable to know anything because he is so far away.

The Tiuri of the Chimkent uyezd also command stealing. They [181] consider it shameful for themselves to engage in agriculture.

The tents of thieves stand alone, or in small groups of 3, 4, or 5 tents. In general the more people there are, the safer it is in the steppe.

Stolen property when it is found is confiscated in favor of the owner, even though it may have already passed into strange hands by means of sale or as a gift. The person in whose possession it is found must produce the one from whom he received it, within a certain period of time. Sometimes the bii requires the person who has the stolen property to ride with the plaintiff to that locality where he hopes to find the seller of this property, and show him to the local authorities. If he finds the actual thief there, he demands from him a reimbursement of his losses. If the accused does not carry out the demand to go to the place where he says the thief is, and asserts that

[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [72] [181] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who [171] had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously
175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the
101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[153 cont.]
175 [66 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the ● 181] tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

[160 cont.]

x648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

x648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

x648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
● 181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
x648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

x648 [157 cont.]
439 desired to protect and facilitate their trade at Orenburg. The conditions suggested by Djulbars show that he was thinking less about submission than of profiting from the advantages of trade relations, and experience justified this assumption. Djulbars did not swear his loyalty and never even came to the border. The letter patent prepared in Petersburg on July 17, 1739 as a result of his promises still rests today in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

x648 Later the Russian government received several more proposals related to the submission of the Great Horde, but these were made by sultans or individual tribal chiefs whose authority did not extend over the entire horde and who desired the gifts which the Russian sovereigns made to their new subjects more than the protection of the empire.

Besides, if the Great Horde had decided to submit with the Little Horde in 1730, or with its Khan Djulbars in 1738, it would have found great obstacles to the fulfillment of its desire. The contiguity of the Dzungars and the distance of the Great Horde from the Russian frontier would have stopped it. Galdan Tsyren or Cheren, Kungtaidji of the Dzungars, would never have allowed his Kazak neighbors to take such a step, for he sustained a hereditary hatred against them and never allowed an opportunity to escape for oppressing them or avenging the wrongs done to
[721] his forefathers. The union of the Middle and the Little Hordes with Russia persuaded him to reduce the Great Horde to a position where it could not follow the example of the others; he attacked it, defeated it, and subjugated it.

x648 This conquest, however, like all victories won over nomadic
181 peoples, could not be a permanent one. Even though the Russian employees who were then (1) in the [158] Kazak steppes said

1. See Lt. Gladyshev's journal preserved in Orenburg at the Border Commission.

that Galdan's new subjects gave him a korsak /steppe fox/ pelt apiece as a sign of their submission, nevertheless misfortune could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

[246 cont.]

×648 [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their in- [578] activity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 These internal circumstances were joined by others which 662] acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[292 cont.]
[648] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[511] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[727] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[727] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[643] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[294 cont.]

[x649] very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, [101] or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed [721] to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[721 181] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181 643] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167 311] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature:
the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle. Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and carefree shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance and which they follow from place to place with their movable
342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part, which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent. These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way, are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67 meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source ● 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
342] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require [166] hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

/203 cont. /

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
195 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
191 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 179 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [154]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems--problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [033] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] [560] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

[569] The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 197 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and promoted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

K [562] K [181] K [154]

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Nevertheless, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide assurance that the process is far from complete.

K [177] KN 665

The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

KN 665 563 K [154]

The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 1

THE SETTING: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY[1]

KN 131 133

The steppes of Asia form a region in which extremes abound. The steppes themselves are a tremendous sweep of climatically and geographically continuous terrain, broken only by the upthrust of mountain chains in the center—the Altai, the Tian-Shan, and the Pamirs. This mountain complex, one of the highest in the world, divides the eastern steppe from the western. The eastern steppe, which lies between Manchuria and the mountain ranges, comprises western Manchuria, both Inner and Outer Mongolia, northeastern Tibet, and most of Sinkiang. In terms of elevation it is "high steppe," lying mostly between a mile and two miles' altitude (1,500 to 3,000 meters). The western steppe, stretching from the Caspian in the west to the Altai-Pamir chain in the east, is "low steppe," lying for great stretches at or below sea level. Whereas the eastern steppe is populated mostly by Mongols, the western is inhabited predominantly by Turkic peoples.

K 101 181

The Kazakhs take their place among the Turkic peoples of the western or low steppe. They are by tradition (i.e., past occupation and present orientation and preference) a nation of herders. Although today not all of them live the life of pastoral nomadism, the Kazakhs still constitute the single largest traditional herding group in the world.

GEOGRAPHY OF KAZAKHSTAN

KN 131 [101]

The Soviet republic that is named for the Kazakhs, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic or Kazakhstan, occupies the central and northern parts of the region formerly known as Turkestan (including Russian and Western Turkestan) or Central Asia (see Figure 1). It includes a large portion of the low steppe and covers an area of more than a million square miles (2,744,300 sq. km.).

KN 133 131

The western boundary of Kazakhstan is formed by the Caspian Sea and the marshy lowlands which stretch along the lower Volga between

[1]The non-Russian sources utilized in this study are listed in the annotated bibliography at the end of this report. References to works in this list are designated by the parenthetical inclusion of the bibliography number of the work. Other references are to Russian-language sources; a selected bibliography of such sources is available upon request from the Human Resources Research Office. The methodology used in the study is discussed in Appendix A.

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THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 649 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the [119] family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [588] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1] USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2] Rudenko et al, 1930, p. 311.
[3] Samoilovich, in Rudenko et al, 1930.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. [593] [562] [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Wiener (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

S N 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

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This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguineal distance between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

49 social bodies.
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173 These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh--and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

49 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a
121 total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

[Little Horde]

596 spective wife's elder male kin is but one aspect of
602 this respect relationship, another being that of the function of the go-between, and the initiation of the betrothal proceedings by the family of the groom, who came as supplicants for the daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, a family did not wish to have daughters, it desired sons, even though it might gain some prestige
[181] by marrying the daughters off. The emphasis on sons[1] is a correlate of the patrilineal orientation of the entire society, its patri-centrism in values.

595 The Kazakh family of the Little Horde, as elsewhere on the steppe, was polygynous if it could afford to be. On the Mangyshlak peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century it was estimated that 50 percent of the marriages were monogamous and the other 50 percent consisted of two wives, although the Kazakhs were permitted as many as five in theory. The motivation for seeking a second wife was accounted to be childlessness[204] and is exemplified in the proverb, "The more mares the more colts."[205] The Kazakhs were fully aware that the solution of one problem, the need for children, precisely, male issue, in turn raised another issue, that of possible conflict between the wives. The wives therefore were kept in separate tents;[206] again, a man rarely married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[2]

[204] Karutz, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42.

[205] Altynsarin, 103.

[206] Karutz, loc. cit.

[1] [cf. especially, cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 478 -- Analyst]
[2] [for text note cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 482 -- Analyst]

C-K 181 This explanation of the origin of the Asiatic Cossacks holds good when dealing with the European Cossacks, but of course, since the Central Empires of Eastern Europe were more sedentary than the Central Empires of Northern Asia, Cossacks of Eastern Europe were only half nomadic, whilst the Kaizak of Asia were pure nomads. In the ethnic formation of the Kaizak of Asia the Turkic blood predominated over the Tungus and Mongolic, while in the formation of European Cossacks the Slavonic blood predominated over the Turkic. Thus, however different the European and Asiatic "outskirts people" are, they possess three characteristics in common: love of personal freedom, aptitude for nomadic industries, and skill in warfare.

[144]

C. 175 History of the European Community.—I shall now pass to the history of European Cossacks, which is much easier to trace, since it is closely bound up with the histories of Russia, of Poland, and, to a lesser degree, of other East European countries.*

Several stages may be distinguished in the history of the European Cossacks. The *first stage* corresponds to the first State organization in the old Kieff Rus, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

The *second* comprises the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and corresponds to the development of the Cossack independent national communities.

The *third* covers the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the neighbouring States tried to subdue the Cossacks, and thus brought about the Cossack wars with Poland and with Russia, which led to a decline in the Cossack national strength, and eventually to their reorganization as the light cavalry of the Russian army (*voiska*).

The *fourth* is the stage of the Cossack cavalry, or *voiska*, in the nineteenth century and until the present war.

To take the *first period*. The idea of using these conquered nomadic people as defensive outposts on the borderland was already known in the days of the old Kieff Rus, in the time of Nestor, and thus existed before the term "Kaizak" came to this region. The first we hear of anything of this nature is in connection with a branch of the Pyechenyegs, the rivals of the Cumans in the invasion of Southern Russia in the twelth century. These Pyechenyegs were subdued by the Rus people, and a part of them, called Chorno-Klobuki, was used for defensive purposes on the borderlands. The Chorno-Klobuki, known of as early as 1162, were some seventy years later (1239) fighting

* M. Hrushevskii, "History of the Ukraine-Rus," Lemberg, 1904 (Ruthenian); A. Jablonowski, "History of the Southern Rus until the Fall of the Polish Commonwealth," 1912 (Polish); V. Sukhorukoff, "Historical Description of the Land of the Don Voiska," 1895 (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Historical and Statistical Account of the Ural Cossacks, 1823" (Russ.); N. Kharuzin, "Information relating to the Cossack Communities on the Don" (Russ.); P. Korolenko, "The Chernomortsy" (Russ.); F. Rawita Gawronski, Bohdan Chmielnicki, 1906-1909 (Polish); N. Rojkoff, "The Cossacks," vol. xxiii., pp. 90-118, of Jelezhoff's Encyclo. (Russ.); A. Suroff, "The Cossacks," vol xiii., pp. 882-894, of Andreevsky's Encyclo., 1895 (Russ.).

A [see pp. 43-45, category 116 - Analyst]

1: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RD2 Cossacks RD2
Ka.20.K Ka.2

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is still at a primitive and wasteful stage. Then comes the cultivation of wine and tobacco plantations. The Asiatic Cossacks are well known as traders.

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CONCLUSION.—Having traced the origin of these curious communities, followed their evolution, and seen something of their present state, I should now like to lay before you two momentous problems, one connected with the Kaizak, the other with the Cossacks, the solution of which is of vital importance to Eastern Europe and to Asia.

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The first problem arises out of the existence, the character, and the circumstances of the Turkic Kaizak (*i.e.*, the Turkic Cossacks). They are a body who, despite their nomadic condition, have an importance not to be lightly estimated, for any cause, either within Russia or without, which has their support will be very considerably strengthened thereby. Numbering from four to five million, by no means thoroughly subjugated by Mongol or by Russian power, this half-nomadic race of the Kaizak, whom, as we saw, the Russians erroneously call Kirghis, represents a considerable fighting force in its own land, since its clan organization still remains strong. Lying between Europe and Asia, its country extends from the shore of the Caspian to Pamir, and is on the route to the fabulously rich mines of Altai and Sayan and the other wealth of Siberia.

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The Kaizak may be regarded as an advance-guard to the Turks of Bokhara, Khiva, and other countries of Turkestan, but their sympathies are detached, for although they have much in common with these Turks racially and linguistically, their want of strong feeling for Mahometanism sets them apart. This is hardly surprising, since Islam was only brought to them two centuries ago, and it has never been in them a driving cultural force. On the other hand, they have always been in opposition to the Central Russian Government, an opposition of which the rising of 1916 and its subsequent massacres is a recent proof.* Their relation to the Russian Cossacks has been that of an insubordinate native tribe to a conquering Russian army, and yet Russian Cossacks and Turkic Kaizak have more in common with each other than either have with the Central Russian Government. Wherever Russian Cossacks have settled among Turkic Kaizak, it is the latter who have kept the upper hand, the Russian Cossacks adopting their mode of life and social outlook. In disregarding their essential kinship, and fostering dissension between the Russian and the Turkic Cossacks, the old Russian Government made a grave mistake. Friendly feeling and friendly terms have grown up and been established between the Turkic Kaizak and the progressive element among the Siberian colonists, which is a consideration worth noticing. There are two alternatives before the Kaizak, one of which

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* For a fuller account on the Turkic Kaizak, see M. A. Czaplicka's "Turks of Central Asia," now in preparation (Oxford University Press).

8:Kostenko -38-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak 192

871 somewhere into the midst of the numerous winter camps, and collect the children, almost exclusively boys, for several hours every day. The little girls learn to read and write very rarely, and only at home with their parents.
[876] The instruction consists of learning verses by heart in chorus and in a singsong voice, supplemented by dictation of Tatar phrases. In the instruction there is no unity and no definite rules. As a result it often happens that the pupils of one mullah can make out only with difficulty what is written by the pupils of another, because they have learned ortography by different rules.

674 Moral training. The evidence from juridical statistics for the nomads is very incomplete, because most of the misdemeanors and crimes remain unknown to the authorities due to the extent of the territory and the mobility
[186] of nomadic life. In addition, many crimes are concealed consciously from the Russian administration by the nomad leaders because they consider it a sufficient accounting to settle them in the native manner. Furthermore it cannot be said that justice suffers particularly because of this. In any case the people are satisfied with it and prefer a judgment according to their ancient customs to our criminal or civil court practice, which is definitely inaccesible to their concepts.

181 The character of the Kazakhs has all the qualities of the character of young nations and those, so to speak, not yet formed. In its main features their character is similar to the common Asiatic one, that is, the Kazakh has a conditional honesty and bravery as long

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them- [147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 121 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 698 [474]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 33.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 208.
[3] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

197 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen. [621]

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1] [565] [182]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them. [648]

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance. [182]

[1] Krader (77), 1953.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important. 177 114 779

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1] [131]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2] [171] 769 [188] [177]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so 756 [158] [187]

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1931, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

[Great Horde]

649 642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

649 642 178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

649 61 ●182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

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The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterised as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭk (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

/208 cont./

342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

/208 cont. /

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [184] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities with- [556] out forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont. /Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

S 563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
K 342 tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
K [556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
K [361] sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to
K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
[272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and
K 291 their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
[171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
[556] or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding
K 769 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

[203 cont.]

×648 The order given in this letter was not carried out. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave orders that the Kalmuks as well as the Kazaks were to be prevented from crossing the Ural to attack each other.

[726] It must be supposed that the government changed its mind because of the troubles which broke out at that time on the Siberian frontier. The Dzungarian kungtaidji suddenly advanced with his troops toward the Russian border, and his subjects began to threaten the garrisons with war, while the rumor spread that he wished to attack the establishments of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, where he was attracted by the mines of precious metals.

At this time the Dzungars were still formidable, and an attack by them could not be compared to the raids of the Kazaks. Therefore it was indispensable to prepare adequate forces against them. As a result the insolence of the Kazaks was forgotten, and Nepluev received an order (1) to persuade them to

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 3, 1744.

make raids against the Dzungars.

It was a difficult task to carry out. Khan Abulkhair still [186] held resentment against Russia in spite of the indulgence granted for his crimes. Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, retreated toward Turkestan in order to avoid Abulkhair's intrigues, and thus practically put an end to his relations with the border authorities. Besides he had less need for the help of Russia than the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, who held his son as hostage. [662] Finally, Abul Mahmet sought to be khan at Turkestan, and this city recognized the authority of Galdan Tsyren.

[664] [204] Sultan Barak, who had sworn allegiance to Russia two years earlier, lived far from her border, and fearing the Dzungars more than the Russians, he, like Abul Mahmet, had given his son to Galdan Tsyren as hostage.

[662] The latter sought to attach the sultans and the common people of the Middle Horde to himself by every means. To attain

[204 cont.]
[649] this he used threats and favors by turns, and finally he bought
[662] various Russian articles at his own expense which he had sold to the horde, not only without profit but even at a loss.

[186] Although the circumstances were so opposed to the views of the Russian government, yet the hereditary and inveterate hate of the Kazaks for the Dzungars still had enough power to keep them from being entirely indifferent to the hints of the Russians. They preferred to leave their border in peace rather than neglect the opportunity to attack their perpetual enemies, who at this time threatened to reduce them to complete subservience. In spite of their submission to Galdan Tsyren, the khans and sultans feared his domination more than that of the Russians. However, they took part with the people in the preparations for hostilities which were being made. The tribes of the Middle Horde, who were still suffering from the ravages committed against them in 1741, almost under the walls of Orenburg, were the most anxious to help the Russian troops. They were only waiting for the opening of war between them and the Dzungars, and at the first news of the beginning of hostilities they would have thrown themselves upon the settlements of their enemies with all the fury of semi-primitive people. But their hopes were dashed, for the Dzungars, in spite of their threats, left Russia in peace. This was the only way the Kazaks could have avoided the storm which threatened them, for in spite of all the patience with which the Russian government had borne their raids on the border for more than a year, it had been firmly decided to use the troops [205] stationed on the Orenburg line and others to be added to them in order to punish the Kazaks severely.

During the interval, Sultan Khodja Akhmet, who until then had been detained as hostage in the fort at Sarachinsk, was transferred to St. Petersburg. Although Abulkhair could not have been
[152] happy to see his son taken further away when he wished him closer, and although he was furiously angry with Nepluev and allowed
[721] himself new violence in his relations with him, still his subjects

[208 cont.]
100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

EK KO 648 K 648 EK KO [167] 668

[253 cont.]

after having taken counsel with the princes and the lamas (priests), he fixed the time of departure for the time when the Volga should be covered with ice. This arrangement was necessary because, although Ubashi himself was on the left bank of the river, a large part of the Torguts were on the right bank and could not join him with what they possessed except by crossing the ice.

This is why a [254] large part of the inhabitants of Astrakhan are still composed of Kalmuks today. For the winter of 1770 was warm and the rivers of southern Russia did not freeze, and Ubashi, after waiting in vain until the month of January for the Kalmuks from the right bank to join him, was obliged to abandon them and to leave with only those who were on the left bank.

They departed on the fifth of January, numbering 30,000 tents (1).

1. This is what Rychkov's journal says, but the Geographical Dictionary of the Russian Empire puts it at only 28,162.

K EK KO [662]

As they approached the Yaik /Ural River/, the governor of Orenburg warned Khan Nurali that they were going to attack the Kazaks. Consequently, in the name of the supreme government, he granted Nurali the right to fight against them and to take as much booty from them as he could, on condition that they then be made to return to their former places of abode within our borders. The government of the borders of Siberia transmitted the same advice to the Middle Horde through Sultan Ablai and other chiefs. In order to confirm these declarations, on January 27, 1771 an imperial letter patent was presented in the name of Nurali and all the Kazak people to seize the Torguts.

EK KO ●K [721] ●186

Every kind of instigation or advice was quite superfluous for the accomplishment of such designs. Every Kazak considered the chance to contribute to their execution a special bit of good fortune. Stirred with a violent hatred for all the Kalmuk descent groups, a heritage from their fathers and their most distant

European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (Oirat) AH5

KK 648 [721 186] EK KO 648 [721 186]

[254 cont.]

ancestors, they hastened out to fight against them and despoil them. In less than a month the Kazak hordes were under arms, and the entire length of the country, from the shores of the Yaik to the borders of China, was covered with bands of warriors waiting impatiently for the appearance of a people whom the Kazaks burned to immolate for injuries suffered and for the hatred they aroused simply by their name and their origin. Nurali replied to the letter patent that he was not only ready to comply [255] with the wishes of the Russian government but that he was already on the march with his subjects against the fugitives. At the same time news was received that Ablai and his horde were ready for combat. Aichuvak and other sultans wrote in the same vein, and Kaip, who had been khan of Khiva and who lived within the Little Horde after his expulsion by his subjects, promised to join the Russian troops. East of the Kazak steppes, the Kalmuks were awaited by the Sultans Abulfenz, son of Abulkhair Khan, and Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, and finally by the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, who surpassed all the neighboring peoples in daring and ferociousness.

EK KO K [721 167]

What a terrible series of battles the Torguts had to endure! What a succession of attacks, murders, and robberies occurred on their route all the way to their destination on the banks of the Ili, traveling not with an army always ready to fight, but taking along with them their wives, children, herds, and all their possessions!

Several detachments of Russian troops were immediately detailed to restrain the Kazaks, but various circumstances prevented them from acting in a manner which corresponded to the hope of the government. From then on all hope was lost of seizing the Kalmuks, and the arming of all the Kazak hordes served only to exterminate a large part of the Torguts, without contributing in any way to their return to Russia.

The first barrier which should have been opposed to them was the army of the Ural (Yaik) Cossacks, whose lands they crossed. After the Kalmuks had passed, the Cossacks were firmly ordered to pursue them, but they rebelled and openly refused to leave their homes.

[264 cont.]

~~648~~ 643 The election of Vali by Ablai's Kazak subjects and his confirmation by Russia did not prevent another khan from appearing in the same horde. He was chosen by the Naiman descent line and confirmed by the emperor of China. The descendants of the ancient Naimans, who had blended into the mass of the Kazak people of the time, obeyed, at the time of Ablai, Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet and brother of Pulat, the khan of Turkestan. And although he had had some relations with the Orenburg authorities and had even requested a stipend, he was nevertheless a subject of China. He died in 1783, leaving a son named Bupu and a son-in-law, Khan Khodja, son of Barak, whose acquaintance we have already made. One of these princes was to inherit Abulfenz's authority, but each had his partisans, who could not come to an agreement on the choice and who set the entire Naiman descent group in commotion with their quarrels. The majority of the votes were in favor of Khan Khodja, however, so that this prince became the sovereign of the former subjects of Abulfenz, and the troubles were ended. When the emperor of China learned this, he sent him a certificate as khan by one of his high officials. The ministry in Peking considered this a necessary measure because it regarded the entire Middle Horde as subjects of China and because it had named Ablai a Chinese prince. When it was seen that Ablai's son Vali was submitting [662] himself to Russia, he was speedily replaced, for the dignity of the empire, by another Kazak prince who was submissive.

~~648~~ With the exception of Vali, the other sons and close kinsmen of Ablai had few relations with Russia. Some of them proudly acknowledged themselves to be subjects of China.

This was the behavior adopted by Sultan Chingis, who [265] marched in 1784 with an army raised in the steppes to put down a revolt which had broken out in Tashkent. Another brother of [186] Khan Vali, Sultan Tyz, who was also devoted to China, is known to us only for his hatred of the Buruts.

Tyz was not the only one to attack his bloodthirsty neighbors. [721] Several sections or branches of the Kazaks who lived near the Chinese borders continued to maintain the war against the Buruts

[279 cont.]

×648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their in- 643 activity and once more began their old disputes, driven from one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him ×648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan ●186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[281 cont.]

to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

[186 662] To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg gov- [721 578] emment. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

The fact that positions of responsibility are filled by Slavs means that they are almost the only ones in Kazakhstan to be seen enjoying the material rewards so conspicuously granted to members of the Soviet elites. Regardless of whose fault this may be, it must at times breed resentment among the Kazakhs. Similarly, the preponderance of Slavs in higher governmental, Party, executive, and judicial positions means that the Kazakhs are almost never governed, judged, or defended by their fellows. It must often happen that Kazakhs who feel they are the victims of injustice identify this as discrimination. KN 665 563 654 648

NATIONALITY POLICY

KN 563

Soviet policy toward the minority nationalities within the USSR has also created a long-standing dilemma in the case of the Kazakhs—a dilemma which appears to provide an important vulnerability for psychological warfare exploitation. This policy strives to create national political units which are "socialist in content, national in form." This means in effect that the political structure and economy of the various national groups are organized along standard Soviet lines and their energies are directed toward Soviet objectives, but the symbols of nationality (particularly the local languages) are retained to grant a sense of continuity with past traditions. The devising and implementing of this policy was the earliest responsibility assumed by Stalin under Lenin's guidance. It has had varying degrees of success in different areas, but in the balance has proved to be a very useful tool of Soviet administration.

The Kazakhs, however, are a people still too deeply attached to their old life and its traditions and values to accept mere lip service to their national heritage. Every time an effort has been made to raise Kazakh morale and productivity by permitting public attention to national heroes and literature, the result has been an enthusiasm the Soviets have viewed as threatening. This was particularly true when, during World War II, national patriotism was extensively exploited throughout the USSR to inspire the people to defend their homeland. Among the Kazakhs this developed into a cult glorifying their native heroes and culture, a phenomenon which had also appeared during the 1920's and had grown until it became such a threat that it was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviets. After the war Kazakh nationalism, left unsuppressed, continued to grow in strength until finally in the 1950's a purge was required to check its growing force. K [186] [668]

It seems certain that these sentiments will lie for a long time close beneath the surface, available for mobilization through psychological warfare, regardless of the turns Soviet nationality policy might take in the event of another war. For this reason, considerable attention has been devoted in this report to Kazakh history, including its national heroes, and to Kazakh cultural values and traditions. K 121

One method which the Soviets employ to make the minority republics "national in form" is the utilization wherever possible of native Communists to fill positions in the local Party and government. As might be expected, in the Kazakh SSR there is a chronic shortage of KN 563 665

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 648 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. K [815] A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of archi- [341] tecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter [262] on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central [369] Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to [186] keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

K 177 186 This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

systematic, and subject to a number of qualifications. What data there are, however, suggest that among the people of Kazakhstan Russians marry Russians and Turks marry Turks. Again it appears that the Kazakhs do not wish to mingle with the Russians, just as, in the political domain, they do not join the Party nor engage in other political activities with the Russians. In general, on the basis of what direct evidence there is, this attitude may be summed up as noncompliance, or a kind of passive resistance. Corroborative data are seen in the economic domain, where the Kazakhs are not fulfilling plans.

THE SOVIET THEORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

The theory of acculturation in anthropology has been devised to describe the social process which occurs when two different cultures come into close contact with each other. This theory has arisen out of the reflections of western European and American ethnologists on contact between their own culture and others. But there is in western civilization no general theory of culture which deals with total control of the social relations and direction of change resulting from such contact. The Russian policy toward minorities within the Soviet Union is nothing other than a theory of controlled acculturation. In their theory of history and in the formulation of their minority policy the Soviet theoreticians have proclaimed a method whereby they—and they alone—are able to control the processes of social development. They boast control over the direction in which the different peoples of the Soviet Union will change; they claim the power to dictate the manner of the change and the form that the ultimate society will take.

Starting out as a society of pastoral nomads in which membership was based on paternal kinship traced from a common male ancestor (a society also divided into aristocrats and commoners), the Kazakhs joined—or rather, were drafted into—the Soviet world. The Soviet ethnographers depict the Kazakh society as an amalgam of institutions surviving from the past, coupled with Soviet features such as collective farm organization, Party membership, and government by soviets. The survivals include the family as the unit of production and consumption, and the traditional village organization, upon which the collective farm has been superimposed. Another survival is nepotism, which is ever present in Kazakh political life. A society steeped in traditions of kinship thinks of kinship as the means for social cooperation; hence, nepotism is inherent in the very nature of Kazakh society and inevitably finds its way into the political life. But it is incompatible with the Soviet pattern and it is attacked as such.

Soviet criticism of these features, and the constant drive to eradicate them, are essential elements in the theory of controlled social and cultural change. This change originating in the contact between the Russian and the Kazakh cultures becomes a part of the general pattern of controlled acculturation. This, however, is only the theory.

In reality there is little evidence that the grand plan for social change is being carried out, or even that there is a means for carrying

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgiz, both Kazakh-Kirgiz and Kara-Kirgiz, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgiz themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature con-
[611] ducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central feature of Kazakh-Kirgiz social structure is the lineage,
[186] the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for con-
D75] siderable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgiz group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history—the mythical history

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[5] Radlov, Obrazetsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6] Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7] Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AH/Mongolia, Cat. 116, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

173 of Fortes, the native history which counterfeits history.[8]

173 186 The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their own men of letters, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.[9] This myth further affirms the Turkic descent from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally, that is, from this ancestor they take their name. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to their own: the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgazi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,[10] and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are an Islamic people.

173 61 The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgis and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a

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[8] Fortes, Dynamics of Clanship, pp. xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

[9] Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

[10] Idem; cf. Bichurin, I, 222 (260).

8:Kostenko -35-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak R92

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[182] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

871 somewhere into the midst of the numerous winter camps, and collect the children, almost exclusively boys, for several hours every day. The little girls learn to read and write very rarely, and only at home with their parents. [876] The instruction consists of learning verses by heart in chorus and in a singsong voice, supplemented by dictation of Tatar phrases. In the instruction there is no unity and no definite rules. As a result it often happens that the pupils of one mullah can make out only with difficulty what is written by the pupils of another, because they have learned ortography by different rules.

674 Moral training. The evidence from juridical statistics for the nomads is very incomplete, because most of the misdemeanors and crimes remain unknown to the authorities due to the extent of the territory and the mobility [186] of nomadic life. In addition, many crimes are concealed consciously from the Russian administration by the nomad leaders because they consider it a sufficient accounting to settle them in the native manner. Furthermore it cannot be said that justice suffers particularly because of this. In any case the people are satisfied with it and prefer a judgment according to their ancient customs to our criminal or civil court practice, which is definitely inaccesible to their concepts.

181 The character of the Kazakhs has all the qualities of the character of young nations and those, so to speak, not yet formed. In its main features their character is similar to the common Asiatic one, that is, the Kazakh has a conditional honesty and bravery as long

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --58 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Siberia RR2

H.S. /172 cont. /

175 87 At the beginning of the 1880's the first private society for cultural enlightenment was opened in the region "for the care of elementary education" (in Omsk). In general, education began to make considerable strides in the region beginning from the 1860's. In recent times attention has been turned to agricultural education and the spreading of skills and crafts through the region. Lower agricultural schools were opened in the uyezds in 1885 for this purpose. Finally it would be impossible not to mention the opening (in 1877) in Omsk of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which occupies an eminent place in the history of enlightenment in the region, both in the study of the region and as an educational society, and which is rallying the best local cultural forces around it.

K 175 871 191 The dissemination of reading and writing among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population was founded long ago. Their first elementary schools were opened even considerably earlier than those for the Russian population, but there is very little literacy in Russian among them.

This lack of literacy in Russian among the indigenous population is explained, perhaps, by the fact that at the beginning in these schools there was not as much effort made to teach the children to read and write Russian as there was to give them a definite ideological direction. Thus the first schools were K 175 871 opened by the administration in 1782 in many mosques, and Tobolsk Tatars were hired as teachers in order to block the influence of the Central Asian mullahs on the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population subject to the Russians. At the same time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were given full access to Russian schools. In the 1870's boarding schools were opened in all the uyezd towns in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively for Kirghiz /Kazak/ children (later transformed into lower agricultural schools). At present nomad village schools are being opened here.

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

These are, however, minor differences. The main point is that for purposes of oral communication Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Karakalpak are so mutually intelligible as to form a single language.

In writing and printing, the Turks of Central Asia used the Arabic script until the 20th century. In the 1930's Soviet authorities introduced first the Latin and in 1939-1940 the Cyrillic alphabets, with certain necessary additions for each language. The resultant orthographies present slightly differing appearances for Kazakh and Kirgiz. This difference constitutes a handicap, even for educated readers, to those unaccustomed to reading printed matter in both languages. Nevertheless, after a little initial hesitation, a Kazakh reader will be able to make out the content of an article in an unfamiliar Kirgiz newspaper. The communicator trying to reach both Kirgiz and Kazakhs by means of a written or printed document in one of these languages should therefore be aware that he must provide some incentive to readers of the other language to expend the extra effort. 212

In delimiting a target group within the Kazakh SSR one should remember that Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians) constitute over half of the total population. Russian is the language of the politically dominant group; the central government in Moscow is determined to make it the lingua franca of the realm. How much bilingualism this effort has produced among the Kazakhs is not known. Communist Party authorities frequently complain about the inadequacy of Russian instruction in Kazakh SSR schools. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the proportion of Kazakhs with knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last two decades. No quantitative information in this respect is available, but a few generalizations can be made. In general, more Kazakh men than women, and more young people than old, learn the Russian language. One finds proportionately more Russian-speaking Kazakhs in urban areas than in rural (and fewest among the remaining nomadic tribes), and more among those whose socialstatus makes knowledge of Russian a necessity for maintaining that status, such as political and professional leaders and workers in prestige manual occupations such as railroading. 191 648 [369]

On the other hand, the proportion of Russians in the KSSR who have a good working knowledge of the Kazakh language is probably small. Those who have such knowledge are minor officials, Party functionaries, work foremen, and others who deal with the monolingual Kazakh population in a direct supervisory capacity.

Much more would have to be said about bilingualism in a study of the other four union republics in Soviet Central Asia.[3] The fact that 191

[3]The Tartars of Turkestan deserve special mention in this context. They owe their important historical position as traders and mediators between the Turks and Russians to their knowledge of languages, high general educational standards (e.g., literacy), and zeal as teachers of Islam. However, it is probable that the influence of this small ethnic group (about 1% in 1926) has declined in the last quarter of a century.

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some persons know or understand a second language in addition to their native tongue may be to the advantage of the communicator using mass channels, since such knowledge thus increases the number of people which messages in that language may be expected to reach. But it is essential that the propagandist know the role of the secondary language in the mind of the audience. Emotional opposition of the receiver to the language of the communicator (because it represents to him the language of the oppressor) may counteract the most carefully determined content.

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LITERACY

The usefulness of the various printed media of communication depends on the literacy rate of a given population. According to Lorimer, in 1926 only 7.1 per cent of all Kazakhs "were able to read (in any language)."[1] This proportion placed them, according to the census of that year, ahead (!) of all native Central Asian groups except the Taranchi (8.5%). At that time the over-all proportion of persons aged nine years or older within the Kazakh republic who were able to read was 22.8 per cent (male 32.6%, female 12.5%). The comparable figures from the 1939 census are included in Table 11.

Table 11

LITERACY IN THE KSSR AND RSFSR, 1939*

Republic	Male Population	Female Population	Total Population
KSSR	85.2	66.3	76.3
RSFSR	92.3	73.0	81.9

*Percentage of persons aged nine or older able to read or write. From Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 199.

If one assumes that roughly half the population of the KSSR were Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians) and half were Turkic nationals (Kazakhs and a small number of Uzbeks and Taranchi), and that the RSFSR literacy rate is representative of the Slavic group, an estimate of 70.7 per cent literacy can be derived for the Turkic group as a whole. However, the Uzbek rate is lower than that of the Kazakhs, and quite probably the Slavs constituted less than half of the population of the KSSR; therefore the best estimate of the literacy rate in 1939 among the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan would appear to be approximately 72 per cent.

These data indicate an apparent tenfold increase between 1926 and 1939 in the literacy rate among Kazakhs in the KSSR. This is misleading, for the censuses were not based on the same definition of literacy; the figures for 1926 included only those able to read, while the 1939 figures include persons able to read <u>or</u> write. Thus the 1939 census may list as literate a number of people who were merely able to sign their

[1] Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 58.

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193 constituent parts of the word are easily separated. Such languages are known among some scholars as agglutinative, and among others as uninflected, formless, etc. Since Ural-Altaic peoples speak them, they are most often called Ural-Altaic
• 192 languages. Under the influence of Islam and of their neighbors (Russians, Mongols, and others), one notices /204/ an admixture of foreign words in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language from Arabic, Mongol, Russian, and especially Tatar, and several other languages.

538 The folklore is quite rich, although it is also monotonous. It is expressed primarily in works of lyric and epic content. The former come down to a description of love and the experiencing of various feelings and situations by the lovers. Much space is given to comparisons of the internal and external qualities of the hero and heroine. The epic works contain descriptions of the former life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the deeds and great feasts "across the whole steppe" of eminent heroes and rich khans -- Ablai, Naurzbai, and others. Of these, the poem "Kurpech (Kuzu) and Bayan (Solu)" deserves the greatest attention. This is an ancient work, evidently not by one author but by a group. Although it has an uncomplicated plot (Kurpech loves Bayan and on the advice of his father thinks of marrying her, but another suitor, Tologoi, appears and kills Kurpech, and Bayan then kills Tologoi and herself), this work is of great interest for its artistic description of nature and especially of the everyday life and manners of its time. From this point of view it has no equal among other Kirghiz /Kazak/ works. Its popularity among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is great. Many place names are associated with the names of its heroes -- mountains, rivers, landmarks, and others (where the events described took place). The grave of Kurpech has been preserved until now (not far from Sergiopol).

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533 life associated with various rituals and events of life -- weddings, funerals, etc. The works of the well-known folk poet Nogoibai and his followers should be named as compositions of the most

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342 [192] As a dwelling, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in summer use the yurt (more precisely -- the uy, i.e., dwelling, for yurt is a Mongol word), and in winter, the kstau, i.e., winter camp. In rare cases (among the poor) the yurt serves as the summer and winter dwelling. In the southern part of the region, where the winters are not so severe, average families also live in yurts.

We shall give somewhat more detail in describing the yurt, since the whole life of the nomad is concentrated within it. /206/ His world view is formed here and all the most important moments of his domestic and public life take place here. The winter camp is a sad necessity called for by local climatic peculiarities.

The yurt is a wooden, cone-like form, a lattice-work framework, with felt stretched over it. Because of its lightness and simple structure it is quickly taken apart and also quickly assembled, which is very important in connection with the frequent migrations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The framework of the yurt consists of the "kerege" -- a wooden lattice serving the basis of the tent (a section of it, made of 12-17 pairs of sticks, is called a kanat) -- and the "chengarak," which is a wooden circle with arched transverse shafts called "kul'dereush." The kerege and chengarak are fastened together by wooden arches -- "uka" -- which are inserted at one end into the opening of the chengarak and the other is tied to the kerege. The number of uka in a tent varies. In small ones there are up to 100, and in large ones there are 150-200. The height of the kerege, the length of the uka, and the dimensions of the chengarak differ in different yurts. The height of a yurt is four to six arshins. The yurt door consists of a rectangular frame one and a half arshins high. The side parts of the frame are called "bosaga" or "tayanysh," the lower side "tabyldyryk," and the upper side "mandaiga." The door or "yesyk" is made out of thick felt cloth or wood. All this is fastened to the "kerege." The "chengarak" is fastened to the center of the tent with a lasso, called "dzhil'-bau," so that the wind will not blow it away, or it is supported with a special pole called "bakan." From [286] the outside the kerege is covered with a woven network of chiy

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One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

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expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia. 121 114

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union. 101 [161] [197] [145]

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration. 121

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. 122

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form. 104

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 235–62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

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8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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it happened that, thus the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Bürut. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

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Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

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The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic.[1] The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

[1]In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 [67] [731]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1939 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [171] [197]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

Chapter 8

COMMUNICATION

121 One of the assumptions on which this study is based is that the Kazakhs of Soviet Central Asia are a potentially receptive audience for American psychological warfare. Information gained from the study would seem to support this assumption. Such information could be used to infer psychological vulnerability areas of the target population. But one can do little in the area of vulnerability content—vulnerable to what, under what conditions?—without knowledge of the communication process as it takes place within the target population. In practical terms, before determining what is to be said, the problem of how and through what channel it is to be said in order to reach the given target should be considered.

For this reason, a general discussion of communication conditions in Soviet Central Asia seems appropriate.

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS[1]

● 197 The languages of Turkestan may be divided into three general groups: Turkic, Slavic (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian), and Iranian (e.g., Tadzhik).

Since the Kazakhs are a Turkic people, attention will be focused on this group. The major Turkic-speaking peoples are (1) the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks, (2) the Uzbeks, and (3) the Turkmen. Uzbek and Turkmen are definitely separate languages, but those of the "three K's" are so similar in their spoken form that they may be viewed as dialects of one language. The following comparisons may benefit readers more familiar with European languages: The relationship between Kazakh and Kirgiz or between Kazakh and Karakalpak is roughly similar to that between the Czech and Slovak languages, or between the Danish and Norwegian.

In geographic areas where related languages have existed side by side, transitional strips may be found where the dialect spoken by the population has been clearly influenced by the language of their neighbors. The chief difference between the speech of the Karakalpaks and that of the Kazakhs, for example, is that the former language replaces initial "t" by "d" and "k" by "g". This feature is characteristic of Turkmen,

115 [1]Much of the material on linguistic conditions is based on a discussion with Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington.

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

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Nevertheless, among primitive peoples news often travels with amazing alacrity. One example of a technologically primitive but effective medium is the "jungle telegraph" of relayed tom-tom beats. The people of the steppe also developed an institution for the rapid transmission of news and rumor: the uzun kulak (the "long ear"). As soon as a given item of news reached an aul, a man mounted his horse and sped to the nearest encampment to inform its inhabitants of imminent danger or the presence of the tax collector. This form of rumor-through-cavalry still achieves some surprising results. During the collectivization drive, it frequently happened that by the time the grain-collecting party arrived in an area, all Kazakhs had disappeared—men, women, children, animals, tents, grain, and all. Soviet sources testify to many instances of the effectiveness of the uzun kulak. In view of its institutionalized character, "the long ear" qualifies for mention as an established means of communication in Kazakhstan.

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The "long ear" is a peculiarly Kazakh form of communication. Another communication phenomenon of typically Soviet origin is that of mass agitation. Inkeles devotes a goodly part of his book to the topic of agitation and the agitator. From the point of view of the audience (kolkhoz or factory workers, miners, students, or the public at large), the agitators are transmitters of the current Party line regarding theoretical orthodoxy, persuaders who must induce their listeners to fulfill given economic goals. According to official figures 60 per cent of all agitators were KSSR Party members. The rest came mostly from the Komsomol organization.[3]

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In 1949, there were 12,580 propagandists (of whom only 400 were full-time propaganda workers) and 122,000 agitators in the KSSR;[3] in 1951, the figures reported were 15,810 and 158,652.[3]

A particularly interesting form of agitation is the Red Yurt. The use of Red Yurts in Kazakhstan is comparable to that of Red Tents in other critical Soviet areas. Red Yurts travel across the country, stopping in areas where the Party wants to intensify its drive for bigger and better production. In 1948, for example, a Red Yurt was set up in Western Kazakhstan; it served the livestock breeders of a large collective. Among them it organized 300 veterinary, literary, agitation brigade, and dramatic circles. Its library contained more than 500 books on art, politics, and technical subjects.[4]

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The activities of the Red Yurt illustrate a major truth about the Soviet Union: It is extremely difficult to delineate within any area of the Soviet Union what falls under the heading of communication, or agitation and propaganda, or perhaps information and education.

[3]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[4]*Ibid.*
[3]*Ibid.*, 16 Dec 51.
[4]*Kul'turno-Prosvetitel'naia Rabota*, Vol. 13, No. 7, July 1952, p. 47.

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them- [147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

• 203 574 Idleness and boredom have aroused curiosity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

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khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

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Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand especially easily an analytic type of exposition. They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

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/352/ The Sarts

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The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [173] [126]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 299-300.
[2] For a summary, see Tagibaev, 1934, passim.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Table 13

NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Year	Number	Total Circulation
1937[a]	345	ND
1940 (Jan)[b]	220	940,000
1947[c]	266	ND
1949 (Feb)	238[b]	758,000[d]
1951 (Nov)[d]	246	865,000
1952 (Sep)[e]	257	882,000

[a]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e]*Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
ND: No data available.

KN [161] estimate).[1] The estimated population of the KSSR in 1952 was 7,000,000 and the total newspaper circulation 882,000; hence for every 1,000 persons there were 126 newspaper copies. The corresponding figure for the USSR in the late 1940's was 118 copies per 1,000 individuals (based on a total circulation of 23,600,000, and an estimated population of 200,000,000). On the basis of this crude comparison, it would appear that access to newspapers is at least as great in the KSSR as it is in the Soviet Union as a whole.[2] Unfortunately, no pertinent data were found on newspaper circulation in the USSR according to language of publication. However, information on numbers of papers at given times permits the compilation of Table 14, showing the proportion of Kazakh-language papers in the republic.

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The proportion of the Kazakh language papers has remained remarkably stable, if the available figures can be taken at face value. Since the 1939 census the number of Kazakh papers seems to have remained at slightly more than one-half of the total; it is conceivable that this proportion has been dictated from above, to strengthen the pretense that the KSSR is entitled to the name Kazakh, for the Kazakhs certainly form less than one-half of the republic's population.

It is very probable that the combined daily circulation of the Russian-language newspapers is greater than that of the Kazakh-language press.[3]

[1]*Pravda*, 5 May 49, reported 7,200 newspapers for the USSR. The total of 257 newspapers in the KSSR (Table 13) was divided into a rounded population figure of 7,000,000 inhabitants.

[2]Including the circulation of the all-Union press, the USSR ratio would be 155 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. The comparable figures for the United States (English-language dailies only) as of September 1952: circulation 54 million, population 160 million, or 337 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. These ratios come closer together when only the population aged 15 and older is considered: USSR 340, United States 470 per 1,000 inhabitants.

[3]The above figures first appeared (for the year 1947) in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948. Older information corroborates the hypothesis that Russian-language papers have a much higher average circulation than the Kazakh ones. For example, *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo Kazakhskoi ASSR*, p. 305, lists as of 1 Jan 35 a total of 163 newspapers with a circulation of 351,000. The Russian papers (35) had a mean circulation of 9,670, whereas the 94 Kazakh-language papers had an average circulation of exactly *half* that number. (There were 24 papers of unspecified languages with an average circulation of 610 each.)

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Table 14

PROPORTION OF KAZAKH-LANGUAGE PAPERS

Year	Total Number of Papers	Kazakh-Language Papers	Kazakh-Language Proportion of Total (%)
1937[a]	345	163	47
1940[b]	220	126	57
1947[c]	266	139	52
1952[d]	257	135[e]	53

[a]*Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e]An estimate based on a language distribution in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, for district-level papers. Of 213 such papers, 117 were Kazakh, 91 Russian, 3 Uigur, and 2 Uzbek. It was assumed that each of the 16 regions publishes a Kazakh paper as well as a Russian, and that there is at least one city-level and one republic Kazakh-language paper.

Whereas quantitative information on the circulation of Kazakh-language papers is conveniently omitted from the 1952 edition of the standard Soviet encyclopedia (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia), the same source cites as an achievement the figures for the largest Kazakh monthlies: Pioneer, 10,000; Kommunist, 7,000; and The People's Teacher (Narodnyi uchitel'), 5,000. All of these periodicals as well as 90 per cent of all books produced in the Kazakh Republic are printed in Alma-Ata.

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In 1937, according to a specialized Soviet source, more than 85 per cent of the books published in Kazakhstan were printed in the capital, Alma-Ata.[1] In that year 5,300,000 volumes were published in the republic, of which almost 90 per cent were written in the Kazakh language;[2] most of the non-Kazakh books were in Russian. The 4,700,000 volumes in the Kazakh language included 252 titles,[3] which represents a mean edition figure of 18,600, surprisingly high for a minority language. By subject matter, most KSSR books fell into one of these four categories:[4] (1) belles-lettres (26%), (2) politics, law, and "socialist construction" (18%), (3) mathematics and physical sciences (14%), and (4) linguistics and philology (12%).

The war had a devastating effect on the book publishing trade in the Soviet Union. The total number of volumes published was 20 per cent smaller in 1947 than in 1937 (see Table 15). Within the Kazakh republic, however, the number of volumes published actually increased by 20 per cent during that period. Accompanying this increase in production was a significant change in the ratio of native- to nonnative-language publications (see Table 16). The number of books published in the Kazakh language was cut almost in half, while the number of publications in

[1]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[2]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[3]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[4]*Ibid.*

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas

Plate 8

or

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619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
171 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

/204 cont./

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich). One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally, one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
177 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
[533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung, of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny" and "olengchi" (like the psaltery and kobza players of old Rus'). The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming," paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most important moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

These are, however, minor differences. The main point is that for purposes of oral communication Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Karakalpak are so mutually intelligible as to form a single language.

In writing and printing, the Turks of Central Asia used the Arabic script until the 20th century. In the 1930's Soviet authorities introduced first the Latin and in 1939-1940 the Cyrillic alphabets, with certain necessary additions for each language. The resultant orthographies present slightly differing appearances for Kazakh and Kirgiz. This difference constitutes a handicap, even for educated readers, to those unaccustomed to reading printed matter in both languages. Nevertheless, after a little initial hesitation, a Kazakh reader will be able to make out the content of an article in an unfamiliar Kirgiz newspaper. The communicator trying to reach both Kirgiz and Kazakhs by means of a written or printed document in one of these languages should therefore be aware that he must provide some incentive to readers of the other language to expend the extra effort. 212

In delimiting a target group within the Kazakh SSR one should remember that Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians) constitute over half of the total population. Russian is the language of the politically dominant group; the central government in Moscow is determined to make it the lingua franca of the realm. How much bilingualism this effort has produced among the Kazakhs is not known. Communist Party authorities frequently complain about the inadequacy of Russian instruction in Kazakh SSR schools. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the proportion of Kazakhs with knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last two decades. No quantitative information in this respect is available, but a few generalizations can be made. In general, more Kazakh men than women, and more young people than old, learn the Russian language. One finds proportionately more Russian-speaking Kazakhs in urban areas than in rural (and fewest among the remaining nomadic tribes), and more among those whose social status makes knowledge of Russian a necessity for maintaining that status, such as political and professional leaders and workers in prestige manual occupations such as railroading. 191 648 [369]

On the other hand, the proportion of Russians in the KSSR who have a good working knowledge of the Kazakh language is probably small. Those who have such knowledge are minor officials, Party functionaries, work foremen, and others who deal with the monolingual Kazakh population in a direct supervisory capacity.

Much more would have to be said about bilingualism in a study of the other four union republics in Soviet Central Asia.[1] The fact that 191

[1]The Tartars of Turkestan deserve special mention in this context: They owe their important historical position as traders and mediators between the Turks and Russians to their knowledge of languages, high general educational standards (e.g., literacy), and zeal as teachers of Islam. However, it is probable that the influence of this small ethnic group (about 1% in 1926) has declined in the last quarter of a century.

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some persons know or understand a second language in addition to their native tongue may be to the advantage of the communicator using mass channels, since such knowledge thus increases the number of people which messages in that language may be expected to reach. But it is essential that the propagandist know the role of the secondary language in the mind of the audience. Emotional opposition of the receiver to the language of the communicator (because it represents to him the language of the oppressor) may counteract the most carefully determined content.

K KN 212

LITERACY

The usefulness of the various printed media of communication depends on the literacy rate of a given population. According to Lorimer, in 1926 only 7.1 per cent of all Kazakhs "were able to read (in any language)."[1] This proportion placed them, according to the census of that year, ahead (!) of all native Central Asian groups except the Taranchi (8.5%). At that time the over-all proportion of persons aged nine years or older within the Kazakh republic who were able to read was 22.8 per cent (male 32.6%, female 12.5%). The comparable figures from the 1939 census are included in Table 11.

Table 11

LITERACY IN THE KSSR AND RSFSR, 1939*

Republic	Male Population	Female Population	Total Population
KSSR	85.2	66.3	76.3
RSFSR	92.3	73.0	81.9

*Percentage of persons aged nine or older able to read or write. From Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 199.

If one assumes that roughly half the population of the KSSR were Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Belo-Russians) and half were Turkic nationals (Kazakhs and a small number of Uzbeks and Taranchi), and that the RSFSR literacy rate is representative of the Slavic group, an estimate of 70.7 per cent literacy can be derived for the Turkic group as a whole. However, the Uzbek rate is lower than that of the Kazakhs, and quite probably the Slavs constituted less than half of the population of the KSSR; therefore the best estimate of the literacy rate in 1939 among the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan would appear to be approximately 72 per cent.

These data indicate an apparent tenfold increase between 1926 and 1939 in the literacy rate among Kazakhs in the KSSR. This is misleading, for the censuses were not based on the same definition of literacy; the figures for 1926 included only those able to read, while the 1939 figures include persons able to read <u>or</u> write. Thus the 1939 census may list as literate a number of people who were merely able to sign their

[1] Lorimer (88), 1946, p. 58.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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names. This discrepancy should not be overemphasized, however; Lorimer's comment on Tadzhikistan may be pertinent here as well:[1]

> "The change in definition would appear to indicate a relaxation of standards in census procedure, but it would be gratuitous to attribute the phenomenal change mainly to this factor. The apparent trend is supported by an abundance of circumstantial evidence."

No doubt the proportion of Kazakhs able to read and write is on the increase. When the next figures are published, the Soviet authorities may well claim 90 per cent literacy among the Kazakhs. Yet, how many of these people knew the Latin alphabet (still in force in 1939), but have not "converted" to Cyrillic? How great is the "reading ability" of those who learned the art as adults and perhaps against their will? How effective are the literacy programs; as measured by followups and retests? Library research cannot provide adequate answers to such questions. One can only assume that as simple rules of thumb the same generalizations that describe Kazakh knowledge of the Russian language apply to Kazakh literacy as well. These generalizations may be helpful in attempts to pinpoint relatively small target groups.

COMMUNICATION CONDITIONS IN KAZAKHSTAN

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The development of communication systems in Kazakhstan has followed the pattern already noted there in other industrial and technological areas. Many changes have been introduced since Tsarist times—better machines and equipment, more modern techniques—but progress has been slow, and the picture is still one of glaring deficiency.

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First Secretary Shaiakhmetov reported on communication conditions at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Party Congresses (in 1949, 1951, and 1952). According to Kazakhstanskaia Pravda,[2] he said that a number of new telegraph lines had been built, but that 19 district centers had no direct wire connections with regional capitals.[3] Construction of these lines was anticipated within three or four years (from 1951). Alma-Ata, the capital of the republic, still lacked adequate telegraph connections with the district centers.

In 1949, Shaiakhmetov reported, Alma-Ata had regular telephone connections with 56 cities and 135 districts. In both 1951 and 1952, he complained about the lack of progress and called for (1) construction of lines to all village-aul soviets and sovkhozes, (2) reliable connections between the regional capitals and MTS's, MZh's, and cattle herding centers, (3) construction of automatic telephone exchanges in such cities as Balkhash, Temir-Tau, and Dzhezkazgan, (4) reconstruction, expansion, and modernization of exchanges in other population centers, and (5) radiotelephone connections between district centers and remote herding points.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[2] 25-26 Feb 49, 16 Dec 51, 21 Sep 52.
[3] This constituted less than 10% of all Kazakh SSR districts.
[4] On 4 Aug 49 *Pravda* reported: "Kazakh herdsmen who graze their herds in steppes hundreds of kilometers from the nearest village maintain contact with the rest of the country through 180 two-way radios and hundreds of receivers."

771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/

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K KN 204

Table 14

PROPORTION OF KAZAKH-LANGUAGE PAPERS

Year	Total Number of Papers	Kazakh-Language Papers	Kazakh-Language Proportion of Total (%)
1937[a]	345	163	47
1940[b]	220	126	57
1947[c]	266	139	52
1952[d]	257	135[e]	53

[a]*Statisticheskoe Sredne'Pstvo.*
[b]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e]An estimate based on a language distribution in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, for district-level papers. Of 213 such papers, 117 were Kazakh, 91 Russian, 3 Uigur, and 2 Uzbek. It was assumed that each of the 16 regions publishes a Kazakh paper as well as a Russian, and that there is at least one city-level and one republic Kazakh-language paper.

Whereas quantitative information on the circulation of Kazakh-language papers is conveniently omitted from the 1952 edition of the standard Soviet encyclopedia (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia), the same source cites as an achievement the figures for the largest Kazakh monthlies: Pioneer, 10,000; Kommunist, 7,000; and The People's Teacher (Narodnyi uchitel'), 5,000. All of these periodicals as well as 90 per cent of all books produced in the Kazakh Republic are printed in Alma-Ata.

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In 1937, according to a specialized Soviet source, more than 85 per cent of the books published in Kazakhstan were printed in the capital, Alma-Ata.[1] In that year 5,300,000 volumes were published in the republic, of which almost 90 per cent were written in the Kazakh language;[2] most of the non-Kazakh books were in Russian. The 4,700,000 volumes in the Kazakh language included 252 titles,[3] which represents a mean edition figure of 18,600, surprisingly high for a minority language. By subject matter, most KSSR books fell into one of these four categories:[4] (1) belles-lettres (26%), (2) politics, law, and "socialist construction" (18%), (3) mathematics and physical sciences (14%), and (4) linguistics and philology (12%).

The war had a devastating effect on the book publishing trade in the Soviet Union. The total number of volumes published was 20 per cent smaller in 1947 than in 1937 (see Table 15). Within the Kazakh republic, however, the number of volumes published actually increased by 20 per cent during that period. Accompanying this increase in production was a significant change in the ratio of native- to nonnative-language publications (see Table 16). The number of books published in the Kazakh language was cut almost in half, while the number of publications in

[1]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[2]*Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[3]*Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[4]*Ibid.*

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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other languages (chiefly Russian) increased by five times the 1937 figure. The same change in the relative numbers of native-language and Russian-language titles occurred in Uzbekistan, although not to such an extreme degree.[1]

Table 15

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR AND SELECTED REPUBLICS, 1937 AND 1947[a]

Area	1937	1947
USSR	674,000,000	541,000,000
RSFSR	549,000,000	439,000,000
UzSSR	11,600,000	6,800,000
KSSR	5,300,000	6,400,000

[a]Compiled from Tables 3 and 4 of the standard volume, *The Soviet Press in Figures (Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh).*

Table 16

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN KSSR AND UzSSR BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION

Year	Kazakhstan		Uzbekistan	
	Kazakh Language	Other Languages	Uzbek Language	Other Languages
1937[a]	4,700,000	600,000	9,900,000	1,700,000
1938[b]	6,200,000	1,400,000	ND	ND
1947[a]	3,400,000	3,000,000	4,700,000	2,100,000

[a]Figures from Tables 4 and 5 of *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[b]Figures from *Tsifry o pechati SSSR.*
ND: No data available.

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The literary production of Kazakhstan in 1937 was given as 322 titles, of which 182 were original works and 140 were translations. (The parallel figures for Uzbekistan were 498 titles, 310 originals and 188 translations.)[2] It may be assumed that again most titles fell into the belles-lettres category. In some Soviet statistics this category is further subdivided into prose, drama, and poetry. No detailed data are available for the postwar period, but in 1937 Kazakh literary production was similar in respect to these subcategories to the total USSR "non-Russian language" production.

[1]These data lend themselves to a dual interpretation. One might say that although the native population had probably grown in size and certainly in relative literacy in these 10 years, it was being given less reading material than before the war. The Kazakhs could not turn to any books published in their language elsewhere in the USSR, since such production (if any) would be negligible. On the other hand, the 1947 ratio of native to nonnative publications corresponds more closely to the actual ethnic composition of the population.

[2]Table 6 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Of the belles-lettres publications in the USSR during the 1938-1947 decade, 16,400,000 titles were in the Russian language and 9,000,000 titles were in non-Russian languages. Prose works constituted almost 60 per cent of the Russian titles, only 36 per cent of the non-Russian. Corresponding figures for drama were 11 per cent and 8 per cent, for poetry 23 per cent and 46 per cent, and for other works 7 and 10 per cent, respectively.[1]

Almost half of the belles-lettres publications in the minority languages were poetry; the corresponding proportion of the Russian works was less than a fourth. The popularity among these people of poetry as an art form, and the significance of this finding for psychological warfare against Soviet minorities, seem fairly evident.

Radio

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Despite the claims of Party leaders, many people within the Soviet Union read very poorly. In a target audience where such is the case, the spoken word is a more effective means of communication. The standard medium of mass communication by the less-demanding spoken word is radio.

To the American observer it may seem that radio in the USSR plays but a minor role in comparison to the position this medium has achieved in the United States. Such a situation is certainly not due to official Soviet policy. The Russians are keenly aware of their need for more widespread utilization of the radio; this need is reflected in the Soviet term radiofikatsiia ("radiofication").

Organizationally, the Soviet radio system differs from the networks found in the United States or from the internal operation of the BBC in Great Britain in two major ways: (1) the extensive use of short waves in internal broadcasting (from roughly 75 meters or 40 KC down) and (2) the networks of wired speakers.

Short-wave broadcasting in local and relatively short-range traffic is popular in Latin America. If one may judge from the specifications of new Soviet receivers (published regularly in the periodical Radio[2]), the short-wave bands will play an even larger role in the Soviet Union in the future. Some indication of the relative importance of such broadcasts for the Kazakh SSR may be inferred from the distribution of transmitters. The CIA list of "Broadcasting Stations of the World" shows as of September 1952 a total of 12 transmitters operating in the KSSR, of which 10 are in the short-wave bands.[3]

A more strikingly Soviet phenomenon is the radio-diffusion exchange, radio-transliatsionnii uzel,[4] with its wired speakers, radiotochki. These speakers are found in homes of subscribers as well as in public places

[1]Table 33 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948.

[2]Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Standards for Radio Receivers," *Radio*, 1951, No. 9, pp. 11-13.

[3]The other two transmitters operated out of Alma-Ata (1103 meters, 10 kw) and Karaganda (412 meters, 20 kw). Eight of the short wave transmitters were based at Alma-Ata, the others at Guryev and Taldy-Kurgan.

[4]Also called *radiouzel* or *transliatsionnii uzel*.

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the
climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes:
Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue
tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian
contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether
these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of
materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[214] Iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word
[538] meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipchak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Baber[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradually from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas. [221]

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth

[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.
[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.
[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.
[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.
[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.
[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.
[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.
[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.
[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.
[25] Howorth, *op. cit.*, 2: 674.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

might vary from fifty to a thousand or more.[2] Radlov, however, says[3] that the aul consisted 621
of six to ten families, and Lansdell[4] estimates ten in the Orenburg region but frequently fifteen or more farther south. Levshin is noncommittal and remarks[5] that the number of tents comprising an aul "... depends upon circumstances." Vladimirtsov,[6] in dealing with Mongol material, contrasts the aul (Mongol: ayil) manner of migration in small groups to an earlier practice of migrating in units of several hundred kibitkas, but one must be wary of assuming that similar terms in Mongol and Kazak mean the same thing.

In general it seems likely that the term aul does not apply to any definitely fixed group but signifies any kind of encampment. The size of these encampments varied considerably with the seasonal round in the economic life of the Kazak, which we may now consider.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

There were three important periods in the yearly cycle of Kazak economy, correspond- 221
ing roughly to summer, autumn and winter.

Summer (çaz) was the period of pasturage on the open ranges, involving journeys from one pasture to the next as the first became exhausted. In some places also this was the time at which hay was gathered as winter fodder for the herds. Autumn (kyz) when the shearing (kyzem) of the sheep took place, was the busiest period of the year for most Kazak. It was also the time to make preparations for winter, to finish storing away the hay, to repair the roof and walls of the winter habitation and, among those groups which had agriculture, to harvest the crops. The winter season (qɫs) was one of comparative rest and relaxation.

The dates for beginning the migration to summer pastures varied with the locality, the climatic conditions of the particular year, and the habits of the group. Generally it was about the end of May or beginning of June. This was the case with Tlenshiev's group in the Uralsk region and also with Kargabaiev's in the vicinity of Alma-ata. Rudenko writes of the Kazak in the southern foothills of the Altai:[7] "Some leave at the first show of green but most in the latter part of May or first of June. . . . The wealthy start earlier than the poor people." Kuftin however says:[8]

> The Kazak of the northern districts move out during the second half of March, but in the south at the end of February or beginning of March because of the necessity of passing the barren sandy tracts before hot weather while the steppes are still covered with fresh vegetation and there are no spiders and insects to harass the cattle.

[2] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[3] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513.
[4] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 319.
[5] *Description des hordes*, 312.
[6] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 37.
[7] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4.
[8] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 21–23.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

221 It is difficult to get precise information on the distances covered by different groups in the seasonal migrations. There appears to have been a great deal of variation. My own information indicates that such journeys were much shorter than is usually assumed to be the case, but this may be because both principal informants belonged to groups which lived near the mountains, so that it was only necessary to go a short distance to find good pasturage in the valleys and foothills. Kargabaiev's group, for example, went only about nine kilometers, while Tlenshiev's group used to go twenty or thirty kilometers or perhaps farther if conditions in any particular place proved unfavorable. In any case they were not familiar with migrations covering hundreds of miles. On the other hand Kuftin[9] speaks of journeys of hundreds of versts[10] " . . . from the southern desert latitudes to the northern steppes" and back again at the end of summer. Karutz[11] says that the Kazak of the Mangyschlak region would go from Uralsk in the north to Krasnovodsk in the south, a straight line distance of about 1,300 kilometers, and from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the west bank of the Aral Sea, an average distance of about 375 kilometers. In this connection it is interesting to note that at present in Mongolia the longest migration[12]

> . . . in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers. The average is about 150. To travel immense distances in search of pasture is not only difficult, it is against all nomad traditions, nor is it necessary for them in order to maintain their herds.

The most complete information on migratory habits is given by Rudenko.[13] One group in the southern Altai whose winter quarters was on the left bank of the Bukhtarma River, a tributary of the Irtysh, left winter quarters about the first of June and proceeded along the river to make their first camp about 50 kilometers from the starting point. Here they remained for ten days and then went 10 kilometers farther on to the second halting place, where they stayed another ten days. The next stop was about 12 kilometers farther on, where they halted for another ten or twelve days. The fourth halting place was some 25 kilometers beyond the third and there they spent the month of July. The return trip began in August and likewise consisted of a few easy stages with halts of about ten days or two weeks at each. They arrived back in the vicinity of winter quarters at the end of September in time to harvest the hay and store it for the winter. The complete circuit was not over 200 kilometers.

Such a routine seems fairly typical of Kazak summer migrations.

Some illumination on the variability in the length of the journeys is afforded by Kuftin's remark[14] that in the districts where agriculture had developed they did not move so far

[9] *Idem*, 19.
[10] A verst equals 0.6629 miles.
[11] Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 49.
[12] Fox, *Genghis Khan*, 9.
[13] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4-8.
[14] *Kirgis-Kazaki*, 19.

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest. 221

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups. 221 621

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 221 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life. 565

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19] 233

[15] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 109–10.

[16] *Idem*, 110.

[17] *Kirgizy i Kazaky*, 110.

[18] See also Dingelstadt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.

[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during 178
the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. 233
Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy 236
time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained 221
substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more 342
rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qʟstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qʟstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded 343
with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qʟstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qʟstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the 621
summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qʟstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɨstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[26] Even at the present time[28] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters. 221 233

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[27] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights. 241

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land. 422

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (taŋba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[28] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[29] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[26] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[28] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[27] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[28] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[29] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

meadow lands where hay was raised which were restricted. This position he maintained 423
vigorously thereafter.

Some light on this difficulty is afforded by the statement:[42]

> Pasture land usually is apportioned among tribal groups but at the present time when the Kazak have not so many cattle they are not very strict about boundaries. A Kazak may go anywhere he wishes . . . . The meadow land, on the other hand, is allotted carefully and remains the inalienable property of the given person.

Most writers, however, indicate that the pasture lands of the uru groups were definitely delimited. Grodekov says that the lands were divided among the various nomadic groups according to the number of their animals but that there were frequent quarrels concerning boundaries.[44] Radlov[45] says that there was a definite division of lands among the "tribes" and that none would permit the trespass of another group in its own territory. Kuftin declares:[46]

> In view of the strict allotment of summer pastures no Kazak considers stopping in a strange place for more than one day. During the migrations each tribe follows a certain route, according to an established habitual law based on prescriptive right. Each summer range is used only by a definite group . . . . Disputable questions are settled by a meeting of representatives of the interested parties. [221]

The degree to which the pastoral area occupied by a particular group was definitely subdivided and assigned among its members is also not clear. Rudenko says[47] that although the land belonged to the "tribal group" and the member of it who came first had the right to the best place, families tended to go to the traditional places and others avoided them. This is even more strongly pointed out by Grodekov in observing that places customarily occupied by a family or group of families came to be considered as theirs by right.[48] On the other hand Radlov[49] says that he knows of no instances of divisions of the summer area among individual families. The apportionment of grazing land among the members of the uru lay in the hands of its leaders and was not always done with fairness. Everyone was free to move about at will within the area of the group. However, Radlov adds significantly, "Natürlich ist diese Freiheit nur in der Theorie eine vollkommene. Der Reiche und Angesehene weiss es natürlich so einzurichten, dass er den besten Platz erhält."

All the evidence concerning the basis of occupancy of the grazing lands is admittedly unsatisfactory. To obtain details it would be necessary to study the question over a considerable period of time in a culture in which the nomadic life was still actively pursued.

[42] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.
[44] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213.
[45] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15.
[46] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[47] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10.
[48] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[49] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 417–18.

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671 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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221 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men, [782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i.e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurta isorke [illegible] dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza - an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy a uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a [423] certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[416] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

571 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101]

Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

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[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 157 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

[1011] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

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1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

221 [312 cont.]
[184] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

/202 cont./

000 life. by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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[291]
[342]

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[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/203 cont./

221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
195 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
171 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood
● 221 in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations
[433] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose
[621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrad-
[462] ing. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per-
[564] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in
[567] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist-
648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and
199 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939
[161] amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [167] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native [584] districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time 197 the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 648 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Korbe and Mekhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

KN 241 369

beginning of World War II; the number reportedly increased "by several times" by 1943. At the beginning of the war, the proportion of persons making kitchen gardens in Karaganda—4.7 per cent—was two and a half times higher than that for the USSR as a whole. But Karaganda's percentage was soon surpassed by that of the Soviet Union, which by 1944 had mounted to about 10 per cent, five and a half times the prewar rate.[1]

KN 248 249

The third category of agricultural products includes fiber crops (cotton and hemp), vegetable oil crops (sunflower and olive—dried sunflower seeds are a favored Russian and Asiatic snack), tea, tobacco, and sugar beets. These crops are collectively called "technical crops" in the Soviet Union, because they are processed by techniques other than milling for the production of flour. Together with rice they are grown mostly in southern and southeastern Kazakhstan, where the original Turkic population has an age-old agricultural tradition, especially in irrigated farming. In 1938 there were 110,200 hectares in cotton and 14,000 hectares in sugar beets.[2]

KN 041 K [178] K [221]

The final category, that of agriculture in conjunction with herding, has become the typical Kazakh rural occupation. The trend toward a mixed economy of herding and farming which began in the 19th century under the combined influences of land pressure and diffusion of agricultural techniques has culminated in the virtual elimination of pure nomadism among the Kazakhs.

KN 474

The principal unit of agriculture in Kazakhstan is the collective farm. The peak years in the period of forced and accelerated collectivization were 1930 and 1931; the number of collective farms rose in those years from 4,212 to 7,800.[3] By 1932, the resistance of the rural population began to make itself felt, and there was a falling off in the number of collectives, coupled with a consolidation of those already organized. But the number gradually mounted during the mid-thirties, again reaching a figure greater than 7,000.[4] Just before World War II, with more purges and a second drive toward consolidation, the number dropped. In 1952 approximately 3,200 were reported[5]; this figure is said to be less than half that of 1950, for which no numerical data are available. This was part of an over-all cut; in 1951, the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union was halved.

In recent years, collective farms in Kazakhstan have decreased in number and increased in size. The latest figure for the total number of such farms is 3,145. At the same time, the average number of cooperative farming units per farm increased from 91 to 186. The total number of these cooperative units decreased from 5,558 to 2,047 in Kazakhstan, while the average size of the collective farms increased.[6]

To complete the picture, there were roughly 200 state farms at the end of the thirties; 258 were reported in 1952.[7] Five Machine Tractor

[1] All data from Borodin, 1956, p. 59.
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 62, 70.
[3] *Kazakhstan v Tretiatik . . . .* p. 66.
[4] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.
[5] *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, 1952, No. 2, p. 80.
[6] *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 1952, No. 2, p. 111.
[7] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 86, and *Kazakhstan v poroyi god . . . .* p. 158.

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the
361 Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation. Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it
should be noted that according to a custom a-
dopted once and for all, auls are not allowed
to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it
leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in
the past it led to cattle rustling because the
offended parties in such a case had difficulty
in feeding their herds in winter and attempted
t[illegible]ange themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as
follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing
and loading of the tents and property falls
upon the women. The head of the household only
supervises the arrangements, and the other men
round up the cattle, and form herds from them,
each family separately. The departure is after
dark, and when everything is ready, the whole
caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The
housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and
the other women ride after her on camels or
horses, carrying the property. At this time
the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes.
They place their most precious and costly things
(carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and
in general the whole procession has a festive
air. Since the cattle do not all move at the
same pace, the herd soon begins to separate.
As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over
several versts. The head of the household is
usually not with the moving aul; slow movement
is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the
side or hunts along the way. The march is
usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and
then there is a halt and rest, which in summer
is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae' and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222 Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the
231] Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

/213 cont./

28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, 286 woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, 283 hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 286 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 462 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes mentioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers engage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the 326 harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population. [i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

self.

If the youngest among the travellers finds a coat, cap /tyube-teyka/ or other parts of clothing, he gives what he has found to the eldest, on the demand of the others. If all are of the same age, the thing found is given to the person of the white bone. If there is no one belonging to the white bone among them, it is given to the guest, i. e., the person of a strange clan. If there is no guest, it is given to the mullah. If there is no mullah, it is given to the married man, because married men are in general senior to bachelors. If all are married, it is given to him who married earliest. This giving out of clothing is called baylagan. 425 576

If a fox is seen in a strange trap (kakpan), the finder takes it for himself and leaves the trap. To take the trap is to steal, but taking the fox is not stealing. (1) Even in /122/ court when the 425 224

1. If an owner of a trap or a hunter with a dog catches a first fox, and if a Kazakh who rides by by chance, even a stranger, announces that he needs it /122/ for a gift or for the success of his future hunting, the hunter gives it to him. In case he refuses he pays a fine.

trap is required to be given up, it is never demanded that the fox taken at the same time be given back.

If a hunter (mirgen) kills a wild ass before others, he gives its back (sauri) to the oldest of these, or to the mullah, and in general as was related above. The giving up of the animal which has been shot is called syralyga. (All the above information from Torgai). 224

In the Perovsk uyezd, money, clothing, strange livestock joining the herd, etc., which are found, remain with the finder, and it is brought to the knowledge either of the supposed owners or of the authorities. Then the find is given back to the owners for syuyunchi, which is equal to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its value, i. e., approximately four times less than when it is taken from a thief. They are given back to kinsmen without pay. If the owner of the object does not declare himself in one or two years, the object found becomes the property of the finder. If the find was not announced to the public (dzhau kege shygarmak) with the purpose of appropriation, and then the owner of it appears, then the object, or if it no longer exists the value of it is returned to the owner, with all his court expenses, but without a fine. The concealment of a find from the investigation of an owner is considered thievery. 425 [685]

/213 cont./ 1

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• 226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.

[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd). [628]

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in 588

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very
[538 little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
533] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1- We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

231
142
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301

Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

8: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

231
142
291
301

Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

/208 cont. /

342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont. /Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342]
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Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities
342 have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with
35 a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

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/212 cont./

"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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[273]
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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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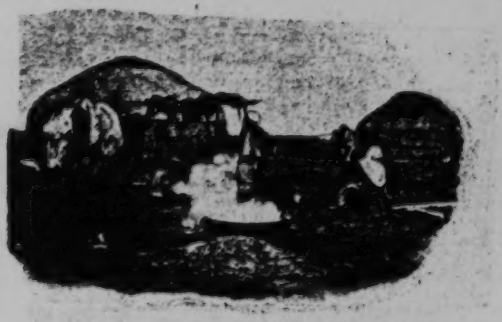

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

KN 474 stations (MTS) were listed in 1930; this number had grown to approximately 300 in 1939, and to 376 in 1952.[1]

KN [162] In 1939, when the total population of Kazakhstan was given by the census as 6,146,000 persons, 72.3 per cent (4,440,000) lived in rural areas and 27.7 per cent in urban areas. In the following year, it was reported that 97.5 per cent of the farm population was enrolled in collective farms, and 2.5 per cent in other units.[2] The ratio has since changed, for there has been an increase in the number of state farms, Machine Tractor stations, and Machine Livestock stations. No numerical breakdown of the enrollments in the various agricultural units since 1940 is available.

K KN 231 LIVESTOCK

There have been extreme fluctuations in the total number of livestock in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (see Tables 4 and 5). The 36,000,000 head of stock reported for 1917 indicates that this was a fairly good year for the Kazakh herders, despite the Kazakh revolution of the preceding year. But by 1924 the total number of stock had dropped by 46 per cent—a loss attributable to the conditions attending the Russian Revolution and civil war. During the next five years the herds gradually recovered until in 1927 and 1929 they exceeded their 1917 strength. This was the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union, which permitted a moderate amount of private economic interest.

With the onset of forced collectivization in 1930, the number of livestock began to drop rapidly; by 1933, it had fallen to approximately 12 per cent of the 1929 high. Throughout the rest of the 1930's the number of livestock slowly rose, but it was still far below the figures for the late twenties. The number of livestock in Kazakhstan today is difficult to assess, since only scattered data are available on developments during and since World War II.

During the Soviet period the number of cattle has increased relative to the over-all stock total. Since the beginning of the herd recovery in 1924, cattle have constituted more than 20 per cent of the total number of livestock; in 1938, the last year for which such figures are available, they formed 33 per cent of the total. Cattle generally form only 10 to 15 per cent of the total herd strength of a purely nomadic economy; sheep are the most important animal to the nomad (Table 6 gives the internal proportions of the herds of three different Kazakh groups in the 19th century).

K [241] This increase in the proportion of cattle among Kazakh livestock reflects an increase in agriculture. By 1938, cattle had recovered to approximately 40 per cent of their 1927 high, a rate of recovery double that shown by horses, sheep, and goats. A second effect of the growth of agriculture and the cities was that the number of camels and steppe horses decreased in proportion to the number of draft horses.

[1] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda.
[2] Kazakhskaia SSR, p. 18.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 4

LIVESTOCK TRENDS IN KAZAKHSTAN
(In Thousands)

Year[a]	Total Livestock	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Horses[b]	Camels	Hogs
1917	36,000	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
1924	19,400	4,750	11,400		2,500	400	300
1925	26,100	5,400	11,500	1,900	2,800	600	400
1926	30,700	6,400	15,500	2,700	3,400	700	400
1927	28,200	7,850	20,000	5,000	3,700	1,200	500
1928	33-35,000	7,700	20,500		3,900	ND	ND
1929[c]	40,400	7,400	21,900	5,300	4,200	1,300	300
1930[c]	33,000	5,700	18,000	4,600	3,600	1,100	160
1933	5,000	1,600	2,700		460	ND	ND
1934	6,000	1,900	3,300		430	ND	140
1935	7,000	2,200	4,100		460	ND	ND
1938	9,500	3,100	(5,200)[d]		640	100	370
1949	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND
1953	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND

[a]1917–1926: *Vozhchinin*, p. 47.
1927–1930: *Podnek and Pavlov*, pp. 27-28.
1933–1935: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1936; *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . . ,* p. 73.
1938: *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 18, 30, 35, 41, 44.
1949: *Lavrov*, p. 9.
1953: *Khrushchev, Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 55.
[b]Figures through 1926 refer to steppe or round horses; steppe and round horses combined for 1927-1938.
[c]Spring.
[d]Estimated figure.
ND: No data available.

Table 5

STEPPE AND DRAFT HORSES IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Steppe Horses	Draft Horses
1924	2,500,000	1,800,000
1925	2,800,000	1,900,000
1926	3,400,000	2,000,000
1928	2,900,000	900,000
1929	3,100,000	1,000,000
1930	2,400,000	850,000
1931	1,500,000	840,000
1932	100,000	600,000
1933	80,000	380,000
1934	70,000	360,000

[a]*Vozhchinin*, 1939, and *Sokolov Khozyaistvo* USSR, 1936. Figures do not match totals in Table 4 due to rounding.

Table 6

COMPOSITION OF 19th CENTURY KAZAKH HERDS[a]
(per cent)

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep and Goats	Camels
1846[b]	17	11	67	5
1849-1850[c]	13.7	9.5	74	3
1852[c]	16	12	72	6

[a]Figures represent percentage of total livestock.
[b]Chuchev, 1846.
[c]Tronin, 1864, pp. 11, 40.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K KN 231 K [662]

The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

KN [167]

The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

K [362] [179]

COLLECTIVIZATION

K 177 648

Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

K [167]

During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 301.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

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648

The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933. [031]

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas. [311]

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2]Berdin 1946, pp. 116-135.

353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [492] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt,

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest. 221

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups. 221 621

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 221 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life. 565

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19] 233

[15] Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy, 109–20.

[16] Idem, 120.

[17] Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy, 110.

[18] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.

[19] Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20.

233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (aЬjЬıcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЬlqЬcЬ) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during 178
the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. 233
Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy 236
time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained 221
substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more 342
rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded 343
with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the 621
summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɫstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]
221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case 221
in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. 233
The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[36] Even at the present time[36] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was 241
strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[37] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation 422
to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (tanba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[38] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[39] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[36] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[36] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[37] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[38] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[39] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61] [621]
permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of [233] the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbe, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the i[illegible] livestock (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 1

1 [Not translated -- A.]

4:Grodekov--97 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

423 671 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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233 221 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men, [782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i.e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza --an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy a uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

[423] Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[424] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

594 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

A master who is touched by the plea of the servant, who throws himself down at his feet and holds him by the hand, sometimes forgives the entire suit. When there are blows from both sides, the matter passes without attention. 466

A servant is not fined for negligent service, but is only dismissed with a settlement. At present some require a servant to pay for damage resulting from his negligence. For example, if a sheep is lost during the day, some sue for half or one-third of its value. But if it is lost at night the shepherd is not guilty because he sleeps at night. Sometimes a koychi gives a friend a sheep belonging to his master, which the latter does not even miss. The shepherd justifies himself by saying that it ran away. If the deception is uncovered, the shepherd pays the value of the sheep and an additional fine in the amount of one sheep. If the master recalls that there were losses of sheep even earlier under this shepherd, he then requires an oath concerning these losses from the shepherd himself, or if the shepherd lives with his family or his kinsmen, he requires the oath from them. The master may consider it a dishonor to himself to take an oath from a shepherd as a person not his equal (koychinyn dzhanyn almaymyn, durus ksi imes). In this case the biis require the oath from the master himself. 466 233

The shepherd is not held responsible for sheep eaten by wolves even when conditions had been made for reimbursement of damages. A shepherd is not held responsible at all for falls and natural death (adzhal') of the livestock.

Only a rebuke, but not a suit is made for the shearing of wool with scissors (kyrktys) from the master's sheep by a strange man or by the shepherd himself, for the wool, milk and working power of the animals is considered "the beneficence of the animals" (malnyng khayry), and no payment is made for their use. /120/ A person who demands payment for them is reproached with the words: "Let that man perish who has not grown wealthy" (bay bolmay ulsin).

A strange animal joining the herd (buralky, nukatyk) is in general acquired by the shepherd. A greedy master can demand it for himself on the ground that his livestock attracted the strange animal. Among the Kirgiza strange animal joining the herd goes to the shepherd if he does not declare it to his master. But if the master finds out about it, he demands it for himself because it joined (singib kitti) his herd. Some keep the strange animal (bularky in Kirgiz), others slaughter it for kudai, a feast of the people. Under the Russian dominion it has been established that a runaway or strange animal 466 233 425

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joining the herd must be presented to the authorities. The master who loses an animal turns to the authorities who investigate the whereabouts of the lost animal.

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According to Makovetkii (I p. 43), the amount of syuyunchi for the presentation of a lost animal goes up to one-fifth its value. An exception is the sheep: the person who finds it keeps its offspring, and returns the lost animal to the owner. But if he spoils the sign of the owner on the sheep, then he returns the sheep and its offspring. Torgai says that the person who finds a pregnant sheep returns the ewe and the lamb to the owner, so that if the finder ever loses a pregnant ewe he will also get it back with the lamb. But if the owner of the found ewe declares himself only after two or three years, he is given one ewe, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat, " and they say: "If you recognize your lamb, take it" (kozysyn tanysang alakoy). Torgai also knows another opinion, by which an owner who appears after two or three years is granted only half a sheep, having in view the expense and labor of its maintenance (bagyb kagyb). If the person who found the sheep denies it, the oath is required of the owner himself. For the return of his lost horse, cow or camel, the owner must present seven witnesses (isbat), of whom two must swear an oath. If the finder has informed everyone of his find, it is not thievery for him to put his brand on it.

/121/ Livestock are kept for two or three weeks. After that, they declare to the volost administrator that the owner has not appeared.

If the animal found gives birth to a calf, the calf is not divided from its mother and also belongs to the owner, while if no owner appears, it belongs to the finder. If many livestock are lost, and fewer found, the finder is accused of having hidden the rest. This kind of case is settled on the basis of testimony from unimplicated persons, without an oath.

Things which are found (nerse, buyum), go to the finder if no one witnessed the finding. If there were witnesses, the find is kept by the finder from one to two months until the owner appears, who then receives his object for the payment of syuyunchi.

The longer the object is kept, the larger the amount of the syuyunchi. Speaking approximately, for an object worth 1 ruble, the syuyunchi amounts to 20 kopeks, for something worth 10 rubles, 2 rubles, for something worth 20 rubles - 5 rubles, for a horse - 1 tillia /3-4 rubles/, for a camel, 5-8 rubles. If the owner of the thing does not declare himself, it becomes the possession of the finder.

When money is found it is divided among all those present when it is found, with the obligation to give it up if the owner declares him-

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

[233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 721 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[266 cont.]

[648] and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They [727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use [233 66] every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent intentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature: the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle. Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and carefree shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance and which they follow from place to place with their movable
342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part, which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent. These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way, are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67 meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[443 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

● 233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [833] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [560] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the fam- [554] ily of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [167] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 197 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away [167] to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known [177] that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they [565] were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [233] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in [162] the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry [167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [31] [221] [596] [342]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 28 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Korbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. 197 Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 241 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the 565 marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radesko in Baranov, 1927.

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
596 Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S [622] upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself.
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[233] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally
[594]

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[Inner Horde]

43 162 and it was likewise important to know what the range was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

233 613 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

[1] [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for Context -- Analyst]

133 613 herding ratios comparable to those of the Mongols:[232]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	12%	10%	6%

Another series of herd ratios for the Bukei Horde for the period 1849-1850 is comparable to these:[233]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	9%	14%	5%

These data bear evidence to the fact that we are dealing with the same type of society. Moreover, we see changes in ratio indicating changes in herd strength, indicating the perils of steppe life, that the pastoralist is at the mercies of natural forces. Thus, three severe winters (1846-1849) caused an over-all drop of 25 percent in the herds.[234] And we gain thereby a closer understanding of the factors making for instability of life on the steppe; the rise and fall of herds is a factor making for the dissolution and recombination of social groups in pastoral societies.

Clan and Lineage of the Inner Horde

613 The clan in the Inner Horde was divided into lineages called taifa, and the lineage in turn was divided into sub-lineages (or major lineages into minor ones)

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[232] Ibid., 40.

[233] Ibid., 11.

[234] Ibid., 12.

621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
433 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the <u>auls</u> of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of <u>auls</u> of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
● 233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the <u>aul</u> was small; if the <u>aul</u> was large, it broke up into

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[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 component extended family or close-kin groups for the
●233 summer movements.[274] These auls, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

The auls of the poor were generally larger than
621 [556] those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral,
621 614 wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sök founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

233 The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.[277] The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.[278] The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass-growth is favored by the snow-melt.[279]

621 233 A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an <u>aul</u> might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter and summer camp is from about 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps <u>kokteu</u> and fall camps <u>kuzeu</u>.[280]

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[277] Rudenko, op. cit., 72.

[278] Ibid., 8.

[279] Ibid., 72.

[280] Ibid., 4-8.

the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i. e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts. 476

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

/212 cont./

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during 178
the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. 233
Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy 236
time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained 221
substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more 342
rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qƀstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qƀstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded 343
with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qƀstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qƀstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the 621
summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qƀstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case 221
in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. 233
The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[26] Even at the present time[27] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was 241
strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[27] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation 422
to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (taŋba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[28] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[29] "... anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *iment* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[26] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[27] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[27] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[28] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[29] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

/118/ CHAPTER VIII.

Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

•241 465 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 465 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pasturing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyzmekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
343] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

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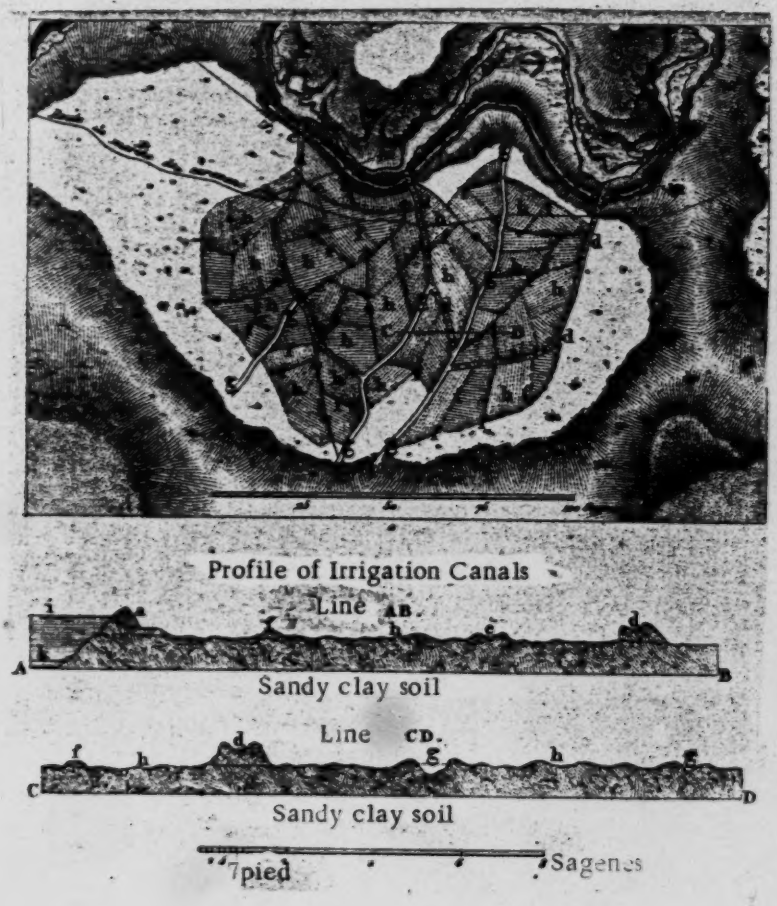

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T /156 cont./ In the course of time
167 and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose
175 between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant
648 renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant
241 landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administra-
427 tion. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the
K formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them.
427 There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first offi-
648 cial decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the
175 Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz
175 krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report
167 for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding
648 Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

241 "The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report,
"demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/
K accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized
175 has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been
648 virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Mean-
177 while, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of
[241] their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes
far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects
only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the
H.T. census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along
175 the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they
648 have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and
177 adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the
nomadic people."

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/212 cont./

"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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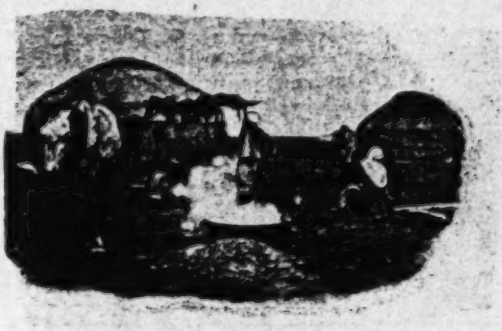

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [221] [596] [348]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1]*Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2]Karbe and Mukhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radenko in Baranov, 1927.

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1] K 177 241

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization. K 177 101

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry. KN 464

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley. KN 74 563 K [243] KN [361] KN

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population 233 K [131]

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

KN 474 stations (MTS) were listed in 1930; this number had grown to approximately 300 in 1939, and to 376 in 1952.[1]

KN [169] In 1939, when the total population of Kazakhstan was given by the census as 6,146,000 persons, 72.3 per cent (4,440,000) lived in rural areas and 27.7 per cent in urban areas. In the following year, it was reported that 97.5 per cent of the farm population was enrolled in collective farms, and 2.5 per cent in other units.[2] The ratio has since changed, for there has been an increase in the number of state farms, Machine Tractor stations, and Machine Livestock stations. No numerical breakdown of the enrollments in the various agricultural units since 1940 is available.

LIVESTOCK

K KN 231 There have been extreme fluctuations in the total number of livestock in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (see Tables 4 and 5). The 36,000,000 head of stock reported for 1917 indicates that this was a fairly good year for the Kazakh herders, despite the Kazakh revolution of the preceding year. But by 1924 the total number of stock had dropped by 46 per cent—a loss attributable to the conditions attending the Russian Revolution and civil war. During the next five years the herds gradually recovered until in 1927 and 1929 they exceeded their 1917 strength. This was the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union, which permitted a moderate amount of private economic interest.

With the onset of forced collectivization in 1930, the number of livestock began to drop rapidly; by 1933, it had fallen to approximately 12 per cent of the 1929 high. Throughout the rest of the 1930's the number of livestock slowly rose, but it was still far below the figures for the late twenties. The number of livestock in Kazakhstan today is difficult to assess, since only scattered data are available on developments during and since World War II.

During the Soviet period the number of cattle has increased relative to the over-all stock total. Since the beginning of the herd recovery in 1924, cattle have constituted more than 20 per cent of the total number of livestock; in 1938, the last year for which such figures are available, they formed 33 per cent of the total. Cattle generally form only 10 to 15 per cent of the total herd strength of a purely nomadic economy; sheep are the most important animal to the nomad (Table 6 gives the internal proportions of the herds of three different Kazakh groups in the 19th century).

K [241] This increase in the proportion of cattle among Kazakh livestock reflects an increase in agriculture. By 1938, cattle had recovered to approximately 40 per cent of their 1927 high, a rate of recovery double that shown by horses, sheep, and goats. A second effect of the growth of agriculture and the cities was that the number of camels and steppe horses decreased in proportion to the number of draft horses.

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda.*
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

619 178 241 vening decades,[1] the Russians had set up a system of administrative divisions which reorganized to some extent the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this time there was some increase in agriculture among them. As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration in the development of farming among them, and a tendency to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

In the inter-

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 619 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Mountains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 376. "Some of the Kirgis have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their winter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This tendency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoralists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915, and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agriculture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47. The process of transformation as indicated by the above sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries had been making a transition from pastoralism to agriculture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 222-230.

178 241

[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

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1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

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[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Berelin, 1946.

C-K 181 This explanation of the origin of the Asiatic Cossacks holds good when dealing with the European Cossacks, but of course, since the Central Empires of Eastern Europe were more sedentary than the Central Empires of Northern Asia, Cossacks of Eastern Europe were only half nomadic, whilst the Kaizak of Asia were pure nomads. In the ethnic formation of the Kaizak of Asia the Turkic blood predominated over the Tungus and Mongolic, while in the formation of European Cossacks the Slavonic blood predominated over the Turkic. Thus, however different the European and Asiatic "outskirts people" are, they possess three characteristics in common: love of personal freedom, aptitude for nomadic industries, and skill in warfare.

● [144]

C. 175 History of the European Community.—I shall now pass to the history of European Cossacks, which is much easier to trace, since it is closely bound up with the histories of Russia, of Poland, and, to a lesser degree, of other East European countries.*

Several stages may be distinguished in the history of the European Cossacks. The *first stage* corresponds to the first State organization in the old Kieff Rus, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

The *second* comprises the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and corresponds to the development of the Cossack independent national communities.

The *third* covers the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the neighbouring States tried to subdue the Cossacks, and thus brought about the Cossack wars with Poland and with Russia, which led to a decline in the Cossack national strength, and eventually to their reorganization as the light cavalry of the Russian army (*voiska*).

The *fourth* is the stage of the Cossack cavalry, or *voiska*, in the nineteenth century and until the present war.

To take the *first period*. The idea of using these conquered nomadic people as defensive outposts on the borderland was already known in the days of the old Kieff Rus, in the time of Nestor, and thus existed before the term "Kaizak" came to this region. The first we hear of anything of this nature is in connection with a branch of the Pyechenyegs, the rivals of the Cumans in the invasion of Southern Russia in the twelth century. These Pyechenyegs were subdued by the Rus people, and a part of them, called Chorno-Klobuki, was used for defensive purposes on the borderlands. The Chorno-Klobuki, known of as early as 1162, were some seventy years later (1239) fighting

* M. Hrushevskii, "History of the Ukraine-Rus," Lemberg, 1904 (Ruthenian); A. Jablonowski, "History of the Southern Rus until the Fall of the Polish Commonwealth," 1912 (Polish); V. Sukhorukoff, "Historical Description of the Land of the Don Voiska," 1895 (Russ.); A. Levshin, "Historical and Statistical Account of the Ural Cossacks, 1823" (Russ.); N. Kharuzin, "Information relating to the Cossack Communities on the Don" (Russ.); P. Korolenko, "The Chernomortsy" (Russ.); F. Rawita Gawronski, Bohdan Chmielnicki, 1906-1909 (Polish); N. Rojkoff, "The Cossacks," vol. xxiii., pp. 90-118, of Jeleznoff's Encyclo. (Russ.); A. Suroff, "The Cossacks," vol xiii., pp. 882-894, of Andreevsky's Encyclo., 1895 (Russ.).

[see pp. 43-45, category 116 - Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

423 Allowance must also be made for considerable variation over so large an area and among such large numbers of groups. It must be taken into consideration too that the average informant has very little idea of the functioning of his culture beyond his own immediate milieu; the procedure, for example, by which the larger units came into occupancy of their grazing areas would be matters of high politics far removed from the knowledge of the ordinary man. In general one may say that there was no private property in grazing lands, that the larger groupings occupied the traditional areas which had been used by their ancestors before, that conflicts between such groups were settled usually by consultation and that within the boundaries of such areas family groups moved with considerable freedom subject to some pressure from local leaders and with a tendency to occupy the same spot year after year.[50]

The winter habitations, the meadows (kol) where hay was cut, and the agricultural lands may be considered as in effect private property. Grodekov says[51] that land was not considered as the property of particular individuals but belonged to them only while they were occupying and using it. Dingelstedt[52] theorizes upon this point in saying that although they did not recognize private property in land they conceded the usufruct of it in perpetuity to that individual who had improved it by constructing a house or developing an agricultural plot or irrigation system. It is doubtful, however, if the Kazak were concerned with such delicate legal distinctions. In practice one might sell one's winter dwelling, and on the death of the owner it was inherited by his youngest son.[53] One might even, according to my information, sell such property to a member of another uru.

The status of the meadow lands for raising hay is less definite, as might be expected, as a result of the recent growth of the custom of storing up winter fodder. The *Kazaki*[54] states definitely that they were the property of individual owners. My informants were less clear on the point, declaring at various times in relation to different incidents that they belonged to an entire uru, to the rich men in the uru, and finally that in theory they belonged to the uru but were for all practical purposes divided among its wealthiest and most
[685] important members. Their private ownership is made clear by the fact that it was a serious act, involving the payment of damages, for any unauthorized person to take hay from land not his own. Also, in the case of a large meadow divided among several owners the portions belonging to each were delimited by shallow trenches or by piles of stones at the corners.
[246] It was a matter of common knowledge who owned each section. The hay was cut and stored for the winter by the hired laborers of the owner or by his relatives working for him. A man who owned no hay fields of his own might turn his animals out to graze for

[50] Questions of the occupancy and utilization of the land during the period of Russian domination have been discussed by Pálosi, *Question de la terre*, 472–87.

[51] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 102.

[52] *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[53] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[54] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [492] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt,

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and 403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[435] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

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272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

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272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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27) The person who has eaten his fill says that karty (3) has a bad smell.

3. Karty is fat horse intestines, considered by the Kazakhs to be the most delicious dish. [262]

28) The tops of the shrubs do not move until the wind blows.

29) The hungry child does not play with the full one.

30) You do not drain a lake by dipping from it with a spoon; you do not destroy a population by stealing.

31) A hint to the good man, a stick to the bad.

32) A population living in agreement does not become corrupt; clothing well sewn does not wear out.

33) A country which has no elder is like a body without a head.

/263/ 34) A bull with cow's horns does not have strength; a cow with bull's horns does not have milk.

35) Do no pursue something you will not overtake; do not grumble over something which was not fated for you to receive.

36) Words are born from words. If there is no talk, then where can they be born?

37) A good man does not meditate about giving away to the lowest. A brave man does not calculate the large numbers of the enemy.

38) A man who has a woman's voice is not capable of marital life.

39) The ignoramus does not see his own fault, but notices the faults of others.

40) He who trusts in God flies like a bird, and he who relies on his horse will fall off it unexpectedly.

41) A just ruler resembles the early spring, and an unjust one resembles the winter.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

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859] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

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262] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
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534] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

[484] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

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342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. [177] These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and journeys. [175] The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored
554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door,
352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and
353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug,
[574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod-
[262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
292 and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/,
[275] there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible
[435] to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-
[958] known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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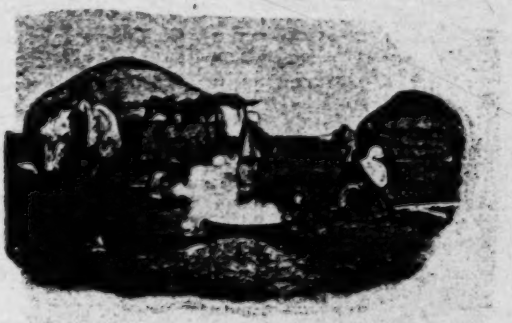

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

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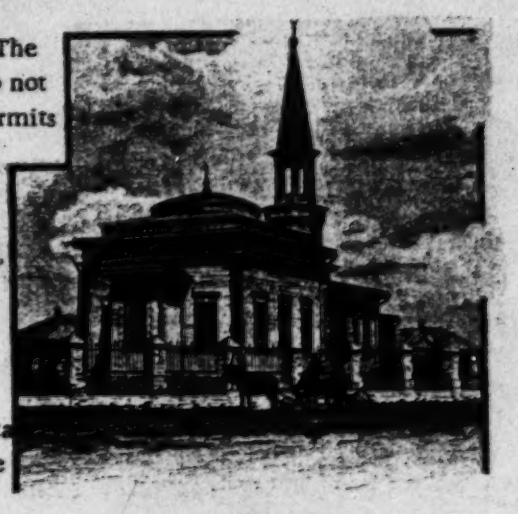
the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods of three days only for old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amusements (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN [341] difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [262] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, K 177 186 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

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Table 3

AGRICULTURE IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Area	1942[b]	1953-53[c]
Total rural area[d]	ND	80,000,000
Total area under cultivation	7,000,000	11,000,000
Percentage of total rural area		13.7%
Area in grain	6,500,000	8,000,000
Percentage of total area under cultivation	98%	73%
Area under irrigation	ND	3,000,000[e,f]
Irrigated area under cultivation	ND	1,300,000[f]
Percentage of area under irrigation		43%

[a]All figures are in hectares; one hectare equals 2.47 acres.
[b]Figures from *Kazakhstan v pervyi god . . . .*, 1943.
[c]Figures from *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 9 Sep 53 and 14 Nov 53.
[d]Pastureland, hay meadows, and ploughland.
[e]Compared to 2,600,000 in 1917; *Almaev* in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53, and Shakhshin, 1949, page 21.
[f]Based only on 1953 figures.
ND: No data available.

3,000,000 hectares under irrigation in 1953 represented an increase of 400,000 in the Soviet period, according to Shakhshin. However, only 43 per cent of the total irrigated area was in use.

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The grain is primarily wheat and millet, grown in the northern and northeastern parts of the country, where Slavs (Great-Russians and Ukrainians) are in the majority. Here the black earth and the river valleys enable them to continue their traditional patterns of agriculture. Rice is grown in the irrigated tracts of the southern districts of Kazakhstan (Syr-Darya Valley) by a population largely Uzbek, and in the southeastern districts (Ili River Valley) by a mixed population including Uigurs, Dungans, and Koreans.

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The Soviet policy developed during and since the war regarding truck farming has been to establish a system of state farms (sovkhoz) around the urban centers. The cities of Karaganda, Balkhash, Kounradskiy, Dzhezkazgan, and others are surrounded by belts of farms which produce potatoes and vegetables. In addition, they supply the cities with dairy products, beef, mutton, and pork. Pork, potatoes, and vegetables are Russian dietary staples; Kazakhs by tradition have never raised and eaten these items.

K [262]

The truck farming is a feature of farm organization which developed during World War II, when mining and ore-processing centers and industrial plants increased their capacities and manpower. Workers were sent to Kazakhstan from European Russia and to these migrants were added people from rural Kazakhstan. To meet the task of feeding these groups, the state-farm system was developed. In addition, urban workers were encouraged to maintain kitchen gardens for themselves. There are no data on Kazakhstan as a whole in this category; some information is available for the city of Karaganda, however, and there is no reason to think that this city differed from others in Kazakhstan. In Karaganda approximately 8,000 workers maintained kitchen gardens at the

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8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

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The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

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COLLECTIVIZATION

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Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

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During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor K [361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, [272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

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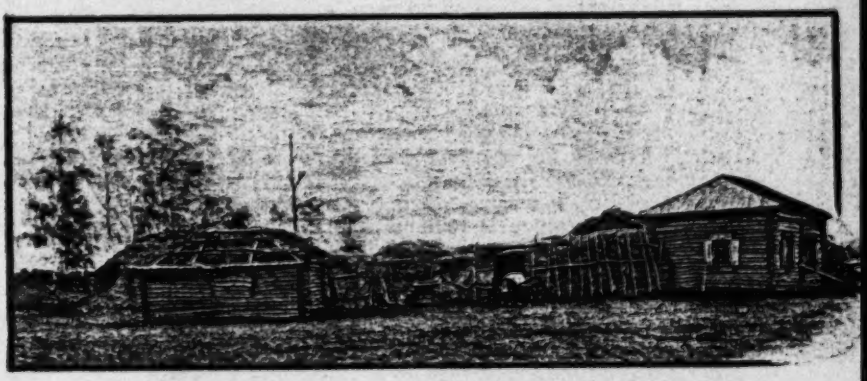

Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and 403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[435] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. K [556] [554] In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

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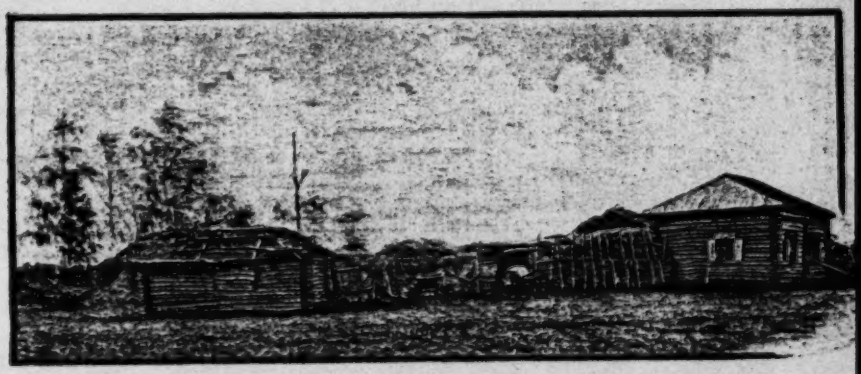

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

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(five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called

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[958]

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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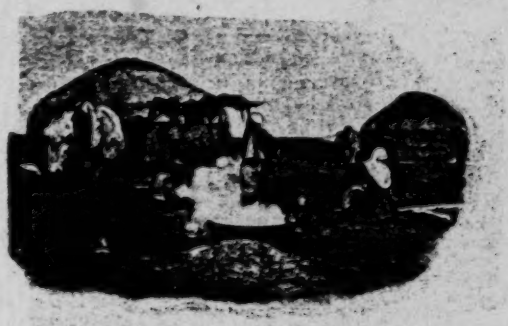

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, K [361] adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

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more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza - an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy a uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533 musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

8:Kostenko 108-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 m...
Kazakh

342 a /400/ small space for the hearth. Over the felt, among the rich, they spread rugs, naples rugs, and so on, and sometimes, in order to give more decoration to the tent, they hang them along the walls. Across the tent they stretch ropes and various braids; they hammer in pegs; they bring in their things. Finally, in the middle of the tent they start a fire, put up a tripod, and on it a kettle of water, and prepare the food.

415 The necessary utensils, both for the rich, the moderately wealthy and the poorest yurt are: the tripods, of various sizes, set up over the fire, the cast iron kettles, also of various sizes, wooden troughs for washing the meat, others for storage of beef extract, also wooden dishes, on which they serve the [412] smaller pieces of meat on the table. In order to cut meat into still smaller pieces every Kazakh has a small knife (pyshak) carefully kept in a sheath hung on his belt. There are also wooden, leather and metal pails, tubs, vats, milk pails, sabas (large skins for kumys), tursuks (small skins for kumys), and other vessels of various shapes and sizes, for the storage of milk, cheeses, meat, and for bouillon which is poured from large kettles, and is sometimes drunk at the meat table. There are [273] also wooden mortars, cups for drinking kumys (fermented mare's milk) and for various other uses, and sometimes metal and earthenware [372] plates, leather bags for gathering tezek (dry cow dung, used for fuel), as well as teapots and metal kumgans (pitcher with spout, handle and lid for washing hands) and other appurtenances of the kitchen and table. The more breakable and the more or less valuable objects

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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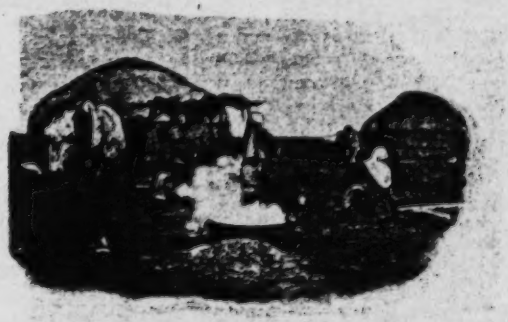

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes mentioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and engage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers engage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.
[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

/213 cont./

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[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

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/205 cont. /

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

/205 cont./

342 [192] As a dwelling, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in summer use the yurt (more precisely -- the uy, i.e., dwelling, for yurt is a Mongol word), and in winter, the kstau, i.e., winter camp. In rare cases (among the poor) the yurt serves as the summer and winter dwelling. In the southern part of the region, where the winters are not so severe, average families also live in yurts.

We shall give somewhat more detail in describing the yurt, since the whole life of the nomad is concentrated within it. /206/ His world view is formed here and all the most important moments of his domestic and public life take place here. The winter camp is a sad necessity called for by local climatic peculiarities.

The yurt is a wooden, cone-like form, a lattice-work framework, with felt stretched over it. Because of its lightness and simple structure it is quickly taken apart and also quickly assembled, which is very important in connection with the frequent migrations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The framework of the yurt consists of the "kerege" -- a wooden lattice serving the basis of the tent (a section of it, made of 12-17 pairs of sticks, is called a kanat) -- and the "chengarak," which is a wooden circle with arched transverse shafts called "kul'dereush." The kerege and chengarak are fastened together by wooden arches -- "uka" -- which are inserted at one end into the opening of the chengarak and the other is tied to the kerege. The number of uka in a tent varies. In small ones there are up to 100, and in large ones there are 150-200. The height of the kerege, the length of the uka, and the dimensions of the chengarak differ in different yurts. The height of a yurt is four to six arshins. The yurt door consists of a rectangular frame one and a half arshins high. The side parts of the frame are called "bosaga" or "tayanysh," the lower side "tabyldyryk," and the upper side "mandaiga." The door or "yesyk" is made out of thick felt cloth or wood. All this is fastened to the "kerege." The "chengarak" is fastened to the center of the tent with a lasso, called "dzhil'-bau," so that the wind will not blow it away, or it is supported with a special pole called "bakan." From [286] the outside the kerege is covered with a woven network of chiy

/206 cont. /

342 [286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the yurt itself as a screen. [283] When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are [280] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the [531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and [286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. [531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

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[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

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291 2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

585 high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals, 292 pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585 The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or kelinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i. e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtians. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by 291 chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, 411 robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

8: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

231
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Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

/201 cont./

141 of the Middle Horde is 192 millimeters, of the Murun clan 192 millimeters, of the Naiman 181 millimeters, of the Baydjigit 192 millimeters, and of the Kirei 197 millimeters, and in the Bukey Horde it is 238 millimeters. The size of the face is small (119 mm. and smaller). Thus among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 117 millimeters, in the Middle Horde 116 millimeters, in the Murun clan 116 millimeters, among the Naiman 114, among the Baydjigit 117 millimeters, and for the Kirei 115 millimeters. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Little Horde the face of average size reaches 121 millimeters. The cranial index (the proportion of the length of the skull to its width) shows the following figures for the different tribes. In the Bukey Horde it is 86.5, in the Little Horde 87.5, in the Middle Horde 89.5, in the Murun clan 89.5, among the Naiman 89.5, for the Baydjigit 89.5, and the Kirei 89.0. These

[142] [291]

Kirghiz /Kazak/.

last figures provide a basis for calling the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (all the tribes listed above) brachycephalic (short-headed).

142 /202/ It is evident from all the data presented above how much the statistics vary for the different tribes. This shows, as was stated above, that from the physical anthropological point of view the Turks in our region do not constitute a whole. Externally the Kirghiz /Kazak/ may be characterized in this way. His body is quite well-proportioned, with a well-developed chest and a neck that is neither thick nor short. His legs are slightly bowed (from frequent horseback riding), with short lower legs, and the hands and feet are small. The color

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

[142]
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[342]

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[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[574] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

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184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/210 cont./

291 Kirghiz /Kazak/ wear over the beshmet a fur coat, "lkupa," of felting, joined naturally, i.e., on the skin of a sheep or a camel. This is light, but very warm clothing. In addition they wear tanned fur coats and quilted beshmet. The sleeves in all the clothing of the men and women are long, taking the place of gloves and mittens for the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/211/ Their legs are covered by quilted or sheepskin trousers, "shelbary," and thick (ox-hide) boots and felt socks. A conical form of fur hat, called "malakhay," is worn on the head, with long wide earflaps closing behind the neck. The material chosen for the clothing is always multicolored with bright colors and designs.

The costume of the women is quite similar to that of the men. They wear the same long, wide shirts as the men, and wide dambaly, with a loose-fitting dress over it. On their feet they wear the same boots or ichigi, with light lacquered overshoes. The long coats and beshmet are fitted at the waist. The girls wear round caps with fur trimming on their heads. The women wear a "kimeshek," a white hood that covers the head and goes down to the shoulders, with a slit in front for the face. /Illustration appears here./ The upper part of the head is covered by a white kerchief, called "dzhaulyk" (the Kirghiz /Kazak/ women do not cover their faces).

292 The bride wears a "saukele" on her head, a tall, pointed, cone-shaped hat with braid, silver plates, and other adornments sewed on it. The top of it consists of a bunch of feathers. Among the other features of the wedding costume of the bride, the colored shawl, "dzhilek," which covers the back of the bride entirely (the dzhilek is attached to the saukele), might be mentioned. The rest of her clothing is the ordinary type, only richer. The attire of the groom differs still less from the usual men's attire, having only the addition of feathers on his cap. Even this, however, could not be considered an invariable difference or appurtenance of the groom's attire.

291 The clothing of boys and little girls is alike in general, except for the arakchin /cap/ which the boys wear even as children.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main *food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially* kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as
262 bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
272 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
275 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
179 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

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585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

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585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accompanied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

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8:Kostenko -21-0-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak A92

The Kazakhs

142 Physical characteristics. The Kazakh type stands halfway between the Mongolian and the Caucasian. The face is swarthy for the most part, a result of being constantly in the open air - by the fire, in the wind and the frost. Some Kazakhs with pale faces are encountered, but only rarely. The face is broad and quite flat. The head is not especially large; the crown is rounded, more pointed than flat. The cheekbones protrude, but not as sharply as among the Kalmyks and as is general among the Mongols. The nape of the neck is short and the neck long. The eyes are narrow and slightly slanted. The nose is blunt and rounded; the forehead is flat; the mouth is wide and there are large jawbones. The chin is also wide. The beard consists of
141 a small wedge-shaped tuft on the chin. The Kazakhs are in general of medium stature, stooped, often have broad shoulders and are noticeably thickset. In general they are healthy and quite
147 strong, but clumsy. Their walk is slow, but on the other hand when mounted they are skilled horsemen, surpassed in this regard only by the Kalmyks.

141 The Kazakh women are all short in height in general. This shortness of the women is probably a consequence of the unusual physical labor which they must perform.

291 The clothing of the Kazakhs consists of long 'kaftans' (long-skirted coats) or 'khalats' (long wide cloaks) (chapan in Kazakh) of camel's hair, cotton or wool material, and sometimes of velvet, and wide trousers of the same material (shelbar in Kazakh), made sometimes also of plush or sheepskin. At the present time all

291 Kazakhs with any means at all wear shirts, but beggars even now wear a khalat over their naked bodies. In general several khalats are worn, [302] one on top of another. They cover their shaved heads, first of all with a small cap (tubetei), then with a high sharp-pointed felt hat. In the winter over /339/ the small tubetei they wear a fur hat or 'papakha' /Caucasian fur hat/ or 'malakhai' (fur cap with lappets) which is three-cornered and worn with the fur in. On their feet are leather boots, sometimes with overshoes (ichigi). They wear a leather belt, on which hang small bags and pouches with powder and all this, together with bullets, a knife and flint (Russiani ognivo) is called 'kalta'. The clothing of the women is almost the same, though not split, and is somewhat similar to a narrow chemise; they also wear khalats on top. They cover their heads in the ugliest fashion in a white cloth, sometimes on top of [302] a cap. They braid their hair in fine braids and adorn them with coins and rattles. In general the clothing of both sexes is extremely ungraceful, not to say ugly, although the rich have very costly khalats of velvet and silk embroidered in gold and silver.

411 The weapons of the Kazakhs at the present time, after contact with the Russians, have taken on a more and more European character. Their national weapon is the spear with a very long thin staff and the same kind of spearhead. Because of its length and brittleness this weapon is not very dangerous, however, the Kazakhs do not handle it badly. They have adopted curved swords (klych in Kazakh) from the other Central Asian peoples and do not make them themselves. Their guns (multyk) were activated by a fuse in the past. Now the

S 563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
K 342 tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
K [556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
K [361] sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs.
K 262 They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
[292] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for
K 291 color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
[171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
[556] or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same
K 769 as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1) 431

1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from her father (Torgai).

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire 585 292 wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

291 2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

586 high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals, 292 pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585 The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or Relinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i. e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtians. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

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291 Kirghiz /Kazak/ wear over the beshmet a fur coat, "kupa," of felting, joined naturally, i.e., on the skin of a sheep or a camel. This is light, but very warm clothing. In addition they wear tanned fur coats and quilted beshmet. The sleeves in all the clothing of the men and women are long, taking the place of gloves and mittens for the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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The costume of the women is quite similar to that of the men. They wear the same long, wide shirts as the men, and wide dambaly, with a loose-fitting dress over it. On their feet they wear the same boots or ichigi, with light lacquered overshoes. The long coats and beshmet are fitted at the waist. The girls wear round caps with fur trimming on their heads. The women wear a "kimeshek," a white hood that covers the head and goes down to the shoulders, with a slit in front for the face. /Illustration appears here./ The upper part of the head is covered by a white kerchief, called "dzhaulyk" (the Kirghiz /Kazak/ women do not cover their faces).

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291 The clothing of boys and little girls is alike in general, except for the arakchin /cap/ which the boys wear even as children.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

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533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

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286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's
wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth,
286 woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is
made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is
[462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three
children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a
woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing
and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various
widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool.
This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and
287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made
(from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz
/Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns
are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive.
The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube,
283 hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes
286 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how-
462 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes men-
tioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the
men shear the wool from the animals.

463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en-
282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./
327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and
326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the
[462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/,
[294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers en-
326 gage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the
harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work
(incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and
other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the
Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz
224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz
223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or
golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an
interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical
character for only a small part of the population.
[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

8: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

291 Kazakhs with any means at all wear shirts, but beggars even now wear a khalat over their naked bodies. In general several khalats are worn, [302] one on top of another. They cover their shaved heads, first of all with a small cap (tubetei), then with a high sharp-pointed felt hat. In the winter over /339/ the small tubetei they wear a fur hat or 'papakha' /Caucasian fur hat/ or 'malakhai' (fur cap with lappets) which is three-cornered and worn with the fur in. On their feet are leather boots, sometimes with overshoes (ichigi). They wear a leather belt, on which hang small bags and pouches with powder and all this, together with bullets, a knife and flint (Russiani ognivo) is called 'kalta'. The clothing of the women is almost the same, though not split, and is somewhat similar to a narrow chemise; they also wear khalats on top. They cover their heads in the ugliest fashion in a white cloth, sometimes on top of [302] a cap. They braid their hair in fine braids and adorn them with coins and rattles. In general the clothing of both sexes is extremely ungraceful, not to say ugly, although the rich have very costly khalats of velvet and silk embroidered in gold and silver.

411 The weapons of the Kazakhs at the present time, after contact with the Russians, have taken on a more and more European character. Their national weapon is the spear with a very long thin staff and the same kind of spearhead. Because of its length and brittleness this weapon is not very dangerous, however, the Kazakhs do not handle it badly. They have adopted curved swords (klych in Kazakh) from the other Central Asian peoples and do not make them themselves. Their guns (multyk) were activated by a fuse in the past. Now the

/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend- 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.

133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers, [311 233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the [101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[176 cont.]

*648 spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[31] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [142] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[139] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[294 cont.]

*[643] very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, [101] or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed [721] to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[721 181] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181 643] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167 311] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
579]
628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
● 311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
243 on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132 which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312 Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

636 1. The Russian government has built houses
342 for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

5: Levchine--190 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

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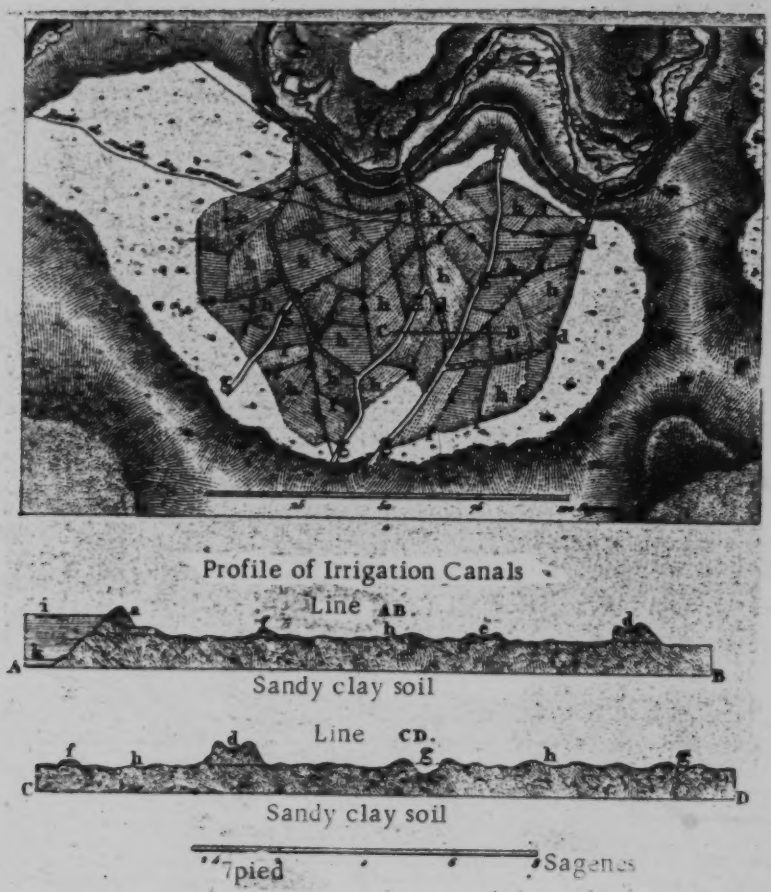

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The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933. [031]

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas. [311]

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2]Berdin 1946, pp. 116-135.

KN 496 long, running west of Lake Balkhash from Mointy to Chu,[1] and an east-west line, 546 kilometers (350 miles) long, connecting Akmolinsk and Pavlodar.[2] There are no railroad lines in southwestern Kazakhstan, presumably because the Caspian Sea is a more economical substitute. This solution may prove unworkable for the Soviets if the falling water level of the Caspian continues to isolate the northern and eastern ports from access to the sea.

Soviet criticism of Tsarist location theory for railroads in Central Asia applies equally to the Soviets themselves.[3] These lines are designed to integrate the sources of raw materials in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, with the manufacturing centers of Russia. They are not primarily designed to aid the local population in meeting internal problems. Moreover, the political ties closely follow the railroad network. KN [361] Thus the capital of Kazakhstan was established at Kzyl-Orda in 1925 largely because it lay on the old Orenburg-Tashkent line, not because it was a great center of culture. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that the Soviet government, even in the 1920's with its modicum of laissez faire, would have supported as capital of the area a potential center of political crystallization. The capital was subsequently moved to Alma-Ata because it was the railhead of the Turksib at the time, and there the capital has remained.

K 463 The trend in the Soviet Union regarding the training of Kazakhs as skilled workers in railroading is parallel to that of the factory systems. The Kazakhs are not being trained in numbers proportionate to their relative strength in the republic. They are being excluded or, alternatively, they are not coming forth to be trained. Of 17 brigades honored for their contributions to the building of the Mointy-Chu line, which runs north-south to the west of Lake Balkhash and along the eastern edge of the Hungry Steppe, only five were led by Turks.[4] Yet the line runs K [311] through country which is marginally suitable for herding, and for little else; it is a region of Kazakhs. On the other hand, for the Akmolinsk-Pavlodar line in the north, which runs through country where the proportion of Kazakh population is relatively low, the recipients of honors bore Slavic (Russian and Ukrainian, one German) names typical of the local populations.[5]

KN 433 439 By way of conclusion, the following may be said of the industry in Kazakhstan: First, the republic is an important producer of raw materials (oil, coal, lignite, copper, lead, meat, wool, cotton, wheat, and tobacco). Second, most of these raw materials flow outside Kazakhstan to industrial centers of the USSR in European Russia and the Urals. (This type of flow—raw materials to manufacturing center, finished goods from center back to source of raw materials—is precisely what Soviet propagandists have always denounced as imperialism.) Third,

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.
[3] See unpublished doctoral dissertation by Holland Hunter on railroad systems of the Soviet Union (67).
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.

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425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
476 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and
312 in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
427 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
432 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover
312 are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i.e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and ~~if~~ it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees
or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees
and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and
he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know
the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which
remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water
appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld
will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt
caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water,
some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land,
but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned
without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot re-
main in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned
by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this
time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back, in any case
even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can
make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the
land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers
give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan,
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 423
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair 695
and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows
whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land,
and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about
20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors
have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this
land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30
years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no
documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps,
established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baïadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
343] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

241
311
312
134
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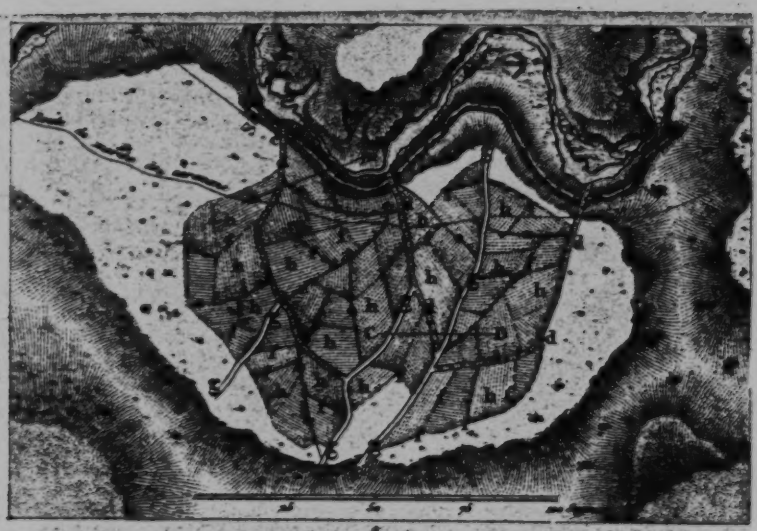
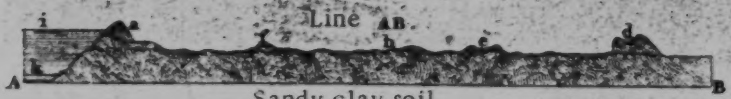
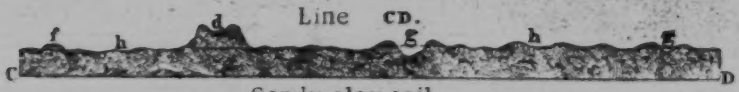


Profile of Irrigation Canals



Sandy clay soil



Sandy clay soil

7pied Sagenes

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and 579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

/206 cont./

342 [286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many differ- [283] ent cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are [287] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the [531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in [286] beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. [531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden [412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by [287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually [462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary [435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

/213 cont./

28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is 286 made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, 283 hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 286 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 462 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes mentioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers engage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the 326 harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.

[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

/213 cont./

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53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sЬjЬrcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЬlqЬcЬ) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during 178
the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. 233
Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy 236
time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained 221
substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more 342
rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded 343
with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the 621
summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikhi-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qbstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikhi-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

[176 cont.]

[348] spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[311] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [342] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[439] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[243 cont.]

x648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

● [342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still
[439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and
579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and
[316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible.
[712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China.
[439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

● [342 At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government
177] to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture.
[66] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature:
the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle.
Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and care-
free shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of
Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune
of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the
cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and
idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks
only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols
of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the
small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots
and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the
Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and
in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance
and which they follow from place to place with their movable
● 342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other
words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with
felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part,
which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and
takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent.
These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way,
are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67
meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of
ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors
are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones
which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the
place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the
walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of
straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt
is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by 291 chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, 411 robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
[132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

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1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 ●342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical rela-
627] tions of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by
628] one individual against another, the participation of their families
578] in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re-
[166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:
166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always
578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

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342 [192] As a dwelling, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in summer use the yurt (more precisely -- the uy, i.e., dwelling, for yurt is a Mongol word), and in winter, the kstau, i.e., winter camp. In rare cases (among the poor) the yurt serves as the summer and winter dwelling. In the southern part of the region, where the winters are not so severe, average families also live in yurts.

We shall give somewhat more detail in describing the yurt, since the whole life of the nomad is concentrated within it. /206/ His world view is formed here and all the most important moments of his domestic and public life take place here. The winter camp is a sad necessity called for by local climatic peculiarities.

The yurt is a wooden, cone-like form, a lattice-work framework, with felt stretched over it. Because of its lightness and simple structure it is quickly taken apart and also quickly assembled, which is very important in connection with the frequent migrations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The framework of the yurt consists of the "kerege" -- a wooden lattice serving the basis of the tent (a section of it, made of 12-17 pairs of sticks, is called a kanat) -- and the "chengarak," which is a wooden circle with arched transverse shafts called "kul'dereush." The kerege and chengarak are fastened together by wooden arches -- "uka" -- which are inserted at one end into the opening of the chengarak and the other is tied to the kerege. The number of uka in a tent varies. In small ones there are up to 100, and in large ones there are 150-200. The height of the kerege, the length of the uka, and the dimensions of the chengarak differ in different yurts. The height of a yurt is four to six arshins. The yurt door consists of a rectangular frame one and a half arshins high. The side parts of the frame are called "bosaga" or "tayanysh," the lower side "tabyldyryk," and the upper side "mandaiga." The door or "yesyk" is made out of thick felt cloth or wood. All this is fastened to the "kerege." The "chengarak" is fastened to the center of the tent with a lasso, called "dzhil'-bau," so that the wind will not blow it away, or it is supported with a special pole called "bakan." From [286] the outside the kerege is covered with a woven network of chiy

342 /206 cont./
[286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the
[283] yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are
[287] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the
[531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and
[286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting.
[531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden
[412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by
[287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually
[462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary
[435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [177] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored 554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, 352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and 353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 708 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often [782] swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/208 cont./

342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

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342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. 352 The back half (two to three sagenes long), two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [184] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities with- [556] out forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities
342 have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with
35 a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

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"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

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The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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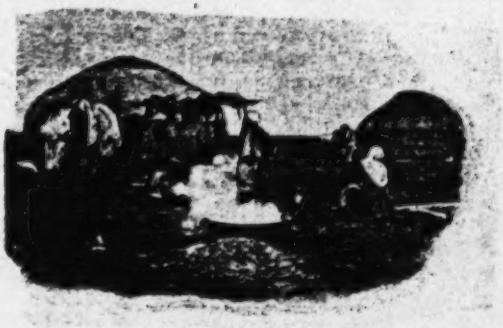

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

/218 cont./

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyl-datar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accom-
[431] panied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1]*Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2]Korbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani- [184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea- K [361] sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. K 262 They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, [272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and K 291 their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in [171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather [556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same K 769 as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding [171] ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

342 From the dwellings of the sedentary population we move to the description of the nomadic dwellings.

The dwelling of the nomad is very unusual. It consists of a folding yurt (tent) capable of being easily carried from place to place. During our* steppe wars and campaigns the true value of these yurts was soon appreciated. They were adopted with particular advantage by the Orenburg detachment in the Khiva expedition of 1873, when the whole detachment was outfitted with them. During the Turkestan wars the yurts were almost always used during the winter or autumn campaigns, and in general for the movement of troops. As campaign hospital shelters these yurts were used all the year around.

000 The proven usefulness of the Kazakh yurts caused their introduction also as temporary hospitals of the active armies in the recent Turkish war. Thanks to the initiative of Dr. Priselkov, the Kzakh tents were introduced as hospitals for the army in the field. By order of the General Staff about 30 temporary hospitals were prepared in Orenburg before the war, with 5 tents /392/ in each, and all 150 tents were sent to Kishinev. Each one easily contained up to five men, and cost 150 rubles in Orenburg. The cost of railroad transport was counted as 45 rubles per tent. Thus 150 tents, with transport, cost 27,750 rubles. Personnel of the lower ranks , well-acquainted with the putting up and storing of these portable dwellings were sent with the tents.

*[ie: Russian--Analyst]

8:Kostenko -97-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak KQ2

342 In view of the importance of the portable Kazakh dwelling for the needs and demands of our armies, let us examine this dwelling in detail.

The dwelling of the Kazakh must satisfy the following main conditions: it must be inexpensive, cheap to repair, easy and quick to set up take down and load on a camel, and in addition, lightweight, yet not carried away by the wind. At the same time to gain time in packing, it should not be too firmly fastened to the ground. It should contain in itself all the necessary property of one family, protect people well in winter from frost, snow and wind, and in summer from rain, heat and dust. Finally it should provide certain conveniences for interior furnishing, that is, make it possible to accommodate the necessary domestic utensils in it conveniently, to store and hang up clothes, and the like. Nothing satisfies all these conditions better than that felt tent used since time immemorial by nomadic peoples which is called yurt (orta or orda). It consists of four parts: 1) a wooden framework; 2) an interior 'chiy' (a kind of grass; see below) or reed lining; 3) an outside felt lining, and 4) various connections and supports both to reinforce the three preceding parts, and for the convenient furnishing of the yurt.

1) The wooden framework consists of three main parts:

a) a 'kerege' or folding frame made of several parts, forms the walls of the dwelling. These are set up around a circle, the diameter of which is determined by the purpose for which

342 the yurt is intended, or by the material available for the covering and decorating of the dwelling, or on the basis of considerations as to how long the tent is expected to stay there, etc. Each part or 'kanaat' of the kerege /393/ consists of two rows of poles, 5 or 6 inches (3 or 4 vershoks) apart. The upper or outside row of poles is laid on crosswise on the inside side of the yurt, but in such a way that every pole in each row forms the same angle with the surface of the ground. In this position the poles stick through at their points of contact, and through the opening which has been made a strap or strand is put through or tied with knots at either end. The length of the lathes in such a framework is rarely more than 7 feet (one sazhen'), the thickness is less than ½ inch (vershok) and the width one inch (three-fourths of a vershok). Consequently for one separate part of a framework which would take up 7 feet (one sazhen') in circumference, one would need 12 or 13 such crossbeams, if the space between each were taken as 4 inches (3 vershoks). Sometimes a kanaat has just this length, if 6 feet (2½ arshins) is added to the height of the framework with poles 7 feet (one sazhen') long. This height can be increased or decreased, let us say, by 5 feet (up to 2 arshins), by the length of the framework poles designated; this is done to make a yurt higher or lower, or to make the upper wooden parts, of which we will speak in a minute, fit more neatly with the edges of the tent. Thus the height of the kanaat is increased at the expense of the length, and vice versa. The poles, which turn freely on leather thongs, and are also somewhat bent inward at the ends, make it very convenient

342 to set up the framework along the circumference of the area selected. Usually they make the side framework 6 feet (2½ arshins) high, and the length of its separate parts, or kanaats, varies. Thus the length may be from one sazhen', of 12 or 13 poles, up to two sazhen's or 24 poles, and sometimes even more. The longer the kanaat, the fewer needed, and the simpler the setting up of the yurt because fewer bonds are needed. On the other hand, the large framework parts need repair more often than the small ones. Influenced by these considerations, the length of a kanaat which is 6 feet high (when it is set up) is fixed at 7, 10½, 14, 17½ or 21 feet (1, 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 sazhen's), rarely more. The diameter of the area selected for the tent determines /394/ the number of kanaats of specified size needed to be set up all the way around the circumference. And since the chosen diameter is always changing, under the influence of various considerations of needing to give the yurt various capacities, so every Kazakh family always carries along several reserve kanaats. A certain limit is fixed, however, for the extent of a yurt's diameter. This limit results from the impossibility of obtaining poles ('uks') which are too long; these permit the side framework to fasten to the top of the tent. Therefore there are no tents over 28 feet (4 sazhen's) in diameter, and 21 foot (3 sazhen's) ones are quite rare. Most of them are 10½ to 17½ feet (1½ to 2½ sazhen's), depending on what sort of property the owner of the yurt has, whether he expects to invite guests into his dwelling, whether everything needed for the covering and decoration of the yurt, such as felts, chiy (grass) matting,

342 rugs, etc., will stay in one place for a long time, etc. The specified number of kanaats for the size of the area selected are tossed down from the camel, and spread out along the circumference in such a way that the entrance to the yurt will face west, (1) then the kanaats are fastened together by small loops, and the foundation of the yurt is ready.

1. This is not observed everywhere and always, however. Usually in the yurts which stand alone, the door is really almost always facing west, but in winter, when all the yurts are placed close to each other in each individual aul to form an inside courtyard serving as an enclosure for the cattle, then the doors of all these tents open upon this square.

b) The chagarak or hoop, which forms the upper part of the wooden framework is usually made of birch and may have various diameters, from 56 inches (2 arshins) to 125 inches (1½ sazhen'), and various thicknesses, from 3 to 10 inches (2 to 7 vershoks). If the diameter is large or if the arch is not made of a single tree trunk, then from two to four lathes are put across the hoop, bent slightly upwards and these are intersected perpendicularly by others which connect the other two sides of the hoop. Thus in the center a small lattice is formed, made of one, four or nine squares. /395/ This lattice also constitutes the very top of the yurt, as the intersecting lathes are bent upward. The transverse connections of the hoop are necessary both for its stability and also so that the felt which covers the entire outside of the tent will not fall inside

342 the chagarak. The whole ring of the chagarak is a row of slits, more or less close together, in which the straight ends of poles are inserted which are attached by other poles with curved ends to the side frame of the yurt.

c) These uks or poles fastened together constitute the third main part of the wooden framework of the tent. Their number is determined by the number of slits made in the chagarak ring. The more uks inserted, the better the felt rests which covers them, and the better various objects can be hung from the chagarak, like meat to be smoked, clothing to be dried, and the like. On the other hand it slows down the work of setting up the yurt, because every end of the uk, as was said above, has to be looped on to the side frame. The length of the connecting pole plays an important role, because it determines the longest possible diameter possible for the yurt, as was noted earlier. The uk is almost the same as the radius of the area of the circle chosen for the tent, and therefore if they want to set up a small yurt, they choose other short poles, and if they do not have any they use long ones in the following manner: When they have inserted the straight end of the uk into the corresponding slit in the chagarak they lower the other, flatter end (of 1 to 3 inches, that is $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ vershoks) down to the kerege to the place where the pole begins to bend, and in this place they fasten it with a loop to the upper part of the kerege. Meanwhile the top of the tent which is covered with felt takes on a more cone-shaped appearance, so that when it is secured in the normal fashion it has the look of a semi-circular cupola. The other wooden parts of every tent are less important. The bakan, or

342 long thick pole (3 to 5 inches, from 1½ to 2 vershoks in diameter) must also be mentioned. The bakan must be at least 4 inches higher (½ an arshin) than the highest yurt. One of its ends is blunt, the other forked. The latter supports the hoop of the chagarak, while the blunt end is fixed in the ground on the opposite side from the direction from which the /396/ wind blows. In a heavy snow storm several of such inside supports are put up in every yurt for otherwise the tent would be carried away by the wind. In tranquil weather there is no need of a bakan, but in the large yurts the chagarak is always supported by them from various sides, because it is convenient to hang clothes to dry on the pegs hammered into them, as well as other things which it is desirable to protect from the soot which fills almost all the upper half of the yurt. To hang a thing on a rope stretched across the yurt is dangerous because of the soot, and on the walls of the frame it would be far away from the campfire laid inside the tent between the bakans. Sometimes a door is added, sometimes it is dispensed with. In either case the space left for the entrance is covered with a special kind of thick felt which is almost always embroidered on the outer side with various designs of plush, fine cloth, etc.

The Kazakhs store up material with which to build the wooden framework in the summer, when they are passing near wooded areas. They make and repair all the parts of the tent described above themselves. One of the better wooden frameworks for yurts is about 21 feet (3 sazhen's) in diameter, with poles which are nicely turned, decorated with red paint and

Kazak RQ 2

342 lacquered with various intricate adornments, as, for example, bone inlaid in the doors, various pegs on the bakans, and the like. Such a framework would cost about 100 silver rubles, and sometimes more. The simplest yurt construction of medium size, without felt and other non-wooden appurtenances, costs at least around 20 rubles among the Kazakhs, and usually goes up to 30 rubles and more.

2) The chiy facing consists of woven matting made from the steppe plant chiy (Lasiagrostis splendens). (1)

1. Cf. p. 117 /On p. 117 it is stated that in the lower Alay valley/ feather-grass and chiy are the predominant grasses.

This woven matting is placed inside and sometimes outside the side frame, serving, first of all, as a decoration of the yurt, and secondly, to protect the inside of it from dust on windy days when the lower part of the felt cover is usually raised to let the current of air come through. The cloth woven of chiy may be of various sizes, and sometimes one cloth covers the entire yurt. Among the rich the chiy is wound with silk thread, among the poor, if at all, with wool, and it happens that they dispense with matting altogether. /397/ But in the winter, in such a case, it is too cold in the yurt, and therefore few poor men deny themselves this luxury.

3) The felt covering consists of side pieces of felt of varying lengths from 6 to 7 feet (2 1/2 to 3 arshins) wide; of upper pieces which are wider but shorter, with a special

8:Kostenko 104-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak Rd2

342 pattern which fits the upper part of the tent; and of a special piece of felt (tunduk), covering the chagarak. The first are fastened to the upper and lower parts of the kerege, the second are thrown over the uks with the help of the bakans, and spread over the top of the tent with the help of ropes which are attached to their corners, or, to speak more exactly, with the help of a special long wide braid, which encompasses the entire side cover of the yurt, and the other end of the braid is fastened somewhere, to the door, or to some sort of peg hammered into the ground. Finally, the tunduk felt also has a long wide braid fastened to all its four corners, with the other end fastened outside the yurt to one of the braids or loops which hold it. In this way at night when the tunduk felt covers the chagarak, all four braids are fastened, while in the daytime, to admit light into the yurt, or to let the smoke from the hearth escape, one of the tunduk braids is unfastened (the one attached to the corner of the tunduk which is in the direction from which the wind blows). Then the corner which is unfastened in this way is thrown open with the help of a bakan. When the wind changes, and the smoke has no free outlet, and the yurt begins to fill with soot, then this corner of the tunduk felt is fastened down again, and a new corner is opened in the same way. With the help of this arrangement the Kazakh is always able to direct the draught, and the fire laid in the center of the tent does not smoke. When it is necessary to smoke meat or something else, which is hung from the chagarak or from the ropes which stretch through the whole yurt, they do the contrary or even close the tunduk entirely,

342 and raise the door felt to let out the smoke.

The felt used for the covering of the yurt is usually grey; among the rich one sometimes comes across white felt, but rarely, because /398/ stylishness is not achieved by this means but lies in having felt pieces of various sizes intended in advance for certain purposes. It is not easy to bunch together a piece of felt which is too wide or too long, and also large pieces of felt are too bulky, and considerably complicate folding, packing and trasport. On the other hand with the fixed 6 foot (2½ arshin) width, the longer the side felt, the smaller the number of slits in the tent, the darker it is in winter, and vice versa. For the upper uk felts, the length has no special importance, but the width must correspond to the length of the uks and must even be considerably longer, because the further the felt comes down the side of the yurt, the pleasanter, that means, the warmer it is inside the tent. The rich actually have these kinds of convenient pieces, which do not bother them in packing and unpacking of the yurt because each one has plenty of workmen. In winter some bais put a second layer of the same material on top of the felt cover. On the other hand the one layer of felt which covers the tents of the poor is so full of holes, that in the winter the occupants' teeth chatter from the cold, while in the summer, especially when it rains, there is no more refreshing place than his modest dwelling.

4) The ties which fasten all the parts of the yurt together are mostly made of loops of various sizes, but since the constant

342 rubbing of the ropes over the felt would cut down their length of durability, all those which are to be next to the felt which covers the tent have pieces of camel's hair braid fastened to their ends, of various lengths and widths. These braids are also stretched out inside the tent to hang up the clothes on them which are used every day, using the loops in such cases only for decoration. In addition to these, other supports are set up within the yurt besides the bakans, of varying style and beauty, which are also used for hanging up things.

This is the entire structure of the Kazakh dwelling. As we see, it fully answers all the conditions listed above, which are demanded of it by the nomads. A complete yurt of medium size with grey felts costs the Kazakh about 100 rubles, many 150. Consequently to prepare such a yurt for every daughter who is being married /399/ is not burdensome, if the kalym (bride's dowry) is intelligently disposed of. Under proper management the repair of the yurts in the aul is also not difficult. Only the repair of the wooden framework sometimes costs money. Everything else is taken care of within the household, and therefore there are not even any expenses for all the remaining parts of the dwelling for the Kazakhs.

The dwelling is perfectly suited to the climactic peculiarities of the steppe. The strongest winds do not upset the tent, and at the same time, no matter how complex the tent is, it is not fastened down to the ground, so that this does not interfere with rapid assembling and dismantling. In the summer on

8:Kostenko 107-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak

•342 days of suffocating heat it is cool and there is no dust inside. During heavy frost it remains quite warm within the good tent covers, [164] and only the smoke from the hearth is bad for the eyes, developing the eye disease, which is one of the most wide spread diseases among the nomads.

The yurt, containing all the property of the Kazakh, and providing certain conveniences for the disposal of various household articles, can be dismantled and assembled easily and quickly, in about half an hour, can be loaded conveniently and is light enough so that [492] the whole establishment of a tent of medium size can be packed on one camel. All the felts, piled up in several layers, are put over the backbone of the animal; the kerege, the uks, and the chiy mats, rolled up into a tube, are hung on his sides, while the chagarak is put over the humps, and all this is very skilfully looped on. This same camel with his load, when he comes to a new station, at the place where the yurt is to be - indicated by a lance which has been left in the ground by the householder when he went there ahead - is quickly unloaded, two women set up the kerege according to the indicated circumference with kanaats, and fasten them; two others or the same ones. after finishing the first job, put up the chagarak over the center of the space being formed, with the help of bakans, insert the uks into it, and at once fasten the other ends to the side screen, which they cover with chiy and side felts, on top of the uk they put the felts and the tunduk felt, fasten all this down, and the tent is ready within the half hour. On the floor of the yurt they spread out felts leaving in the center

342 a /400/ small space for the hearth. Over the felt, among the rich, they spread rugs, naples rugs, and so on, and sometimes, in order to give more decoration to the tent, they hang them along the walls. Across the tent they stretch ropes and various braids; they hammer in pegs; they bring in their things. Finally, in the middle of the tent they start a fire, put up a tripod, and on it a kettle of water, and prepare the food.

415 The necessary utensils, both for the rich, the moderately wealthy and the poorest yurt are: the tripods, of various sizes, set up over the fire, the cast iron kettles, also of various sizes, wooden troughs for washing the meat, others for storage of beef extract, also wooden dishes, on which they serve the [412] smaller pieces of meat on the table. In order to cut meat into still smaller pieces every Kazakh has a small knife (pyshak) carefully kept in a sheath hung on his belt. There are also wooden, leather and metal pails, tubs, vats, milk pails, sabas (large skins for kumys), tursuks (small skins for kumys), and other vessels of various shapes and sizes, for the storage of milk, cheeses, meat, and for bouillon which is poured from large kettles, and is sometimes drunk at the meat table. There are [373] also wooden mortars, cups for drinking kumys (fermented mare's milk) and for various other uses, and sometimes metal and earthenware [322] plates, leather bags for gathering tezek (dry cow dung, used for fuel), as well as teapots and metal kumgans (pitcher with spout, handle and lid for washing hands) and other appurtenances of the kitchen and table. The more breakable and the more or less valuable objects

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and 403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[435] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

8. Kostenko 113-G-4, 5 (1868-80) 1880 RL1 Turkestan
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Kazak KQQ

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342

at the top so that the kosh looks like a felt cone.

[177] The incomparable qualities of a yurt in summer have been appreciated not only by the armies but also by the Russian inhabitants of Turkestan. The householder who is only the slightest bit wealthy provides himself with such a yurt or yulameika, which he puts up in his garden near his house. In such yulameikas they can be free of the suffocating heat which makes it impossible to sleep in the house.

/404/ III

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A Description of Some Important Populated Places

A description of the town of Tashkent: the Asiatic and Russian parts. Vernyi /Alma Ata/. Kuldja. Samarkand. Khodzhent /Leninabad/. Ura-Tyube.

Tashkent

T
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Tashkent is the center of the government of the whole region of Turkestan. Both in size and in expanse it is one of the most spacious towns not only in the Turkestan region but in all of Central Asia. In number of inhabitants it is comparable only with Bukhara, and in expanse with Kokand. This is one of the oldest towns, and its origin is lost in the mists of time. It is situated at 41° 19'32" north, and 38° 57'58" east. Tashkent is located on a flat plateau beginning about 30 versts from Chimkent, and is surrounded on three sides with gardens, while the fourth side is contiguous with the Russian town.

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

x648 [239 cont.]
[661] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[343] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[577] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[243 cont.]

x648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[131] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

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[346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
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184 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities
342 have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with
35 a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
●343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/211 cont./

262 272 [252] [415] Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

342 343 493 556 351

Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 [272] have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in [252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the [264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

576 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

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The support of the poor.

735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i. e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold,
732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

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Clergy and schools.

346 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

[266 cont.]

x648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[346] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[269 cont.]
648 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784
692 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks. Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

648 At the same time as this establishment, from which great
[376] advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-
[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from
721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against it and laid waste their enemies.

648 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance.
721 But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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[361]

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

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[342]
[346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

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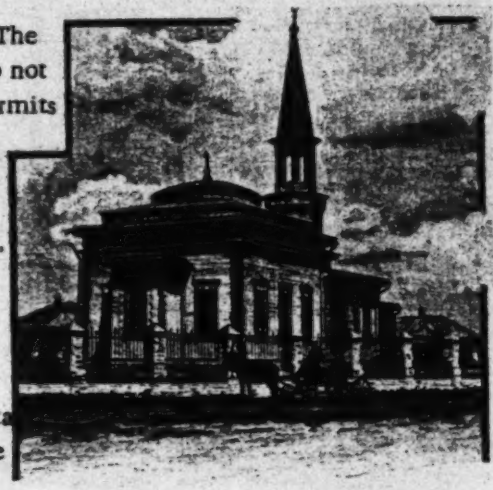
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/221 cont./

the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods of three days only for old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amusements (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

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[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities
342 have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with
35 a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
355] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538
533] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sey-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342]
[346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

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/211 cont. /

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

342
343
493
556
351

Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [179] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored 554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, 352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and 353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/208 cont. /

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [184] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities with- [556] out forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

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154 inside them any little rocking boxes. Not all people have these very convenient cribs, however, and therefore they carry the children in basket beds, fastened on their backs, wrapping the children in felts. They are also carried in these same baskets, tied onto the sides of the camels, during the migrations.

353 The bed, or that side place where the bedding is placed, is almost always separated from the rest of the tent by a calico curtain. If the second wife of the householder lives in the same tent with the first, which does sometimes occur, although rarely, then the other side part of the tent, opposite the first, is also hidden behind a curtain.

Between the bed and the pile of packages laid near the back wall stand more or less voluminous [415] sacks, filled in summer with kumys. These sacks usually have a square bottom, one side of which is 28 to 56 inches long. The tops of the sacks, which gradually narrow, end in a slender neck, more or less beautifully made, sometimes bound in copper and sometimes in silver, which is tied to one of the uks by a string, so that the sack will not fall to the floor. Around these huge [354] tursuks /kumys skins/ there is sometimes placed a low cupboard for vessels of special construction in which various other necessary small things are kept, such as knives, razors, needles, trays, thread, brushes, /402/ sewing work which has been started, and the like. Among some wealthy people the corners of such little cupboards are decorated with bunches of ostrich feathers. In addition they also have other devices, wardrobes and cupboards

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature: the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle. Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and carefree shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance and which they follow from place to place with their movable
342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part, which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent. These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way, are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67 meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

/207 cont./

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415 are kept in cases and in chests of various sizes and various outside trimmings. Clothing and all soft things are wrapped up in more or less new and costly rugs, and napless rugs, and even in ordinary ones, and carefully looped on to packages conveniently transportable on
• 353 camels. With these packages, as well as chests,
513 cases, and with sometimes also cupboards, the yurt is barricaded up to the top on the side opposite the door. Wooden folding beds are placed on the right and left sides, which are very low and short, but with unusually slanting backs which fold back. With this kind of arrangement the bed does not take up much space in the yurt with its legs, which are held in an oblique position by a special kind of wedges, and much can be laid and stood up under the back. At the same time the upper part of these legs form a back /401/ at the head and foot of the bed which is at an extremely obtuse angle with the plane of the bed, so that when the bed is covered with many felts, taking the place of a mattress here, the Kazakh can lie down on it at full length. The felts are covered also with many quilted blankets, covered with calico, of various sizes and values, and with several pillows, also padded with calico. Others also have another arrangement for a bed, something like ours, sometimes iron folding beds, and also feather comforters and pillows with clean white pillowcases, but all this, especially the last, is extremely rare. Many do not even have the simplest type of bed. They spread out felt bedding in such cases in the same places where others have the beds. The Kazakh
854 crib is similar to our children's cribs. They not only do not rock but also do not have

854 inside them any little rocking boxes. Not all people have these very convenient cribs, however, and therefore they carry the children in basket beds, fastened on their backs, wrapping the children in felts. They are also carried in these same baskets, tied onto the sides of the camels, during the migrations.

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353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [492] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt,

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. [782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/208 cont./

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361 **ḲAZĀN**, also written Ḳāzān, in the xv^th and xvi^th centuries the capital of a Tatar principality, in the xix^th century a Russian university town, now capital of the Tatar Soviet Republic. According to legend, the town was built by Bātū. In 1391 Ḳazān was destroyed by Russian free-
175 booters from Nowgorod, and again in 1399 by the Prince Ywriy Dmitriyewič. About 1445 a powerful kingdom was founded here by Ulu-Muḥammad and his son Maḥmūdek (in Russian works Makhmutek) who had been banished from the Golden Horde; in the same year (1445), in which Ulu Muḥammad captured the Russian Grand Duke Wasiliy, Ḳazān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling, was captured by Maḥmūdek. In 1446 Ulu Muḥammad was killed by Maḥmūdek; two other sons of Ulu Muḥammad, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb, had to flee to Russia from their brother, where Ḳāsim founded a local dynasty in Kasimov [q. v.] which is called after him. Like many later pretenders who sought refuge in Russia, Ḳāsim took part on the Russian side in the wars against Ḳazān. Maḥmūdek died about 1464 and was succeeded by his sons, first Khalīl, then Ibrāhīm. In 1468 even Wiabka had to submit to Khān Ibrāhīm but in the following year the campaign took a more favourable turn for Russia; Ibrāhīm had to make peace and restore their freedom to all the Russian prisoners in Ḳazān. Ibrāhīm's successor was his son Ilhām; in 1487 his brother Muḥammad Amīn appeared before Ḳazān with a Russian army; after a siege of three weeks Ilhām had to surrender and was sent with his wife to Wologda; Muḥammad Amīn was installed as Khān in his place. In 1496 the Khān and with him the Russian party was driven out by an invasion of Siberian Tatars under Mamuk; after the victory of the Russians — at the request of the people of Ḳazān — it was not Muḥammad Amīn but his brother ʿAbd al-Laṭīf that was installed as Khān but by 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was brought back to Russia and the throne restored to Khān Muḥammad Amīn. In 1505 the Khān rebelled against Russian suzerainty and killed or robbed the Russian merchants who came to the annual fair in Ḳazān; the Tatars advanced as far as Nijni-Novgorod. In 1506 a Russian army was defeated; while a second campaign was being prepared the old relations were restored by a treaty of peace in 1507. Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had died the previous year; with them the dynasty founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct.

The following decades were a period of almost uninterrupted fighting between the pretenders supported by Russia, the brothers Shāh ʿAlī (so on his tomb in Kasimov, not Shaikh ʿAlī) and Djān ʿAlī, who had come from Astrakhan to Russia, and the national party supported by the Crimean Tatars and the Noghai. The latter won their biggest victories in 1521; Shāh ʿAlī was driven out by prince Ṣāḥib Girāi who came from the Crimea; the brothers Muḥammad Girāi from the Crimea and Ṣāḥib Girāi from Ḳazān advanced up to Moscow; the Grand Duke Wasiliy abandoned his capital; a peace was concluded in his name by the Tatar prince Peter, a convert to Christianity, by which the Russian government bound itself to pay tribute to the Khān of the Crimea. The Russian prisoners were sold as slaves by the Crimean Tatars in Kafa and by the people of Ḳazān in Astrakhan. In 1524 Ṣāḥib Girāi went

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175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarḫān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh 'Alī but Djān 'Alī that was elected Khān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Khān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh 'Alī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh 'Alī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Khān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

341 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Sūyūnbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Djān 'Alī and later to Shāh 'Alī). Under the [668] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviii^th century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 874 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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[224 cont.]

×643 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
[661] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[361] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had
578 been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
[643 that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's
661] influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all
651] the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

[246 cont.]

×648 [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[261 cont.]

×643 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
●[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101]

Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
533] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.
534]

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
● 361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require [166] hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

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/146 cont./

rivers and beyond to the Volga (1630). War broke out among the other tribes for priority, which was won by the Dzungarians, and indeed the former alliance began to be called Dzungaria after them. United by valiant commanders, Dzungaria became a dangerous neighbor, not only for the eastern Mongol, Altai, and Baraba tribes, but also for China. The latter suffered much from the attacks of the Dzungarians in its western provinces, until after several campaigns the many soldiers of the Chinese army inflicted a decisive defeat (in 1696) upon the armies of the Dzungarian kontayshi

K 361 133

Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter camp in the steppe.

KK 175 619 648

(prince), the famous Galdan-Tsyren.

This somewhat weakened the power of Dzungaria, but the return of the Torgout, who wandered back from the Volga, again strengthened its influence on the surrounding tribes. This influence was so strong that the Baraba Tatars, who were nominally subject to the Russians, nevertheless acknowledged the power of the Dzungarians and paid duty to them and not to the Russians. Finally the Russians, too, were obliged to clash with them, and at first to give way. In 1714 the Russian government sent Buchholz to set up a series of fortresses along the Irtysh river (by which it was proposed to link the gold deposits of Yarkand with Siberia). The latter established a fortress near the settlement of Yamyshev (where the main trading between the Russians, Dzungarians, Bukhariotes, and Tashkentians was concentrated). The

KK 175 648 KK [439]

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --77 U-4.5 (no date) 1903
RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. /181 cont. /
361 13,361 square versts, and in the Ural oblast one Russian village per 1,800 square versts. Thus if one takes the total number of settlements (and towns), one settlement is found for every 95 square versts. For those who do not know what a Kirghiz /Kazak/ K 361 162 settlement is like, this last figure may be misleading in relation to the actual density of population. In the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts together, for example, there are about 13,000 such Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements (camps and aul) in H.T. 361 162 which the population is not greater than 50 persons. For the Russian villages the average can be taken as /182/ a village of 500-800 persons. Villages with a population of 1,000 or more are very few in number and these are only old settlements.

H.T. 162 The distribution of the population by sex (the number of males and females) is shown on page 78 indicating that the males predominate in the region by a considerable margin (53%) This difference is particularly noticeable in the Semipalatinsk oblast, where there are 31 women for every 37 men. The population of the Turgai oblast has a more equal distribution (22 women for every 24 men).

The distribution of the sedentary population by estate is represented in the next diagram on page 79. It shows that the peasants are the most numerous, in spite of the fact that they began to settle in the region only recently. The Akmolinsk oblast has the largest proportion of peasants, 54.2%, and the Ural oblast has the smallest (16.5%). After them come the Kazak /Cossacks/. /Diagram appears here./ They are most numerous (in proportion to the other estates in the Ural oblast (75%), and least in the Akmolinsk oblast (25%), while in the Turgai oblast there are none at all. The petty bourgeois, the aristocracy, and the raznochinetz /intellectual not belonging to the gentry/ are most numerous in the Turgai oblast (48%) and the Semipalatinsk oblast (41.6%), and fewest in the Ural oblast K [162] (8.5%). If one considers the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as an estate, they are the largest group in number (72.1%), as is clearly evident from the diagram. The other estates, constituting, when combined, 27.9% of the population of the entire region, are distributed as follows: 37.5% are peasants, 34.5% are Kazak /Cossacks/, and 28% are aristocrats, clergy, merchants, petty

/208 cont./

342 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the
361 Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the
184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern
342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places
231 that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be
[342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings.
342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

351 /209 cont. /Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

• 361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./

184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the
appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

443 /212 cont. /
262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
272 and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/,
[275] there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible
[435] to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-
[958] known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
439

It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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342
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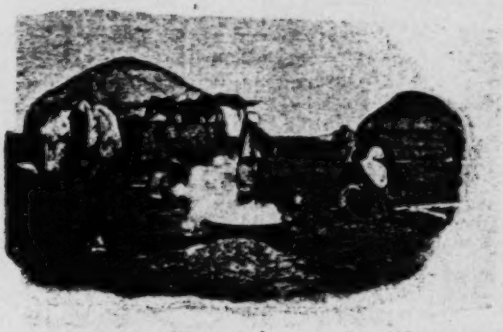

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.[1]

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

K 177 648 361 474

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down.

K [181] [554]

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier.

K [186]

K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940.

KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

K 161

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
S [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The trans-
[177] ition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor K [361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, [272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and K 291 their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in [171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather [556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same K as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding 769 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the 171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

8:Kostenko -23-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation.
361 Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it
should be noted that according to a custom a-
dopted once and for all, auls are not allowed
to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it
leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in
the past it led to cattle rustling because the
offended parties in such a case had difficulty
in feeding their herds in winter and attempted
to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as
follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing
and loading of the tents and property falls
upon the women. The head of the household only
supervises the arrangements, and the other men
round up the cattle, and form herds from them,
each family separately. The departure is after
dark, and when everything is ready, the whole
caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The
housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and
the other women ride after her on camels or
horses, carrying the property. At this time
the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes.
They place their most precious and costly things
(carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and
in general the whole procession has a festive
air. Since the cattle do not all move at the
same pace, the herd soon begins to separate.
As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over
several versts. The head of the household is
usually not with the moving aul; slow movement
is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the
side or hunts along the way. The march is
usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and
then there is a halt and rest, which in summer
is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
●361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae' and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.

161 died or changed their way of life. This fact lies behind the great drop in the number of Kazakh nomadic households, from 567,000 in 1930 to one-fourth that amount, 158,000, in 1935.

It will be recalled that between 1926 and 1939 the Kazakh population suffered an absolute loss of 900,000, and a projected loss of 1,400,000, figured on the 15.9 average rate of increase for the entire Soviet Union. The major factors which contributed to this decline may now be summarized:

[165] (1) Starvation through loss of herds during the period of the first great collectivization drive, 1929-1933.
(2) The poor conditions of life and the prevalence of famine and disease during the early period of collectivization.
(3) Mass arrests and liquidations of resisters to collectivization ("enemies of the people").
[167] (4) Border crossings by Kazakhs into Sinkiang and Mongolia.
(5) Kazakh migration to the neighboring Turkic peoples, primarily the Karakalpaks and the Uzbeks.
[177] (6) Russification of Kazakhs who moved to the new urban developments of southern Siberia.

The population losses in any single category cannot be estimated with accuracy; one can only list those factors contributing to population loss with comments about their relative significance. The major factor was undoubtedly starvation through loss of herds and through the conditions attending collectivization. The flight across the borders into countries outside the USSR is a dramatic factor, but not one which accounts [167] for large numbers. There are no signs of a great increase in the population of Sinkiang, for example, in the early 1930's. The total population of Sinkiang is small, and an influx of hundreds of thousands of people could not have passed unnoticed, especially since there were western observers in the area at the time.

The movement of Kazakhs into the cities of southern Siberia, presumably in the Urals and the Kuzbass, is the official Russian explanation. This explanation cannot be the whole story but must be accepted as a part of the truth. That is, Kazakhs who are urbanized, speak Russian [177] habitually, and work in Russian factories seek a Russian nationality listing. They have been encouraged to do so at certain periods of Soviet [369] history, primarily in the 1930's.

The factor of GPU arrests and liquidation, together with attendant [165] factors such as starvation among those who were not themselves liquidated but whose herds were, may account for a maximum of 125,000 Kazakhs. The last major factor is the flight of Kazakhs to other neigh- [167] boring nationalities. A minor factor related to this last is the low rate [161] of increase among those Kazakhs resident in areas outside Kazakhstan.

KAZAKH POPULATION IN 1939

161 A total of 3,100,000 Kazakhs was listed for the USSR as a whole in
131 the 1939 census. Approximately 84 per cent were resident in Kazakhstan, nearly 10 per cent lived in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakia, and the rest

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN [341] difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [262] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, K 177 186 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

177 71 779 [369]

No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

177 114 779

> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed: another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mohammedans, whereas in the last [18th] [illegible] were almost all Shamanists, [illegible] and a large number of them remain so to this [illegible] At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mussulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mussulman to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mussulmans, and to our treating them as such. As incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (110), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

KN 433 [311] K [433]

The situation in herding is similar.[1] The leading pastoral regions are in the western parts of Kazakhstan, the Guryev, West Kazakhstan, and Aktyubinsk regions. There has been a steady decline in cattle, sheep, and goats in the Guryev region from 1946 to 1953, which means that Kazakh herding in this region has not participated in the postwar recovery (Kazakhs form over two-thirds of the population of the Guryev region). A similar decline in cattle has been reported for West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan. In the regions of East and North Kazakhstan, cattle and sheep are below the prewar figures. Throughout the republic the ratio of cows to the total number of cattle in the kolkhoz herds is disproportionately low (24.3 per cent) and is falling; for instance, in the year 1952 the number of cows dropped by 10.8 per cent. Cattle have been falling in number from year to year in both collective and state farms.[2]

The milk yield per kolkhoz was lower in 1952 than in 1940.[3] This statement is an even graver admission than it seems at first glance, because the individual collective farm is larger in 1952 than it was in 1940 and there are fewer kolkhozy now than then.

In the same period, 1940-1952, the average milk yield per cow dropped 76 liters.[4] The average annual milk yield per cow for 1939 was 650 liters[5]; if it can be assumed that there was little change between 1939 and 1940, a fall of 13 per cent in milk production per cow is indicated for the 1940-1952 period.

Milk production is closely associated with the statistics of gravidity, and there has been a considerable decline in this category in Kazakhstan as well. In 1948, out of 100 cows 88 were with calf, while only 74 out of every 100 were with calf in 1951. Similarly, of every 100 mares, 78 were with foal in 1948; this figure had dropped to 67 in 1951.[6]

The area sown in livestock feed had fallen in 1952 below the prewar (1940) level; this reduction led to the critical situation regarding milk production, and that of meat and wool as well. Despite the tremendous gain in pork, total meat production fulfilled only 60 per cent of plan. The same ratio of 60 per cent holds for wool and cotton.[7] The situation regarding wool is particularly bad; the wool yield per sheep has fallen off even more sharply than the milk yield per cow. In the period 1940-1952 the annual wool yield per sheep fell from 2.4 to 1.9 kilograms, or 4.2 pounds, an over-all drop of 21 per cent.[8]

K ●369 [111]

On the one hand, the Kazakhs do not cooperate in the Soviet pattern of production; on the other, the Soviet emphases are such as to exclude the Kazakhs. For example, the stress on such alien foods as pork, potatoes, and garden vegetables, in the development of the urban pattern, means that as the Kazakh moves to the city he must give up many of his old food habits. And yet only in the city can one find higher learning.

[1] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4 Oct 52.
[5] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[6] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[7] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1929-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

These are, however, minor differences. The main point is that for purposes of oral communication Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Karakalpak are so mutually intelligible as to form a single language.

In writing and printing, the Turks of Central Asia used the Arabic script until the 20th century. In the 1930's Soviet authorities introduced first the Latin and in 1939-1940 the Cyrillic alphabets, with certain necessary additions for each language. The resultant orthographies present slightly differing appearances for Kazakh and Kirgiz. This difference constitutes a handicap, even for educated readers, to those unaccustomed to reading printed matter in both languages. Nevertheless, after a little initial hesitation, a Kazakh reader will be able to make out the content of an article in an unfamiliar Kirgiz newspaper. The communicator trying to reach both Kirgiz and Kazakhs by means of a written or printed document in one of these languages should therefore be aware that he must provide some incentive to readers of the other language to expend the extra effort. 212

In delimiting a target group within the Kazakh SSR one should remember that Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians) constitute over half of the total population. Russian is the language of the politically dominant group; the central government in Moscow is determined to make it the lingua franca of the realm. How much bilingualism this effort has produced among the Kazakhs is not known. Communist Party authorities frequently complain about the inadequacy of Russian instruction in Kazakh SSR schools. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the proportion of Kazakhs with knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last two decades. No quantitative information in this respect is available, but a few generalizations can be made. In general, more Kazakh men than women, and more young people than old, learn the Russian language. One finds proportionately more Russian-speaking Kazakhs in urban areas than in rural (and fewest among the remaining nomadic tribes), and more among those whose socialestatus makes knowledge of Russian a necessity for maintaining that status, such as political and professional leaders and workers in prestige manual occupations such as railroading. 191 648 [369]

On the other hand, the proportion of Russians in the KSSR who have a good working knowledge of the Kazakh language is probably small. Those who have such knowledge are minor officials, Party functionaries, work foremen, and others who deal with the monolingual Kazakh population in a direct supervisory capacity.

Much more would have to be said about bilingualism in a study of the other four union republics in Soviet Central Asia.[1] The fact that 191

[1]The Tartars of Turkestan deserve special mention in this context: They owe their important historical position as traders and mediators between the Turks and Russians to their knowledge of languages, high general educational standards (e.g., literacy), and zeal as teachers of Islam. However, it is probable that the influence of this small ethnic group (about 1% in 1926) has declined in the last quarter of a century.

KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools.

K [872]

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged.

K 177

Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime.

K [369]

K [569]

Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2]

K KN 872 KN 563

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 52.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others. It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

342 a /400/ small space for the hearth. Over the felt, among the rich, they spread rugs, napler rugs, and so on, and sometimes, in order to give more decoration to the tent, they hang them along the walls. Across the tent they stretch ropes and various braids; they hammer in pegs; they bring in their things. Finally, in the middle of the tent they start a fire, put up a tripod, and on it a kettle of water, and prepare the food.

415 The necessary utensils, both for the rich, the moderately wealthy and the poorest yurt are: the tripods, of various sizes, set up over the fire, the cast iron kettles, also of various sizes, wooden troughs for washing the meat, others for storage of beef extract, also wooden dishes, on which they serve the [412] smaller pieces of meat on the table. In order to cut meat into still smaller pieces every Kazakh has a small knife (pyshak) carefully kept in a sheath hung on his belt. There are also wooden, leather and metal pails, tubs, vats, milk pails, sabas (large skins for kumys), tursuks (small skins for kumys), and other vessels of various shapes and sizes, for the storage of milk, cheeses, meat, and for bouillon which is poured from large kettles, and is sometimes drunk at the meat table. There are [373] also wooden mortars, cups for drinking kumys (fermented mare's milk) and for various other uses, and sometimes metal and earthenware [372] plates, leather bags for gathering tezek (dry cow dung, used for fuel), as well as teapots and metal kumgans (pitcher with spout, handle and lid for washing hands) and other appurtenances of the kitchen and table. The more breakable and the more or less valuable objects

[Great Horde]

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
872 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source [illegible] pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the [illegible] l. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, [illegible] it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the [illegible] zak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from [illegible] ir tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

5: Levchine--185 G·4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

231
142
291
293
411
302

Kirghiz-Kazak Man

291 Kazakhs with any means at all wear shirts, but beggars even now wear a khalat over their naked bodies. In general several khalats are worn, [302] one on top of another. They cover their shaved heads, first of all with a small cap (tubetei), then with a high sharp-pointed felt hat. In the winter over /339/ the small tubetei they wear a fur hat or 'papakha' /Caucasian fur hat/ or 'malakhai' (fur cap with lappets) which is three-cornered and worn with the fur in. On their feet are leather boots, sometimes with overshoes (ichigi). They wear a leather belt, on which hang small bags and pouches with powder and all this, together with bullets, a knife and flint (~~Russian~~ ognivo) is called 'kalta'. The clothing of the women is almost the same, though not split, and is somewhat similar to a narrow chemise; they also wear khalats on top. They cover their heads in the ugliest fashion in a white cloth, sometimes on top of [302] a cap. They braid their hair in fine braids and adorn them with coins and rattles. In general the clothing of both sexes is extremely ungraceful, not to say ugly, although the rich have very costly khalats of velvet and silk embroidered in gold and silver.

411 The weapons of the Kazakhs at the present time, after contact with the Russians, have taken on a more and more European character. Their national weapon is the spear with a very long thin staff and the same kind of spearhead. Because of its length and brittleness this weapon is not very dangerous, however, the Kazakhs do not handle it badly. They have adopted curved swords (klych in Kazakh) from the other Central Asian peoples and do not make them themselves. Their guns (multyk) were activated by a fuse in the past. Now the

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the
361 Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation. Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [412] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt,

/206 cont./

342 [286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the [283] yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy"direction (Mecca and Medina are [289] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the [531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and [286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. [531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden [412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by [287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually [462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary [435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

8:Kostenko 108-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 [illegible]
Kazakhs

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[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, [415] harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevêts] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour [231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. [182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

8:Kostenko 108-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1

342 a /400/ small space for the hearth. Over the felt, among the rich, they spread rugs, napler rugs, and so on, and sometimes, in order to give more decoration to the tent, they hang them along the walls. Across the tent they stretch ropes and various braids; they hammer in pegs; they bring in their things. Finally, in the middle of the tent they start a fire, put up a tripod, and on it a kettle of water, and prepare the food.

415 The necessary utensils, both for the rich, the moderately wealthy and the poorest yurt are: the tripods, of various sizes, set up over the fire, the cast iron kettles, also of various sizes, wooden troughs for washing the meat, others for storage of beef extract, also wooden dishes, on which they serve the [412] smaller pieces of meat on the table. In order to cut meat into still smaller pieces every Kazakh has a small knife (pyshak) carefully kept in a sheath hung on his belt. There are also wooden, leather and metal pails, tubs, vats, milk pails, sabas (large skins for kumys), tursuks (small skins for kumys), and other vessels of various shapes and sizes, for the storage of milk, cheeses, meat, and for bouillon which is poured from large kettles, and is sometimes drunk at the meat table. There are [273] also wooden mortars, cups for drinking kumys (fermented mare's milk) and for various other uses, and sometimes metal and earthenware [322] plates, leather bags for gathering tezek (dry cow dung, used for fuel), as well as teapots and metal kumgans (pitcher with spout, handle and lid for washing hands) and other appurtenances of the kitchen and table. The more breakable and the more or less valuable objects

415 are kept in cases and in chests of various sizes and various outside trimmings. Clothing and all soft things are wrapped up in more or less new and costly rugs, and napless rugs, and even in ordinary ones, and carefully looped on to packages conveniently transportable on
353 camels. With these packages, as well as chests,
513 cases, and with sometimes also cupboards, the yurt is barricaded up to the top on the side opposite the door. Wooden folding beds are placed on the right and left sides, which are very low and short, but with unusually slanting backs which fold back. With this kind of arrangement the bed does not take up much space in the yurt with its legs, which are held in an oblique position by a special kind of wedges, and much can be laid and stood up under the back. At the same time the upper part of these legs form a back /401/ at the head and foot of the bed which is at an extremely obtuse angle with the plane of the bed, so that when the bed is covered with many felts, taking the place of a mattress here, the Kazakh can lie down on it at full length. The felts are covered also with many quilted blankets, covered with calico, of various sizes and values, and with several pillows, also padded with calico. Others also have another arrangement for a bed, something like ours, sometimes iron folding beds, and also feather comforters and pillows with clean white pillowcases, but all this, especially the last, is extremely rare. Many do not even have the simplest type of bed. They spread out felt bedding in such cases in the same places where others have the beds. The Kazakh
854 crib is similar to our children's cribs. They not only do not rock but also do not have

854 inside them any little rocking boxes. Not all people have these very convenient cribs, however, and therefore they carry the children in basket beds, fastened on their backs, wrapping the children in felts. They are also carried in these same baskets, tied onto the sides of the camels, during the migrations.

353 The bed, or that side place where the bedding is placed, is almost always separated from the rest of the tent by a calico curtain. If the second wife of the householder lives in the same tent with the first, which does sometimes occur, although rarely, then the other side part of the tent, opposite the first, is also hidden behind a curtain.

Between the bed and the pile of packages laid near the back wall stand more or less voluminous [415] sacks, filled in summer with kumys. These sacks usually have a square bottom, one side of which is 28 to 56 inches long. The tops of the sacks, which gradually narrow, end in a slender neck, more or less beautifully made, sometimes bound in copper and sometimes in silver, which is tied to one of the uks by a string, so that the sack will not fall to the floor. Around these huge [352] tursuks /kumys skins/ there is sometimes placed a low cupboard for vessels of special construction in which various other necessary small things are kept, such as knives, razors, needles, trays, thread, brushes, /402/ sewing work which has been started, and the like. Among some wealthy people the corners of such little cupboards are decorated with bunches of ostrich feathers. In addition they also have other devices, wardrobes and cupboards

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the
C93 hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
622 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal
613 leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It
[622] did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[588] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

● 421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
[614] branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
[592] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[622] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[592] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alayseeria, 1870, p. 104.

[1] [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [597]

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Tvanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case 221
in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. 233
The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[35] Even at the present time[36] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was 241
strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[37] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation 422
to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (tanba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[38] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[39] "... anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[35] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[36] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[37] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[38] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[39] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

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422 own tamga, in practice their use was largely restricted to the wealthy owners of large herds. A poor man with a few animals would know all of them by sight and have no need for a tamga, while the rich man with thousands of cattle and sheep grazing over an extensive territory required a mark of identification for them. Radlov[40] remarks that among the Altaians tamgas were used mostly by the rich since the poor readily recognized their comparatively few horses. In this connection it is possible, though I have no evidence to support it, that group tamgas may have acquired an individual significance. As wealth in cattle tended to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals who stood in the position of patrons and protectors to large numbers of their poor kinsmen, group tamgas which formerly had marked the animals of all members of the uru, without necessarily implying that they were collectively owned, would more and more be found marking the cattle of its most affluent individual. Thus a group tamga might become identified with a personal tamga of its most important and influential man.

423 The question of the ownership of the summer grazing lands is a difficult one in practice, though not particularly so in theory. Theoretically there was no permanent ownership of the steppe pastures; the utilization of them was based on occupancy and the right of the first comer, but the details by which such right of utilization was determined are hard to discover. In general it may be said that such lands were apportioned more or less by tradition among the various uru groups within the limits of which any members of the group were free to move as they wished.[41] There appear, however, to have been no very clearly defined boundaries and the area occupied by any given uru group was liable to constant shifting. Asfendiarov[42] writes that " . . . actually the boundaries of the Kazak gentes were not delimited." My information on this question is not very satisfactory because concrete material was difficult to obtain. On first raising the question it appeared, as stated above, that each uru group had its own collectively owned territory, the boundaries of which were determined by agreement between the important members of the interested groups. Within these groups the use of the land was allotted to particular families by the aqsaqal. When, however, I sought more specific information on the procedure and bases by which boundaries were determined and lands allotted, difficulties were encountered. Kargabaiev said it was all done by "old custom," while Tlenshiev, after trying to produce examples, reversed his position and said that the summer pasture lands were completely open, unrestricted, and could be used by anyone of any group who chose to do so. This result emerged from a discussion of what would happen if members of one uru were found grazing their cattle on the land of another. According to Tlenshiev nothing would happen; if they arrived first they were entitled to the use of the land; it was not the pasture land but the

[40] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279.

[41] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213, 214; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15, 418; Schomberg, *Peaks and Plains*, 98; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 45.

[42] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

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under the control of its leaders who determined the camping places and the routes. "Every of their captains according to the great or small number of his people knows the bounds of his pastures and where he ought to feed his cattle spring and summer, winter and autumn."[57] 423 614

Such was probably also the case at an earlier date although the evidence is indirect and somewhat confusing.[58] The territory on which any social group habitually migrated was known as nuntux in Mongol and yurt in Turkish. These words meant "district, encampment or place of abode."[59] There are references to particular places or regions being traditionaly occupied by certain specific groups:[60] "Their dwellings and yurts were designated individually by tribes and by branches . . . . " And again:[61] "Among this tribe the yurt and their places were united together and it was determined from where to where was the yurt of each."

However, there are frequent instances of several groups migrating together in one territory.[62] In one place in the "Secret History"[63] Chingis remarks to one of his relatives: "In former times you, along with three houses of Tokhuraut, five houses of the Tarkhut and two other gentes, the Chanshikit and Bayaut, formed with me a single camp."

Vladimirtsov[64] writes: "The ancient Mongol gens knew a communality of pastoral territories." But it is not clear, either from the evidence or his discussion whether this means a communal ownership of a particular area by the members of the gens or whether it implies that all pastoral lands were open to all the members of any gens who chose to use them. This is the same problem which has been discussed in relation to Kazak grazing grounds. In general it seems probable that there was a fairly clear concept of the nuntux or yurt as a territory belonging to a particular gens. To this principle however there appear to have been many exceptions.

All movable property, cattle, kibitkas, vehicles, and the products of home industry were held in individual ownership by the members of the gens.[65] There is vague mention of marking cattle with tamgas which apparently were the same for all members of the gens.[66] Marco Polo, however, indicates that each individual might have his private tamga.[67] 422 614

On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son.

[57] *The Texts and Versions*, 188.
[58] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 42–43; 56–58.
[59] Translation from the Mongol text of the "Secret History," Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.
[60] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 49.
[61] *Idem*, 1: 135.
[62] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.
[63] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 120.
[64] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 56.
[65] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–49.
[66] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 76; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 13.
[67] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 266.

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thousand soldiers and the millenaries unto each captain of a hundred, the captains unto each corporal of ten. 642 423 565

Further there is some indication that the feudal lords were considered the personal owners and proprietors of the land occupied by their people, which formerly had been the property of the community as a whole.[166] Thus Rashid[167] describes Tuli, one of Chingis' sons, as "lord of the land (yurt) and dwellings" of certain tribes. Too many inferences, however, should not be made from this statement. Rashid was probably not making delicate distinctions, his own information may have been at fault, and his meaning may have suffered during successive translations. In any case, whether or not the feudal lord was considered owner of the land of his ulus he certainly administered its use and controlled the movements of his people rigidly.

The horses and cattle remained the private property of their individual owners, both lords and commoners. Chingis declared[168] that, "A common man if addicted to wine stands to lose his horse, his cattle and all his property." But inasmuch as the ordinary Mongol was obliged to migrate in obedience to the wishes of his lord, and to graze his cattle in places assigned to him, his position in many ways was more that of a dependent herdsman than an independent master.[169] In addition every family of the common people had certain definite obligations to their seigneurs. [422]

These obligations in their economic aspects consisted chiefly in providing the feudal lords with cattle for slaughtering and a certain number of mares for milking in proportion to the size of the owner's herds.[170] Similar requisitions had been made by the tribal chiefs previous to the organization of the empire but appear to have been of a somewhat haphazard and occasional nature.[171] Under Ogodai, the successor of Chingis, these were systematized and regulated.[172]

The organization of the economic administration of the conquered settled regions was more complicated. After the rise of the empire the Mongol khans began to assign fiefs among the agricultural populations to their princes but the land served them only as a source of revenue because the Mongols themselves were not able to administer such estates.[173] Local authority remained to some extent in the hands of the native rulers, while the Mongol overlords maintained personal agents whose principal duty was to collect

[166] Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 12–20, 52–54.

[167] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 3: 143.

[168] *Idem*, 3: 126.

[169] The Mongol author Ssanang Ssetsen, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, indicates that the idea of a man without his overlord was inconceivable to the Mongols. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 187.

[170] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 113–14.

[171] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 76.

[172] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 14, 63; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 158.

[173] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 114–15.

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).

576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

4:Grodekov--109 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

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422 577 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

422 685 672 Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraudulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or 422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

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Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

[Inner Horde]

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
this connection is that taifa[1] is of Arabic origin, in-
[177.61] troduced into the Turkic social organization through
the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is
a bineme composed of the words for father and for child,
thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patri-
[614] lineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in
the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga.
These tamga were not property marks, they were clan
signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions,
becoming the named units to which people attributed mem-
bership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand,
many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the
process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the
clan leader was selected by the central administration.
The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the
debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the
clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa.

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

1 [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p.496, bot. -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏk,[265] of the byr top.

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŭien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Analyst]

three and eight tents.[286] The Kazakh of moderate means could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, and these were the very poor.[287]

The relationship between wealth and family composition was intermediated by the continued existence of the kalym.[1] But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;[288] if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, i.e., the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.[289] And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries, A.D., into the

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[286] Ibid., 54.

[287] Ibid., 67.

[288] Idem.

[289] Idem.

[1] [i.e. in the 1920's; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 244ff. -- Analyst]

[Soviet Era]

583 422 Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

58 Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before puberty.[290] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa [653] aul underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

428 The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.

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422 own tamga, in practice their use was largely restricted to the wealthy owners of large herds. A poor man with a few animals would know all of them by sight and have no need for a tamga, while the rich man with thousands of cattle and sheep grazing over an extensive territory required a mark of identification for them. Radlov[40] remarks that among the Altaians tamgas were used mostly by the rich since the poor readily recognized their comparatively few horses. In this connection it is possible, though I have no evidence to support it, that group tamgas may have acquired an individual significance. As wealth in cattle tended to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals who stood in the position of patrons and protectors to large numbers of their poor kinsmen, group tamgas which formerly had marked the animals of all members of the uru, without necessarily implying that they were collectively owned, would more and more be found marking the cattle of its most affluent individual. Thus a group tamga might become identified with a personal tamga of its most important and influential man.

423 The question of the ownership of the summer grazing lands is a difficult one in practice, though not particularly so in theory. Theoretically there was no permanent ownership of the steppe pastures; the utilization of them was based on occupancy and the right of the first comer, but the details by which such right of utilization was determined are hard to discover. In general it may be said that such lands were apportioned more or less by tradition among the various uru groups within the limits of which any members of the group were free to move as they wished.[41] There appear, however, to have been no very clearly defined boundaries and the area occupied by any given uru group was liable to constant shifting. Asfendiarov[42] writes that " . . . actually the boundaries of the Kazak gentes were not delimited." My information on this question is not very satisfactory because concrete material was difficult to obtain. On first raising the question it appeared, as stated above, that each uru group had its own collectively owned territory, the boundaries of which were determined by agreement between the important members of the interested groups. Within these groups the use of the land was allotted to particular families by the aqsaqal. When, however, I sought more specific information on the procedure and bases by which boundaries were determined and lands allotted, difficulties were encountered. Kargabaiev said it was all done by "old custom," while Tlenshiev, after trying to produce examples, reversed his position and said that the summer pasture lands were completely open, unrestricted, and could be used by anyone of any group who chose to do so. This result emerged from a discussion of what would happen if members of one uru were found grazing their cattle on the land of another. According to Tlenshiev nothing would happen; if they arrived first they were entitled to the use of the land; it was not the pasture land but the

[40] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279.

[41] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213, 214; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15, 418; Schomberg, *Peaks and Plains*, 98; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 43.

[42] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

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meadow lands where hay was raised which were restricted. This position he maintained 423
vigorously thereafter.

Some light on this difficulty is afforded by the statement:[43]

> Pasture land usually is apportioned among tribal groups but at the present time when the Kazak have not so many cattle they are not very strict about boundaries. A Kazak may go anywhere he wishes . . . . The meadow land, on the other hand, is allotted carefully and remains the inalienable property of the given person.

Most writers, however, indicate that the pasture lands of the uru groups were definitely delimited. Grodekov says that the lands were divided among the various nomadic groups according to the number of their animals but that there were frequent quarrels concerning boundaries.[44] Radlov[45] says that there was a definite division of lands among the "tribes" and that none would permit the trespass of another group in its own territory. Kuftin declares:[46]

> In view of the strict allotment of summer pastures no Kazak considers stopping in a strange place for more than one day. During the migrations each tribe follows a certain route, according to an established habitual law based on prescriptive right. Each summer range is used only by a definite group . . . . Disputable questions are settled by a meeting of representatives of the interested parties. [221]

The degree to which the pastoral area occupied by a particular group was definitely subdivided and assigned among its members is also not clear. Rudenko says[47] that although the land belonged to the "tribal group" and the member of it who came first had the right to the best place, families tended to go to the traditional places and others avoided them. This is even more strongly pointed out by Grodekov in observing that places customarily occupied by a family or group of families came to be considered as theirs by right.[48] On the other hand Radlov[49] says that he knows of no instances of divisions of the summer area among individual families. The apportionment of grazing land among the members of the uru lay in the hands of its leaders and was not always done with fairness. Everyone was free to move about at will within the area of the group. However, Radlov adds significantly, "Natürlich ist diese Freiheit nur in der Theorie eine vollkommene. Der Reiche und Angesehene weiss es natürlich so einzurichten, dass er den besten Platz erhält."

All the evidence concerning the basis of occupancy of the grazing lands is admittedly unsatisfactory. To obtain details it would be necessary to study the question over a considerable period of time in a culture in which the nomadic life was still actively pursued.

[43] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.
[44] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213.
[45] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15.
[46] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[47] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10.
[48] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[49] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 417–18.

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423 Allowance must also be made for considerable variation over so large an area and among such large numbers of groups. It must be taken into consideration too that the average informant has very little idea of the functioning of his culture beyond his own immediate milieu; the procedure, for example, by which the larger units came into occupancy of their grazing areas would be matters of high politics far removed from the knowledge of the ordinary man. In general one may say that there was no private property in grazing lands, that the larger groupings occupied the traditional areas which had been used by their ancestors before, that conflicts between such groups were settled usually by consultation and that within the boundaries of such areas family groups moved with considerable freedom subject to some pressure from local leaders and with a tendency to occupy the same spot year after year.[50]

The winter habitations, the meadows (kol) where hay was cut, and the agricultural lands may be considered as in effect private property. Grodekov says[51] that land was not considered as the property of particular individuals but belonged to them only while they were occupying and using it. Dingelstedt[52] theorizes upon this point in saying that although they did not recognize private property in land they conceded the usufruct of it in perpetuity to that individual who had improved it by constructing a house or developing an agricultural plot or irrigation system. It is doubtful, however, if the Kazak were concerned with such delicate legal distinctions. In practice one might sell one's winter dwelling, and on the death of the owner it was inherited by his youngest son.[53] One might even, according to my information, sell such property to a member of another uru.

The status of the meadow lands for raising hay is less definite, as might be expected, as a result of the recent growth of the custom of storing up winter fodder. The *Kazaki*[54] states definitely that they were the property of individual owners. My informants were less clear on the point, declaring at various times in relation to different incidents that they belonged to an entire uru, to the rich men in the uru, and finally that in theory they belonged to the uru but were for all practical purposes divided among its wealthiest and most [685] important members. Their private ownership is made clear by the fact that it was a serious act, involving the payment of damages, for any unauthorized person to take hay from land not his own. Also, in the case of a large meadow divided among several owners the portions belonging to each were delimited by shallow trenches or by piles of stones at the corners. [246] It was a matter of common knowledge who owned each section. The hay was cut and stored for the winter by the hired laborers of the owner or by his relatives working for him. A man who owned no hay fields of his own might turn his animals out to graze for

[50] Questions of the occupancy and utilization of the land during the period of Russian domination have been discussed by Páloni, *Question de la terre*, 472–87.

[51] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 102.

[52] *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[53] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[54] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.

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themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423 which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558] as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[85]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178 are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[85a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428 its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (enci) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[86] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[87] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[88] although according to my information it was customary

[85] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[85a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[86] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 43.

[87] *Idem*, 34.

[88] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

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595 Rubruck mentions[46] that if a man had more wives than one she with whom he slept the night before sat by his side the day following.

583 A wife was acquired, in most cases at least, after payment of a bride price.[47] Rashid-ad-Din and the "Secret History" do not mention the transaction. They do, however, indicate that the bride brought with her to her husband a dowry varying with the position of the family to which she belonged.[48] The dowry sometimes included servants or slaves. Polo[49] on the other hand specifically states that the bride brought nothing to her husband.

562 The position of women in Mongol culture, at least among the ruling class, was very high.[50] They not only played an active role in economic life[51] but also had an important part in social life. Emperors and princes frequently took advice from their wives.[52] During the absence of their husbands women sometimes administered their affairs. Carpini says[53] that " . . . it is a custom among the Tartars that the courts of princes or noble men are not dissolved but always some women are appointed to keep or govern them, upon whom certain gifts are bestowed in like sort as they are given unto their lords." Women accompanied warriors on the march. In the Yassa of Chingis he orders " . . . the women who accompany the troops to do the work and duties of men while the latter are absent fighting."[54]

587 At the death of her husband a widow might be taken over by his brother or by a son of her husband not her own.[55] Polo indicates, however, that it was only the eldest son who had the privilege of marrying his stepmothers. The custom may have been more the exception than the rule because Carpini observes[56] " . . . after the death of their husbands the Tartar wives use very seldom to marry again, unless perhaps some man take his brother's wife or stepmother in marriage."

PROPERTY

423 614 The problem of the definition of boundaries and the ownership of pastoral lands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries cannot be completely clarified. It is apparent from the remarks of travelers that a century later each group migrated within a particular territory

[46] *The Texts and Versions*, 189.

[47] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 56; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 14.

[48] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30, 118–19; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 80.

[49] *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253.

[50] Kos'min (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 54, 76) is of the opinion that though the women of the aristocracy were important politically, the ordinary woman led a wretched and servile life.

[51] *The Texts and Versions*, 196–97.

[52] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 59; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 247, 355.

[53] *The Texts and Versions*, 134.

[54] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 58.

[55] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 25; *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 252–53; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 390; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 47.

[56] *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12.

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under the control of its leaders who determined the camping places and the routes. "Every of their captains according to the great or small number of his people knows the bounds of his pastures and where he ought to feed his cattle spring and summer, winter and autumn."[37] 423 614

Such was probably also the case at an earlier date although the evidence is indirect and somewhat confusing.[38] The territory on which any social group habitually migrated was known as nuntux in Mongol and yurt in Turkish. These words meant "district, encampment or place of abode."[39] There are references to particular places or regions being traditionaly occupied by certain specific groups:[40] "Their dwellings and yurts were designated individually by tribes and by branches . . . . " And again:[41] "Among this tribe the yurt and their places were united together and it was determined from where to where was the yurt of each."

However, there are frequent instances of several groups migrating together in one territory.[42] In one place in the "Secret History"[43] Chingis remarks to one of his relatives: "In former times you, along with three houses of Tokhuraut, five houses of the Tarkhut and two other gentes, the Chanshikit and Bayaut, formed with me a single camp."

Vladimirtsov[44] writes: "The ancient Mongol gens knew a communality of pastoral territories." But it is not clear, either from the evidence or his discussion whether this means a communal ownership of a particular area by the members of the gens or whether it implies that all pastoral lands were open to all the members of any gens who chose to use them. This is the same problem which has been discussed in relation to Kazak grazing grounds. In general it seems probable that there was a fairly clear concept of the nuntux or yurt as a territory belonging to a particular gens. To this principle however there appear to have been many exceptions.

All movable property, cattle, kibitkas, vehicles, and the products of home industry were held in individual ownership by the members of the gens.[45] There is vague mention of marking cattle with tamgas which apparently were the same for all members of the gens.[46] Marco Polo, however, indicates that each individual might have his private tamga.[47] 422 614

On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son.

[37] *The Texts and Versions*, 188.

[38] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 42–43; 56–58.

[39] Translation from the Mongol text of the "Secret History," Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.

[40] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 49.

[41] *Idem*, 1: 135.

[42] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.

[43] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 120.

[44] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 56.

[45] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–49.

[46] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 76; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 23.

[47] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 266.

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view of the nomads the empire was the property of the whole family of the khan. Valdimirtsov writes:[148]

> . . . The "state" belonged to all the members of the gens of the particular individual who had established the dominion and become khan . . . all the tribes and peoples forming part of the empire of Chingis were considered as bond vassals (unagan bogol) of him and his gens. . . . The power of the gens of Chingis . . . over his "state" lay in this: that one of its members had become emperor . . . through his election by the council (xurultai) of all his relatives.[149]

As the authority of a khan became extended over a wider and wider area and over more and more tribes and gentes it became impossible for the vassal groups to lead a common joint nomadic life with the members of the ruling gens, as had formerly been the case. Gradually it developed that the new large vassal units were left to migrate and graze their cattle in their accustomed territories but were placed under the governance of a member of the paramount gens, a relative of the khan.

Every group of gentes, tribes, or fragments of different gentes, which was under the control of a particular leader or ruler was known as an ulus.[150] Thus during the period of Chingis' reign all the peoples subject to him might be considered as comprising one ulus while at the same time each of his relatives was master or lord of an ulus.[151] Valdimirtsov[152] translates ulus as "fief" or "dominions" with the notation that it must be understood as referring to people and not to land.

The male relatives of the khan were considered princes,[153] having the right to participate in the division of the ulus of the khan. To each of them was granted his own ulus or fief consisting of a number of subject tribes, the princes themselves thus becoming in a sense vassals of the khan insofar as he was considered head of the paramount gens. On their death their heirs, sons, nephews or other close relatives were confirmed in their position by the khan[154] and made acknowledgment of their dependence on him.[155] If the khan were sufficiently powerful he might deprive an unreliable vassal of his fief and award it to another.[156]

Here there is evident some contradiction between the concept of the khan as the representative of the ruling gens as a whole and as an absolute monarch. This disparity is apparent also in the fact that although according to the will of Chingis the khan might not

[148] *Op. cit.*, 98–99.
[149] See also Elias and Ross, *Tarīḫ-i-Rashidi*, 29.
[150] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 91.
[151] Abul Ghazi, *Shajrat ul Atrak*, 45, 383.
[152] *Op. cit.*, 97.
[153] Köbegün, meaning essentially "son" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 99).
[154] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 204.
[155] Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroistva*, 424; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, 2: 10–11.
[156] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 136; *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 61–62.

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on his own initiative punish one of his relatives,[157] yet it is stated in the Great Yassa[158] that: "He ordains that even the senior of the emirs, if he has committed some offense shall give himself up to the messenger sent by the sovereign to punish him. . . . " Riazanovskii however is quoting the fragment of the Yassa from Maqrizi's version[159] which may have been altered somewhat to accord with the latter's idea of the proper attributes of a sovereign.

In any case such centralization of authority did not continue for long. The number of fiefs was constantly increased by the practice of dividing up the ulus of a particular vassal among his descendants, so that the number of princes, vassals and sub-vassals was soon very large.[160] The constant tendency toward branching and subdivision became evident in the ruling gens itself which split up after the death of Chingis into rival and hostile families.[161]

In the process of feudalization it is not clear what was the fate of the minor aristocrats, the leaders and chiefs of groups other than that of the dominant khan. Koz'min[162] states that the aristocracy of the Mongol empire consisted of the aristocrats of all the peoples and tribes of which it was composed. Some families were no doubt annihilated in the wars leading to unification. It seems probable, however,[163] that most of them allied themselves with the rising power and retained immediate control of their people as sub-vassals dependent on the princes of the major fiefs.

The unification of Central Asia under the feudal empire made safe the trade routes and greatly stimulated commerce between the nomads and the settled regions. A variety of products which formerly had been unknown to the Mongols now became available to them.[164] The increase of trade and the appearance of foreign goods did not however greatly alter the pastoral economy. Cattle breeding continued to be the chief occupation of the people but there is evidence that under the feudal régime the use and occupation of pasture land became strictly regulated. The fiefs had definite boundaries and within them the grazing lands of each group were strictly allotted. Carpini observes:[165]

Moreover the emperor of the Tartars hath a wonderful dominion over all his subjects. For no man dare abide in any place unless he hath assigned him to be there. Also he appointeth to his dukes where they shall inhabit. Likewise the dukes assign places unto every millenarie or conductor of a

[157] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 100.

[158] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59.

[159] See Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2: 160–64.

[160] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 60–63; Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroistva*, 426; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 7.

[161] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[162] *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 60.

[163] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 103–04.

[164] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394; Vladimirtsov, op. cit., 44, 129–30; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 63–64; *The Texts and Versions*, 194.

[165] *The Texts and Versions*, 120.

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thousand soldiers and the millenaries unto each captain of a hundred, the captains unto each corporal of ten.

Further there is some indication that the feudal lords were considered the personal owners and proprietors of the land occupied by their people, which formerly had been the property of the community as a whole.[166] Thus Rashid[167] describes Tuli, one of Chingis' sons, as "lord of the land (yurt) and dwellings" of certain tribes. Too many inferences, however, should not be made from this statement. Rashid was probably not making delicate distinctions, his own information may have been at fault, and his meaning may have suffered during successive translations. In any case, whether or not the feudal lord was considered owner of the land of his ulus he certainly administered its use and controlled the movements of his people rigidly.

The horses and cattle remained the private property of their individual owners, both lords and commoners. Chingis declared[168] that, "A common man if addicted to wine stands to lose his horse, his cattle and all his property." But inasmuch as the ordinary Mongol was obliged to migrate in obedience to the wishes of his lord, and to graze his cattle in places assigned to him, his position in many ways was more that of a dependent herdsman than an independent master.[169] In addition every family of the common people had certain definite obligations to their seigneurs.

These obligations in their economic aspects consisted chiefly in providing the feudal lords with cattle for slaughtering and a certain number of mares for milking in proportion to the size of the owner's herds.[170] Similar requisitions had been made by the tribal chiefs previous to the organization of the empire but appear to have been of a somewhat haphazard and occasional nature.[171] Under Ogodai, the successor of Chingis, these were systematized and regulated.[172]

The organization of the economic administration of the conquered settled regions was more complicated. After the rise of the empire the Mongol khans began to assign fiefs among the agricultural populations to their princes but the land served them only as a source of revenue because the Mongols themselves were not able to administer such estates.[173] Local authority remained to some extent in the hands of the native rulers, while the Mongol overlords maintained personal agents whose principal duty was to collect

[166] Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 12–20, 52–54.

[167] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 3: 243.

[168] *Idem*, 3: 126.

[169] The Mongol author Ssanang Ssetsen, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, indicates that the idea of a man without his overlord was inconceivable to the Mongols. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 187.

[170] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 113–14.

[171] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 76.

[172] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 14, 63; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 158.

[173] Vladimirtsov, op. cit., 114–15.

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642 423 565 [212] taxes for their masters.[174] The Uighurs played an important part as agents, business managers, and advisers to the Mongol princes; they were responsible for the introduction of writing to the court of the khans,[175] and came to be a dominant force in all civil and cultural affairs of the empire.[176]

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

701 565 642 Of utmost importance in its far reaching effects upon the social structure of all the groups comprising the Mongol empire was the system of military organization instituted by Chingis. At an early point in his conquests (1204) the entire population was divided into a graduated series of units capable of furnishing ten thousand, a thousand, a hundred, or ten fighting men respectively.[177] These contingents replaced the former militia of the gentes and tribes.

Considered solely as a system of military organization these decimal units were nothing new. Similar divisions had existed in time of war among other Central Asiatic nomadic peoples[178] and in the Persian armies.[179] Cordier, in a note to Yule's commentary,[180] refers to them as existing in Annam in the tenth century A.D. The new features lay in their establishment as a permanent system and in the merging of the civil units, the feudal fiefs, with the military divisions.

Thus each feudal fief (ulus) according to its size coincided with one of the military groupings, and the feudal lords were at the same time commanders of a thousand or a hundred warriors, although certainly in any particular case these numbers were only approximate.

Here we may note how the previously existing institution of the nököd[1] was utilized to strengthen the new military feudal system. Although the great fiefs capable of furnishing a division of ten thousand men (tümen) were usually held by the princes of the house of Chingis, their subdivisions were in many cases apportioned among the former nököd, thus substituting for the independent leaders of the old gentes and tribes new feudal lords bound to the khan in direct personal allegiance with obligations of military service.[181] Such feudals, forming a nobility secondary to the princes (köbegün) of the reigning house, customarily ruled over fiefs capable of supplying a hundred or a thousand warriors. Each bore the title of noyan which formerly had been held by the chiefs of the gens aristocracies but was now applied to a secondary feudal lord and military commander. And in distinction to the old

[174] Vernadsky, *Notes on the History of the Uighurs*, 457.

[175] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 387.

[176] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 152; Fox, *Chenghis Khan*, 124.

[177] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 102–03; *Texts and Versions*, 124; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59, 69; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 102; Kos'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 57.

[178] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 102.

[179] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264.

[180] *Loc. cit.*

[181] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 103–104.

1 ["Comrades" personal suite and staff of khans. For further data, see cat. 701, pp. 91-92 -- Analy]

The vagueness and imprecision of the borders of the volosts and 618
villages also adds to the importance of the clan origin. There are cases, quite often, in which Kazakhs belonging to one volost or one village occupy land for farming and winter camps in other volosts and villages. The organization of the land and the exact determination of the borders of the volosts and villages will have an enormous influence on the destruction of the clan principle. When every village has its own allotment of land then a transfer of tents will take place only for economic considerations and not to collect a majority of votes for one's kinsmen.

2) In the opinion of the chief of the Turkestan uyezd, the administrative division of the Kazakhs into villages and volosts has not by any means achieved its goal, and the clan principle is strongly maintained, as before. This is assisted, among other things, by the fact that the volosts were organized by clans or by branches, and all the transfers of Kazakhs from one volost to another were caused by a desire for clan unity.

3) The chief of the Kazalinsk (2) uyezd states that the division

2. On the transfer of the Kazakhs from volost to volost to their kinsmen, and on the force of the clan rulers in the steppe along with the volost administrators, see the article by E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti" /From the life of the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya region/, in Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, No. 17. In 1887 Mr. Aleksandrov writes: "Up to the present time a weakening of the clan principle has not been perceptible. In this respect the law of 1867 has not had the force of a destructive action."

into volosts and villages with elected functionaries, has suppressed to a considerable degree the striving of the kinsmen to play the leading role or to influence the administration by the people. /16/ A land demarcation of the volosts would have had a still greater influence on the suppression of the clan principle. Even now Kazakhs of one clan [423] but in different volosts, even in those very far apart, for the most part nomadize together on lands which they consider to be of the clan. For this reason they often do not allow villages to use the land although the latter have a greater right to it because of their permanent residence in those places and their revival of irrigation canals.

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

784

/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 428 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where sanxan], shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1 [Not reproduced --A]

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute workers. 423

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/. [731]

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig. [805]

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield. 685

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues. 427 423

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depending on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 425 476 312

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water, some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land, but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot remain in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back; in any case even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan, 423
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 695
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land, and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about 20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30 years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps, established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

423 695 side, i. e., the actual proprietors have no documents, these last are required to swear an oath on the quantity of the land in dispute.

If land is planted by two clans, and one of the clans makes a complaint against the other, and during the investigation it is ascertained that one side has a document, and the other does not, and also lacks khan, kazi or beg documents showing that the land is in common between the two clans, then the side which has documents can refuse the other the use of the land.

If both sides on the disputed land have documents they must be carefully examined by learned mullahs who must decide which side has authentic documents and which has fraudulent ones, or those not worthy of attention. Nevertheless, an oath concerning the quantity of the disputed land is required from the side presenting the authentic, weighty documents, in order to support the suit.

If a dispute arises between two clans using common land, on which both sides have buildings, mills and trees, and if one side has nominal documents from khans or begs, while the names of the other /107/ side are not noted in this document, the affair is decided in favor of those having documents. Meanwhile those without documents must be indemnified for the value of their buildings, and then dispossessed from the land.

If one of the disputing sides shows a document delivered by the other side during the peaceable use of the land by them, and the documents says that the side presenting it yields the other a certain locality, or a certain number of kosh (1) of land, or else that a

1. One kosh is a pair of oxen and the amount of land tilled by them.

certain locality belongs to it or a certain number of kosh of land, then the side in possession of such a document is required to take the land on the basis of the document. Their claim to a larger quantity of land and water than is mentioned in the document is ignored.

If it is impossible to settle a land dispute of two clans using common land on the basis of inquiries of persons not implicated in the case, or on the basis of documents, it must be found out which side constructed buildings on the disputed land first, and to give an oath to this side.

423 671 The law of 1867 did not touch upon the land organization of the natives at all. Now the code for the administration of the Turkestan area (the law of 12 June, 1886) establishes the land organi-

zation of the nomadic population in the following manner.

State lands, occupied by nomads, are left to the public use of the nomads without time limit, on the basis of customs and rules established in the code of 12 June, 1886.

The lands being used by the nomads are divided into winter camps, summer camps and cultivated land.

The winter camps are left to the /108/ public use of each volost separately, without time limit according to actual use and in accordance with the customs, and in case of disputes - according to the quantity of livestock owned and the extent of the economy.

Special assemblies are designated, with the permission of the Governor, among the volosts of the uyezd for the distribution of the winter camps and the examination of disputes caused by this distribution. When there are disputes between the volosts of different uyezds, the assemblies meet with the consent of the relevant authorities. The assemblies, under the chairmanship of a person specially appointed by the Governor, consist of three elected persons from each volost. The judgments of the assemblies are presented by the chief of the uyezd for the approval of the Governor and are entered in special books, which are preserved in the regional administration.

The distribution of the winter camps is made among the masters of the tents by village meetings. The number of livestock and the extent of the economy are taken as the basis for the distribution.

Each nomad has the right to build living quarters and farm buildings on the sector put at his disposal for the winter camp, and the community may not demand their removal. These buildings constitute the property of their owners. The land occupied by the buildings is transmitted by inheritance as long as the constructions exist. When the buildings are destroyed the land reverts to the community.

The summer camps are left to the public use of the volosts of the entire uyezd, and the actual use by them is determined by customs. The Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya oblast retain the right to cross over into neighboring steppe regions for summer nomadizing, but these are used with the permission of the Turkestan Governor-General, who enters into preliminary consultations with the steppe Governor-General concerning this.

After the mutual agreement of the communities on places suitable for both their winter and summer camps, special sectors are set aside for those wishing to engage in agriculture and growing hay. The distribution of land among the agriculturalists /109/ is left to a voluntary agreement among them according to custom.

•423 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their
671 property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

• • • •

233 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and
221 is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men,
[782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i. e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a [423] certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[416] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

514 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

the owner of a camel, when he has rented it for money (kere) from an outsider, and it falls, for some reason or other than its load being too heavy. But he is responsible for a camel which was taken for use without pay. However, they rarely pay in full (tutas), for the bii takes into consideration the fact that the camel was given on the basis of acquaintanceship, and arranges an agreement for 1/2, 1/4 or one-eighth the value of the animal. The demand in court for the full value of the camel would be manifest rupture of the conditions stated above. 489 672 685

If a driver loaded a greater weight on a camel than that permitted by the owner of the fallen animal, for example 648 lbs. instead of 576 lbs. (1) the value of the fallen camel is divided into as many

1. Every camel has a known lifting capacity. Some carry only up to 432 lbs., others up to 648 and even to 720 lbs. The average weight without straining is about 500 lbs.

parts as there were pounds in the load, and the driver is required to pay as many parts as there were extra pounds, in the given example, two parts.

The owner of a spring and a well can refuse to give a caravan a place for a halt and water, because of its inadequacy for his own needs, and for other reasons. It is impossible to complain about this in court. But if an owner with extra space does not allow a caravan to come in in winter during bitter cold, and people or livestock freeze as a result, customary law asks wergeld for the people and the payment of the value of the livestock. 489 [423]

Now drivers are not willingly permitted to stop near a village, for a loss may occur in the caravan for which the drivers will blame the nearest village. [672]

In case of a complaint in court concerning a loss taking place between two villages, the biis make an inspection of the place and /140/ measure the distance of each neighboring village from the place of the loss by means of a rope. Then the village is accused of the theft, which is shown to be closest (Torgai). According to other sources, the biis do not measure the distance but accuse the village which is considered less dependable. (Report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis Sagyndykov and Sultan Kanaev and other persons of the Chimkent and Kurama uyezds).

There are no drivers among the Kirgiz, since the Auliye-Ata Kirgiz have few camels.

[283 cont.]

648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[442] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

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/175 cont./

populations. -- The size and growth of the cities. -- The density and large numbers of people in the Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements. -- The distribution of the population by sex, class, and religion. -- The ethnographic make-up of the population. -- General remarks on the "Sibiriak," Belorussians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and other nationalities in the region. -- The Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The Ural Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The peasants. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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The Kirghiz krai occupies a total area of 1,606,687 versts, which is equal to one-third of all of European Russia (including Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus), or one-third of all of Western Europe, while the area of each of its oblasts is equal to the area of the principal states of Europe.

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Administratively, the Kirghiz krai comprises four military oblasts: the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, and Turgai oblasts. These oblasts were established in 1868 from the lands of the Siberian and Orenburg Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the lands of the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies for greater convenience in administering the Kirghiz /Kazak and the Kazak /Cossack/ armies, and at the same time great changes were made. The "Statute on the Siberian Kirghiz /Ustav o Sibirskikh Kirgizakh/," which had determined the life of this borderland until then, was abolished, and a new "Temporary Code for the Administration of the Steppe Oblasts /Vremennoe Polozhenie ob Upravlenii v Stepnykh Oblastiakh/" was introduced (now somewhat changed). By this code the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands were recognized as state property and put at the disposal of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ only for communal use, while considerable changes were introduced in the administration. The power of the sultan was abolished, as well as the orders from the districts. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ were allowed an administration of their nationality (elected from

K H.T. 631 648

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

• 423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situation (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year, and especially in the years of "dzhuta" (hunger).

423 179 178 565 [566] [291] [492]

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 [614] The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy" (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it should be noted that according to a custom adopted once and for all, auls are not allowed to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in the past it led to cattle rustling because the offended parties in such a case had difficulty in feeding their herds in winter and attempted to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing and loading of the tents and property falls upon the women. The head of the household only supervises the arrangements, and the other men round up the cattle, and form herds from them, each family separately. The departure is after dark, and when everything is ready, the whole caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and the other women ride after her on camels or horses, carrying the property. At this time the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes. They place their most precious and costly things (carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and in general the whole procession has a festive air. Since the cattle do not all move at the same pace, the herd soon begins to separate. As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over several versts. The head of the household is usually not with the moving aul; slow movement is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the side or hunts along the way. The march is usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and then there is a halt and rest, which in summer is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend- 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
476 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

427 In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
432 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
312 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i.e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees
or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees
and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and
he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know
the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which
remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water
appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld
will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt
caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water,
some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land,
but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned
without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot re-
main in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned
by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this
time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back, in any case
even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can
make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the
land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers
give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan,
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 423
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair 695
and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows
whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land,
and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about
20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors
have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this
land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30
years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no
documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps,
established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

A master who is touched by the plea of the servant, who throws himself down at his feet and holds him by the hand, sometimes forgives the entire suit. When there are blows from both sides, the matter passes without attention. 466

A servant is not fined for negligent service, but is only dismissed with a settlement. At present some require a servant to pay for damage resulting from his negligence. For example, if a sheep is lost during the day, some sue for half or one-third of its value. But if it is lost at night the shepherd is not guilty because he sleeps at night. Sometimes a koychi gives a friend a sheep belonging to his master, which the latter does not even miss. The shepherd justifies himself by saying that it ran away. If the deception is uncovered, the shepherd pays the value of the sheep and an additional fine in the amount of one sheep. If the master recalls that there were losses of sheep even earlier under this shepherd, he then requires an oath concerning these losses from the shepherd himself, or if the shepherd lives with his family or his kinsmen, he requires the oath from them. The master may consider it a dishonor to himself to take an oath from a shepherd as a person not his equal (koychinyn dzhanyn almaymyn, durus ksi imes). In this case the biis require the oath from the master himself. 466 233

The shepherd is not held responsible for sheep eaten by wolves even when conditions had been made for reimbursement of damages. A shepherd is not held responsible at all for falls and natural death (adzhal') of the livestock.

Only a rebuke, but not a suit is made for the shearing of wool with scissors (kyrktys) from the master's sheep by a strange man or by the shepherd himself, for the wool, milk and working power of the animals is considered "the beneficence of the animals" (malnyng khayry), and no payment is made for their use. /120/ A person who demands payment for them is reproached with the words: "Let that man perish who has not grown wealthy" (bay bolmay ulsin).

A strange animal joining the herd (buralky, nukatyk) is in general acquired by the shepherd. A greedy master can demand it for himself on the ground that his livestock attracted the strange animal. Among the Kirgiza strange animal joining the herd goes to the shepherd if he does not declare it to his master. But if the master finds out about it, he demands it for himself because it joined (singib kitti) his herd. Some keep the strange animal (bularky in Kirgiz), others slaughter it for kudai, a feast of the people. Under the Russian dominion it has been established that a runaway or strange animal 466 233 425

466
425
233

joining the herd must be presented to the authorities. The master who loses an animal turns to the authorities who investigate the whereabouts of the lost animal.

425

According to Makovetkii (I p. 43), the amount of syuyunchi for the presentation of a lost animal goes up to one-fifth its value. An exception is the sheep: the person who finds it keeps its offspring, and returns the lost animal to the owner. But if he spoils the sign of the owner on the sheep, then he returns the sheep and its offspring. Torgai says that the person who finds a pregnant sheep returns the ewe and the lamb to the owner, so that if the finder ever loses a pregnant ewe he will also get it back with the lamb. But if the owner of the found ewe declares himself only after two or three years, he is given one ewe, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat, " and they say: "If you recognize your lamb, take it" (kozysyn tanysang alakoy). Torgai also knows another opinion, by which an owner who appears after two or three years is granted only half a sheep, having in view the expense and labor of its maintenance (bagyb kagyb). If the person who found the sheep denies it, the oath is required of the owner himself. For the return of his lost horse, cow or camel, the owner must present seven witnesses (isbat), of whom two must swear an oath. If the finder has informed everyone of his find, it is not thievery for him to put his brand on it.

/121/ Livestock are kept for two or three weeks. After that, they declare to the volost administrator that the owner has not appeared.

If the animal found gives birth to a calf, the calf is not divided from its mother and also belongs to the owner, while if no owner appears, it belongs to the finder. If many livestock are lost, and fewer found, the finder is accused of having hidden the rest. This kind of case is settled on the basis of testimony from unimplicated persons, without an oath.

Things which are found (nerse, buyum), go to the finder if no one witnessed the finding. If there were witnesses, the find is kept by the finder from one to two months until the owner appears, who then receives his object for the payment of syuyunchi.

The longer the object is kept, the larger the amount of the syuyunchi. Speaking approximately, for an object worth 1 ruble, the syuyunchi amounts to 20 kopeks, for something worth 10 rubles, 2 rubles, for something worth 20 rubles - 5 rubles, for a horse - 1 tillia /3-4 rubles/, for a camel, 5-8 rubles. If the owner of the thing does not declare himself, it becomes the possession of the finder.

When money is found it is divided among all those present when it is found, with the obligation to give it up if the owner declares him-

self.

If the youngest among the travellers finds a coat, cap /tyube-teyka/ or other parts of clothing, he gives what he has found to the eldest, on the demand of the others. If all are of the same age, the thing found is given to the person of the white bone. If there is no one belonging to the white bone among them, it is given to the guest, i. e., the person of a strange clan. If there is no guest, it is given to the mullah. If there is no mullah, it is given to the married man, because married men are in general senior to bachelors. If all are married, it is given to him who married earliest. This giving out of clothing is called baylagan. 425 576

If a fox is seen in a strange trap (kakpan), the finder takes it for himself and leaves the trap. To take the trap is to steal, but taking the fox is not stealing. (1) Even in /122/ court when the 425 224

1. If an owner of a trap or a hunter with a dog catches a first fox, and if a Kazakh who rides by by chance, even a stranger, announces that he needs it /122/ for a gift or for the success of his future hunting, the hunter gives it to him. In case he refuses he pays a fine.

trap is required to be given up, it is never demanded that the fox taken at the same time be given back.

If a hunter (mirgen) kills a wild ass before others, he gives its back (sauri) to the oldest of these, or to the mullah, and in general as was related above. The giving up of the animal which has been shot is called syralyga. (All the above information from Torgai). 224

In the Perovsk uyezd, money, clothing, strange livestock joining the herd, etc., which are found, remain with the finder, and it is brought to the knowledge either of the supposed owners or of the authorities. Then the find is given back to the owners for syuyunchi, which is equal to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its value, i. e., approximately four times less than when it is taken from a thief. They are given back to kinsmen without pay. If the owner of the object does not declare himself in one or two years, the object found becomes the property of the finder. If the find was not announced to the public (dzhau kege shygarmak) with the purpose of appropriation, and then the owner of it appears, then the object, or if it no longer exists the value of it is returned to the owner, with all his court expenses, but without a fine. The concealment of a find from the investigation of an owner is considered thievery. 425 [685]

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

* * * *

422 577 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

422 685 672 Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraudulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or 422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples. 423

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans of different kinds of animals; savɒn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majɒn, the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride price. Such loans wese made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[64] says that one hundred percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the animals. Dingelstedt[65] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the approximate wage of a shepherd. 426 602 [465]

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

[64] Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.
[65] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

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ter-revolutionists" and "bourgeois historians" as the basis of a claim that "primitive communism" existed among the Kazak I must not permit myself to be led astray by them. Actually, he said, they were merely devices used by the ruling class to cloak their exploitation of the masses and hold them in subjection.

Both aspects of the relationship of client and patron must of course be borne in mind, and one must distinguish between the theory of uru solidarity and its practice. As regards the details of the debt relationship it is not unlikely that the making of loans for interest as a more or less business transaction was a comparatively recent development influenced by trade relations with the Central Asian commercial centers to the south and later with Russia on the north.

It is interesting to note as an indication of the advantageous position of the patron that if he himself became entangled in debts the amount was requisitioned from among his dependents. Grodekov mentions the practice of taking up a collection to pay the debts of a rich man.[68] Further aspects of the patron client relationship will be considered later in relation to class stratification.

[68] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

428 linquish half, i. e., each receives one-sixth. In general they give as much as is needed for support. For this reason the elders tell those receiving their allotment that they are young and will still earn their living, and tell them to be satisfied with little. "I myself," added the informant, the Kirgiz bii Daniyar, "told my father, as I brought him clothing (sarypay): 'If you want to give me property, do so, and if not, then give me your blessing (fatikha).'

In addition to livestock, 1) the money of the father, if they all know of its existence, 2) land (1) and 3) debts are subject to the

1. According to reports from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, land is not divided, for those receiving an allotment can s. can seek other land for themselves.

family division of inheritance.

428 If the debts of the father are discovered after the allotment, then he is liable before the court and pays the son who received the 426 succession. Formerly all the children paid the debts of the father after consultation with each other (kamtu klb). Now only he who receives the succession pays, and futhermore he pays it from his inheritance and not from what he has acquired, on which he is obliged to present proof or an oath. /50/ Children who have not received their allotments do not pay for living parents who are absent. Sons who have received their inheritance are legally not obliged to pay the debts of the father, because they cannot know about them, but morally they are obliged (khalal ul tuleydi). It is apparent from the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd that the biis reject claims against the sons for the debts of the father, basing themselves on the "exact customary law" (tolyk adat). Children who have received their allotments refuse to pay their father's debts, referring to the fact that "their portion is different, they have a special earmark" (inchim bulek, enim baska). But if they are ashamed to leave the debt to the father (atamyzga karz kylmaymyz), and wish to help the one who has received the succession, the debt is divided into 3 parts, of which one is paid by the successor, and two by the remaining brothers. Sometimes the rich sons are obliged to pay more, and the poor ones less.

Among the Kirgiz, according to bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, the debts of the father are not adjudged to be paid from the inheritance. They only advise that a debt should be paid, if it is proven, because of the responsibility in the future life (kyyamet karz).

If the plaintiff appears before the division of the inheritance, 428 the debt is disposed of first, and then the division is made. If this 426 is found to be inconvenient, then the sum of the debt is distributed among the children in accordance with the allotment received by them. If the debt is greater than the property and the children wish to make the division (during the lifetime or after the death of the father), first of all something is put aside for a funeral and memorial service, and then the remaining property is divided equally and the debt as well.

If the father has only one daughter, then he must pay his debts from her kalym. After the death of the father a daughter without property is never answerable for his debts. However if the inheritance and the tent go to the only daughter, her guardian or "master" (kyznyng iese) is liable from the inheritance.

If a bride dies before her marriage, the part of the kalym which has already been paid is obliged (suzsiz) to be returned, with the father of the bride being allowed to give it to the court for those obligations of debt which the son-in-law took upon himself in another connection (books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd).

/51/ The people require the son to pay the debts of his impoverished father on the grounds that the father went in debt in caring for the son (Torgai).

The inheritance (miras) (1) can consist of livestock, of money, 428

1. Perhaps there is inaccuracy in the division of means of acquiring property in Makovetskii (I. p. 37) as: 1) ata murasy - that inherited from the father, 2) uzi tabasy - that acquired oneself, and 3) burushty mal - profits from trade, matchmaking, loans and other affairs. At any rate Torgai divides property into: 1) ata murasy or ata mul'ki and 2) uz tabkany. But he did not understand the words burushti mal. Is this not the Russian word barysh /profit/?

of a tent with domestic furnishings, and of land, and in former times, also of slaves. The saying "among the Kazakhs the wife is inherited, among the Sarts the land is the inheritance" (kazaktyng katyny miras, sarttyng yeri miras) testifies to the fact that the widow is considered as an inheritance. The children can also be called miras.

Except for admonitions, no wills are recognised. The father cannot will so much to one son and so much to another. All the inheritance goes to those who have not received allotments, i. e.,

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not 426 customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture.

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is re- 422 turned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring.

• • •

Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) 431 or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person.

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn [576] during presentations to these persons.

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is [685] punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner.

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

431 not guarantee its quality. The bii requires the warrantor to find the
seller, but does not sentence him to pay the pshaymana. If the seller
432 is not found the case remains without further result.

Formerly it was possible to renounce a purchase or sale which was already completed, on the ground that it was bought for too much, or sold too cheaply. There is even a proverb: "The sale of a horse can be broken off for a month, and the sale of a camel, in the course of a year" (at saudasy ayinda kaytady, tyuya saudasy yilinda kaytady). This is never done now. If the buyer or seller claims he was deceived in the sale of an animal or other object, saying that they convinced him falsely of the expensiveness of the object, its newness, of the general pennilessness of the bazaar, etc. the sale is not broken off, because they do not believe the claimant, and feel that he is simply renouncing the sale (aynydy).

Among the Kirgiz, an agreement is made on the period of time within which an animal can be returned, in case defects are discovered in it. If such an agreement was not made, it is not customary to return the animal. A declaration saying the animal was too dear, although without defects, is also not accepted among the Kirgiz.

• • • •

436 When borrowing on credit (karz beresek) the presence of witnesses and guarantors is obligatory. In general, they try to have witnesses.

If the defendant denies the existence of a debt, then an oath is required on general grounds, as in cases of crime. But a debt (1)

1. The requirement of percentages (usum, payda, idzhara) is not obligatory. Credit is given with interest and without it. According to the communication of Abulfaiza of the Chimkent uyezd, honorable /130/ Kazakhs take 20% a year, called deduazde, i. e., 12 for 10. Bad persons take 20 kopeks a month for one tillia /worth 3-4 rubles/. According to a report from the Perovsk uyezd, Kazakhs take 20 kopeks a month for a ruble, or else nothing. Among the Kirgiz, 20 kopeks a month interest (tuam) is paid for 4 rubles.

is exacted without a fine. The biilyk and the court costs are required from the debtor.

/130/ When livestock are taken on credit for the purpose of selling them, animals of the same breed are given in the repayment. If they were females, females are returned after a year with their offspring or without, sometimes with the addition, in place of the offspring, of other animals or money, depending on the circumstances.

Vouchers of debts are entering into usage more and more. Usually they indicate the sum of the debt with the interest based on the period of time of repayment. When part of the debt is paid, this is noted in the voucher.

If a person stands in debt to another according to a voucher, money is exacted from him even though he does not recognise the claim as valid. But if a claim is made without a voucher and the defendant does not admit it, a personal oath is required from him. If the defendant demonstrates that he had actually been in debt to the plaintiff, but had paid him the money, then an oath is required from the plaintiff personally, who swears only if the defendant presents to the court the entire sum being claimed.

The leaving of things as security (geru, shargy) is unknown on the steppe.(1) But they do mortgage winter camps with the buildings on them. This is done by people who owe money, but do not have any livestock. A winter camp worth 15-20 tillias is mortgaged for 8-10 tillias, for 1 or 1 1/2 years depending on the agreement. If they have mortgaged for half a year, it is expected (kutadi) to be paid off in a year. If they have mortgaged for one year, they wait for two years. After this term they demand that the mortgaged property be sold or given up to the person who has taken it as security. An evaluation is made and an extra sum is returned. (Torgai).

1. In cities, pawning /zalog/ among Kazakhs is considered as one of the forms of an amanat.

/131/ The value of domestic animals according to customary law. 000 (Table follows).

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
476 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
427 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
432 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover
312 are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i.e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

/155 cont./

000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 648 167 241 427 K [427] [648] [175] We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

K [427] [648] [175] H.T. [361]

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T /156 cont./ In the course of time
167 and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose
175 between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant
648 renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant
241 landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administra-
429 tion. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the
K formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them.
429 There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first offi-
648 cial decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the
175 Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz
175 krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report
167 for 1875 by General Kazmakov, one of the most outstanding
648 Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

241 "The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report,
K "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized
648 has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been
179 virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Mean-
[241] while, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the
H.T. census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along
175 the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they
648 have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and
179 adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423
which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558]
as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[55]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178
are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[55a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428
its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (encí) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[56] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[57] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[58] although according to my information it was customary

[55] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[55a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[56] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 43.

[57] *Idem*, 34.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for
[587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined
[587] by the aqsaqal.[64] A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingeletedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1 [leader of uru -- Analyst]

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the 428 inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor 426 and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans 602 of different kinds of animals; savɨn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majɨn, the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride price. Such loans were made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[64] says that one hundred percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the animals. Dingelstedt[65] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of [465] payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the approximate wage of a shepherd.

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

[64] Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.
[65] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

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428 On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son.
614 Rashid writes:[68] "The Mongol custom is thus: that the youngest son is called ejen for this reason, that he stays at home and the property, economy and premises are assigned to him." Also[69] "The meaning of ejen is the youngest son who remains in the home and yurt, that is, lord of the fire and the yurt." It is probable, though direct evidence is lacking, that unmarried sons customarily lived together with their family and at marriage received their individual allotments. Riazanovskii[70] quotes an unspecified version of the Yassa of Chingis as saying that the distribution of the heritage is done so that the senior son receives more than the junior although the youngest son inherits the household of the father.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

614 To each member of the Mongol gens his relatives were urux, meaning kinsmen.[71] However, not only the members of a particular gens were reckoned as urux but members of all gentes related among themselves by blood by reason of descent from a traditional common ancestor. Between such relatives and related gentes the recognition of certain obligations of mutual defense, protection and assistance was expected. However, the acceptance of these obligations seems to have depended a great deal upon the nature of the occasion and the self interests of the particular group or its leaders. Hostile relations frequently existed between gentes who were close urux to one another and Rashid[72] mentions some who in his words "occupy themselves unceasingly with raids, wars and rapes among themselves."

Also a status of relatives by courtesy was accorded to members of the gens to whom one was related by marriage, all of whom were known as xuda.[73]

608 Another possible relationship between members of different groups was a ceremonial assumption of brotherhood. Two individuals, usually belonging to different though fairly closely related gentes, concluded between themselves a union of friendship and exchanged presents after which they were considered anda, brothers in name to one another. According to the "Secret History"[74] " . . . the old people say that when anda has been made both individuals have as only one life between them. One will not forsake the other and they protect one another with their lives." Anda did not actually live together but were expected to support one another exactly as members of the same gens. However, in actual life the relationship was probably more ceremonial than real; former anda might take up arms against one another as was the case with Chingis and Jamuga.[75] The fact that the

[68] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 207.
[69] Rashid-ed-Din, *op. cit.*, 2: 30.
[70] *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 60.
[71] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 59.
[72] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 52.
[73] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 60; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 35. In Kazak the term quda designates the father of a daughter's husband or of a son's wife.
[74] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 58.
[75] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 33–35.

572 breast. They visit the tent of their confidante under the pretext of wanting to know if there is any buza. If there is buza in the neighboring tents and they cannot drink together, then the girl is sent a cup of buza (1) secretly by children. She replies by sending a gift. They

1. Buza is an intoxicating drink, made from rice, millet or sorghum.

send each other greetings (salem) and verses (ulen). The young man sometimes even accompanies his confidante in the wedding procession to the village of her father-in-law, where she gives him a farewell gift. Her husband is not offended, since he has also had a confidante himself (Tashkent Kazakhs).

Among the Kirgiz, friends (tamyr, bilish) also give each other gifts. The doslyk is friendship which is unbreakable in this world or the next. Friends /dos/ embrace each other sometimes across a saber or across a knife. After the embrace they eat bread (nan toraydy). Among the Kirgiz youth there is also an "arifdash," but of course it is in secret, as the bii added when he reported this.

/43/ CHAPTER IV

428

The allotment to the sons. - Inchi. - Succession.

On the father lies the care of providing each son with kalym and an allotment, inchi. (1)

1. Inchi or enchi comes from the word en, the notches made on the livestock being divided, for differentiation.

Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the allotment to the sons, which depends entirely on the father, takes place in order of seniority and after their marriage.

An inducement to allotment is usually the crowdedness of the dwelling and the intractability of some individual.

The time for the allotment to each son also depends on the situation of the father's affairs, and is determined in the circle of the family, but not before the son is 15 years old, by the proverb: "at the age of 15, the master of the tent" (onbesh dzhil otau iese). Among the Kirgiz it is not before the age of 13 years, when majority is considered to be reached.

If the son requests it and the father does not wish to give him

his allotment at a given time, the son can wait or else leave without the inchi, but in the latter case he loses the right to demand it afterwards. They reply to such a demand by saying: "You did not wait for your father's consent." (atangnyng rizalygyna karakmadyng). In this case the son who is apportioning himself takes with him only what his wife brought at the wedding as a dowry. If the son behaves badly or does not know how to earn money and the father wishes to send him away the son will demand his father to give him a wife or an allotment. The people pacify them. If they are not pacified, then the part of the kalym which is not yet paid remains unpaid by the father, who sends his son away on a good animal (a good horse or good camel). /44/ This animal also takes the place of the allotment. If after that the son cannot earn the remainder of the kalym, then the father should pay it for him, for no father can avoid paying the kalym for his son. Otherwise the son is left to drive away the necessary number of livestock from his father's herd, without being considered a thief.

The apportionment of a son before he is married is always a sign of disagreement with the father. If the father becomes poor after that, the son, does not wish to support the father remembering his being given the allotment before his marriage. Then the people say: "We did not punish you then for stealing from your father (aibga buyurmaduk). Now feed and care for him." (as aukatyna kara, kut). The son who does not obey this instruction is scolded, beaten and despised (avgar kylady) by the people (yurt). If a son positively wishes to renounce the care of his father, then the son must give him the dowry brought by his wife and remove himself completely from the sight of the father (kasynan). If a son asks to leave his father peaceably before marrying, then he is not given his allotment, as he would probably go far away and lose the property, which in general the people do not desire. If this son agrees to join his older or younger brother, who have already received allotments, then they do not refuse him his allotment. The property of both brothers remains separate, in anticipation of arguments or demands for division. If a son absolutely refuses to marry someone, his father does not give him an allotment. If the son requests an allotment under the pretext of marriage, the father answers: "I will give you a wife myself, and only afterwards will I give you the allotment. Otherwise get out. "In such a case the father is guarding against the squandering of his property. Such is the data reported by Torgai. According to other information (bii Mikebai), if it is heard that the son "senselessly" absolutely refuses to ever marry and urgently demands to be issued his allotment, it is given to such a one. Among the Kirgiz,

428 Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds that then more is given, in view of the non-payment of kalym.

The father can apportion the younger son before the older if he wishes. Sometimes the older son says: "I will not part with my father, I will feed him until his death." After such a declaration /Inserted page. Picture of Torgai. Drawing by Akhmatov.[1] /45/ the portion is alloted to the next son, not always with consideration of inheritance.

Making the division of the property for an allotment is one of the most difficult points of the customary law. Apparently they cannot divide the inheritance and frequently invite in experienced people for the division (burun inchi bulib yurgen adamlar). The matter is complicated still more by the fact that those who have not received their allotment steal from each other. Some say that the man receiving his inheritance will not consent to have the father himself calculate the amount of the share, but demands the participation of the relatives in it.

The maximum allotment depends on the father. The minimum is determined by elders, who have moral authority but not court power (Torgai).

Less is expended for the kalym of the sons (about one-third) than for their allotments (about two-thirds of the total property of the father).

Having paid the kalym for his oldest son, the father does not give him his allotment until he has fixed a certain part to each of his sons for a kalym, not excluding even that son (the youngest) who does not have to receive an allotment.

When making the allotment to one of his sons, the father spiits up the entire property, with the deduction of the kalyms, into as many equal parts (sybaga) as he has sons to whom he must make allotments, i. e., all except one younger one. In addition to these parts he also puts aside two parts to support himself and his wife in old age (Perovsk uyezd and the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). According to Torgai, the property is divided into as many parts as there are sons, with the addition of one part for burial (kurkeben asatau). If there is not enough property, then the last part is not necessary.

Everything that remains is inherited by the son who receives no allotment, and he lives with his father until the latter's death and buries him. If after giving allotments to his married sons the father dies and leaves nothing for the sons who have not received allotments,

1 [Not reproduced--A.]

the former are obliged to marry off the latter. (Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). First cousins and other kinsmen have no obligation in this.

/46/ If the father dies, leaving 4 sons, a year later at the memorial service they slaughter an animal and say to the elders: "We will divide the inheritance, help us" (biz bulek bulek bulamyz, inchi mizdy bulib ber). The elders ask: "Do you want to divide it in four parts or in two (with two sons to each part)?" They divide the property into 4 or 2 parts, depending on the answer, but give the larger share to the oldest. If among the four sons, two are not married, then they cannot demand a division into four parts. The elders would not agree (buyurmaydy), to this and would divide it into two parts, combining an unmarried son with each married one, and the latter would take the place of the father for the former, i. e., he would marry him and give him an allotment. In this last division of inheritance they again divide the livestock in half, giving one or two animals to the older brother who has taken the place of the father.

If the mother is still living in addition to the four married or unmarried sons, then the property is divided into 5 parts. She can remain with her share with the son she loves most. The property of this son and hers are considered one (inchisi bir). He takes care of the burial of the mother. The other brothers give a small subsidy (yardam berisadi) for the funeral.

If of the four sons two are married and wish to divide the inheritance into two parts in such a way that both unmarried brothers will be with one of the married ones, then two kalyms are set aside at the beginning, according to the account made at the matchmaking, and only after that is the property divided into 4 parts. If the sons are not yet affianced the elders calculate the number of livestock necessary for a kalym. If the property is not enough for the kalym and the allotment, they set aside the kalym anyway in a generally acceptable amount, and give up the allotmen.

An unmarried daughter goes together with a brother who has not yet been given a kalym, so that from the kalym received for his sister he can pay the kalym for his own bride.

If two unmarried sons and one daughter survive, and there is little property, one son receives the property and the other the daughter.

If there is no property at all, the daughter is given to both brothers so that the kalym received for her is divided in half. In this case /47/ she can live with whichever brother she wants to. Both of them alike look after the clothes of the girl and her other needs.

(teng karab turady).

If an engaged girl remains who is not yet married (uzetpegen), the older brother is charged with giving her away in place of the father and bears the expense of the wedding (toy).

Let us suppose that the father has 10, 000 sheep and 10-15 sons. Then without setting aside kalyms and allotments for each, he simply gives the son to be alloted a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 100 sheep without any special calculation (the determination of the amount depends on him), and adds as many camels as are necessary to carry the tent and goods (for a small tent 3 camels, and for a large one 5 camels). If he had only two sons, he would divide all the livestock into 3 parts, without making a special share for the mother. In addition, before the division of the inheritance 3 or 4 animals are separated out for the use of the father, out of respect for him.

If a married son receives a tent (ui) from his bride, he also receives his allotment in this tent. If not, the father gives him a new tent, or the value of it.

If the father has several married sons and they have their own tents, but the livestock, of which there is very little, has not yet been alloted, and the father or the sons propose to divide the livestock, then the elders divide everything without allotment, not excluding even the youngest (if the father wishes) in order to avoid envy among the sons. After this if the youngest son does not remain with him, the father with his livestock can join whichever son he likes best.

When the division of property takes place after the death of the father, the valuables and household furnishings (uskene) all go to the youngest son, so as not to spoil the furnishing of the tent, but the older sons take their choice of the clothing in memory of the father (akemning kuze).

If the deceased leaves childless wives behind him, in his tent, then the younger ones go to his brothers and the older ones remain /48/ with the step-children they like or with those who have lost their own mothers. Good children support their step-mothers out of respect to the deceased, even though several should come to one step-child. If a step-mother wishes to go away after a quarrel, they give her nothing. If she goes away peaceably the elders award her something for support (as aukat) and she goes to her clan (turkun) or to her son-in-law. Children cannot be left by their own mothers. The biis and the children do not allow it.

When the married daughter, by custom, visits her father's house (turkundemek), the father is obliged to give her a horse or a camel at least. After the death of the father this is given by the heir to the father's tent (ulkun ui, akening shangaragy). If a rich man has several sons and married daughters, he invites the daughters for this visit (turkundab kel'mekke) before beginning the family division of property, so as to discharge the debt, for the turkundemek is considered a debt (karz). He gives 1 or 2 animals to the daughters as they appear and for those who do not come he puts a like number aside (shigaryb koy ady) which he keeps himself for safe keeping. After this the division of property is made. The father is not inflexibly required to remain with his youngest son if he does not like him. But wherever the father does join the "large tent" the elders give more livestock, in view of the guests and other visits.

When after the death of the father the daughters appear at the large tent to receive the turkundemek, the head of the household assembles his older brothers for a conference, to decide whether to give each of them a gift or to make a joint contribution and to satisfy them with the sum received. Some bring a sheep to the contribution, others a horse, a coat, etc. If all of them refuse, out of egotism (ku buldy), the master of the large tent is obliged to give a little himself, since he has received a larger allotment than the others. The daughter indicates this in her request: "The smoke-blackened circle of my father remains with you. You live where my father lived. His property went to you" (akemnyng kara shangaragy sende kaldy, san akemnyng oturgan yerinda otursen mulkderi sende /49/ kalgan). All guests, tamyrs, husband's kin, relatives on the wife's side and demanders of various payments come to the master of the big tent. His nephew, /dzhien/the son of the daughter who has received her allotment comes to receive the "dzhiendik" when he reaches his majority. If he does not receive it the nephew steals it without being considered a thief. Some children, anticipating this, do not even wish to be inheritors of the father's tent (all from Torgai).

The Kirgiz divide the property, if there is one son, into 3 parts, of which 2 parts are for the father and mother. The old tent remains with the father, and he makes a new one for the son. If the father has an unmarried younger brother in addition to a son, the brother is married off first, and then the son receives his allotment. If there are two sons and the youngest is at peace with the father, they do as above. If not, the father gives both sons together not less than one-third, that is, one-sixth to each. With three sons, the parents re-

428 linquish half, i. e., each receives one-sixth. In general they give as much as is needed for support. For this reason the elders tell those receiving their allotment that they are young and will still earn their living, and tell them to be satisfied with little. "I myself," added the informant, the Kirgiz bii Daniyar, "told my father, as I brought him clothing (sarypay): 'If you want to give me property, do so, and if not, then give me your blessing (fatikha).' "

In addition to livestock, 1) the money of the father, if they all know of its existence, 2) land (1) and 3) debts are subject to the

1. According to reports from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, land is not divided, for those receiving an allotment can s. can seek other land for themselves.

family division of inheritance.

428 If the debts of the father are discovered after the allotment,
426 then he is liable before the court and pays the son who received the succession. Formerly all the children paid the debts of the father after consultation with each other (kamtu klb). Now only he who receives the succession pays, and futhermore he pays it from his inheritance and not from what he has acquired, on which he is obliged to present proof or an oath. /50/ Children who have not received their allotments do not pay for living parents who are absent. Sons who have received their inheritance are legally not obliged to pay the debts of the father, because they cannot know about them, but morally they are obliged (khalal ul tuleydi). It is apparent from the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd that the biis reject claims against the sons for the debts of the father, basing themselves on the "exact customary law" (tolyk adat). Children who have received their allotments refuse to pay their father's debts, referring to the fact that "their portion is different, they have a special earmark" (inchim bulek, enim baska). But if they are ashamed to leave the debt to the father (atamyzga karz kylmaymyz), and wish to help the one who has received the succession, the debt is divided into 3 parts, of which one is paid by the successor, and two by the remaining brothers. Sometimes the rich sons are obliged to pay more, and the poor ones less.

Among the Kirgiz, according to bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, the debts of the father are not adjudged to be paid from the inheritance. They only advise that a debt should be paid, if it is proven, because of the responsibility in the future life (kyyamet karz).

If the plaintiff appears before the division of the inheritance, 428 the debt is disposed of first, and then the division is made. If this 426 is found to be inconvenient, then the sum of the debt is distributed among the children in accordance with the allotment received by them. If the debt is greater than the property and the children wish to make the division (during the lifetime or after the death of the father), first of all something is put aside for a funeral and memorial service, and then the remaining property is divided equally and the debt as well.

If the father has only one daughter, then he must pay his debts from her kalym. After the death of the father a daughter without property is never answerable for his debts. However if the inheritance and the tent go to the only daughter, her guardian or "master" (kyznyng iese) is liable from the inheritance.

If a bride dies before her marriage, the part of the kalym which has already been paid is obliged (suzsiz) to be returned, with the father of the bride being allowed to give it to the court for those obligations of debt which the son-in-law took upon himself in another connection (books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd).

/51/ The people require the son to pay the debts of his impoverished father on the grounds that the father went in debt in caring for the son (Torgai).

The inheritance (miras) (1) can consist of livestock, of money, 428

1. Perhaps there is inaccuracy in the division of means of acquiring property in Makovetskii (I. p. 37) as: 1) ata murasy - that inherited from the father, 2) uzi tabasy - that acquired oneself, and 3) burushty mal - profits from trade, matchmaking, loans and other affairs. At any rate Torgai divides property into: 1) ata murasy or ata mul'ki and 2) uz tabkany. But he did not understand the words burushti mal. Is this not the Russian word barysh /profit/?

of a tent with domestic furnishings, and of land, and in former times, also of slaves. The saying "among the Kazakhs the wife is inherited, among the Sarts the land is the inheritance" (kazaktyng katyny miras, sarttyng yeri miras) testifies to the fact that the widow is considered as an inheritance. The children can also be called miras.

Except for admonitions, no wills are recognised. The father cannot will so much to one son and so much to another. All the inheritance goes to those who have not received allotments, i. e.,

usually to the youngest sons, who are also obliged to bear the expenses of the funeral and memorial service. If the father wished to deprive the son without an allotment of the inheritance, the son would demand it through the bii, who would grant it to him unfailingly. The only means of depriving the younger son of the inheritance is to allot it earlier to the older son, while the father is living.

If the children of the deceased are under age and his wife young, the brother of the deceased, who marries her, rears the children until their maturity, so that there can be no argument about inheritance. If no children remain, the expenses as are covered from the inheritance, and the rest they divide among themselves. A daughter who survives the deceased is brought up by kinsmen, who use the inheritance to marry her off. From the remainder one-third is given her under the title of an allotment /inchi/, and the remaining two-thirds is divided among them. (2)

2. Communication of Chinybekov.

If in addition to children a brother of the deceased remains who has not received an allotment /52/ the property is divided in half between the nephews and the uncle (if they want to divide it). From the half received by the sons of the deceased, each son receives an equal share for his allotment, after the division of the kalyms for the unmarried.

If after the death of a son only the father and brother remain, the father, as the giver of the allotment, receives all the property of the deceased, although he can give part of it to his son out of good will. The same thing is true among the Kirgiz.

If there are no children the brothers are the successors. If there are no brothers, the male first cousins (nemere), then the second cousins, etc. Only when it is impossible to find any male relatives, is the inheritance given to the daughters and their husbands. According to Torgai, the inheritance is never received by the daughter because she always marries into a distant clan. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports the same.

If there are several equally close relatives, for example, uncles, the only daughter of the deceased can choose between them. Whoever is chosen by her as a guardain receives only her kalym, if this was not received by the father, but the guardian does not receive

the inheritance. This is divided equally among the other kinsmen. If she has a brother but he is still under age, then an older relative helps him with advice in sending off his sister to her husband. If there is no relative in the male line, she is sent off by a relative on the female line: the father of her mother (nagashi), the mother of her mother (nagashe sheshe), the sister of the father (apa). The sending off of the bride is preferably entrusted to an elder, for example, the grandfather (baba), so that there will be no suspicion of cupidity. In general, whoever takes it upon himself to send away (uzatamyn dise) the only daughter receives her inheritance for himself. But if he is an outsider, he is obliged to keep the property intact for two or three years in case of the appearance of a kinsman (Torgai).

If a widow remarries, she receives nothing from the inheritance, except in the case where she takes her son with her, for the inheritance belongs to him. If she does not /53/ marry and wishes to live with her father, she receives only a tent and one-eighth of the inheritance. Often the relatives do not let the young son go to the new husband of the widow. A grown son is free to choose between his relatives and the new dwelling place of his mother.

A son born of a widow from a lover, without marriage, does not receive the inheritance after the death of the father. If a girl is never married but has children, she is considered the lawful wife of her lover, without receiving a kalym, and her children are not deprived of the inheritance (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, property does not go away with the widow but remains with the closest relative.

According to Torgai, a widow can go away with the inheritance to the man she loves if none of the relatives remains alive. Such a widow, even though she may be old and ugly, will be married because of the wealth, though not without risk, for an heir may appear and demand his inheritance. Then her husband refuses to deliver it, under the pretext of expenses for the funeral and the support of his wife (khatyndy baktym kaktym), and the question remains debatable.

Among the Kirgiz, the widow, if the children want to divide the inheritance, remains with the youngest son. Here, excluding expenses for the funeral, as many shares are divided as there are sons, with the addition of one share for the mother. For example, when there are two sons, she receives one-third. This is the most just solution, but demanding people succeed in getting more for themselves.

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567] 1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[575] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[583] 582 Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity 784 of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or 428 cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them, etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where saxxul, shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1 [Not reproduced --A]

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

692 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [498] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [600] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Ariatov, 1894, pp. 394-395.

619 they had names which harked back to the Chingiside era. Valikhanov draws an important implication from this: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union as a whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingiside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,[49] for they are properly speaking fictitious.

619 428 643 829 The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakh nobility who brought the original confederation to life are located by Kazakh tradition in the Little Horde.[50] We know that the Little Horde was not an original founding member of the confederation of hordes, but was rather the junior member. So reads the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov, and which must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the location of the original founder of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to regularize or legitimize the rank order of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to align the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through

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[49] Idem.

[50] Ibid., 292.

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transmission via Khan Tiavka (c. 1700). This law decreed that the right of succession to the father's status and to his residuary possessions, went to the youngest son or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.[51] N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code--the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan--and of the code transmitted by Khan Tiavka. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, not that of the father, the youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and other incorporeal properties.[52] But the important thing is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes and decrees, but what the 19th century Kazakh believed them to be; what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a double fiction was applied. First,

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[51] Idem.

[52] Riasanovsky, Customary Laws, 7 ff; ibid., Fundamental Principles, 83 ff.

596 The family estate was not communal family property in the usual sense, nor can the paterfamilias be regarded as the owner of the family estate which he controlled. The family estate, both the physical and the intangible wealth, was an estate held in trust, and this definition fits the conception of the family (and the lineage) as a corporate structure.

Inheritance in the Great Horde

428 Properly speaking, only a small proportion of the family physical property was transmitted on the death of the father. Prior to his death, his sons, with the exception of the youngest son, had allotments made over to them of various kinds. In the normal course, these sons would have had a tent or yurt set up for them by the father,[106] which was generally done on marriage, but sometimes earlier, when they came of age; these two events, of course, might also be simultaneous. Thus, [384] youths among the Kazakhs were generally regarded as coming of age between their twelfth and fifteenth years; among those who could afford it, the marriage likewise [583] took place at or about this time.[107] The father likewise paid the kalym or bridewealth for these sons; and he gen-

[106] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 477.

[107] Dingelstedt, 153; Izrastsov, 72.

[Great Horde]

428 erally supplied them with herds in sufficient quantity for independence, if he could afford it, and if he so wished.[108] On the other hand, a rich Kazakh might retain his sons by his side, or at least in the same household economy.

596 428 Kazakh families other than the rich were often forced by economic necessity to break up the family on allotment of the sons who had come of age. The father, once he had made provision for his sons, lost power over them, and they moved as they wished. But this quittance of obligation was a reciprocal relationship; the son lost all further claims on his father's wealth.[109] The poor Kazakhs made no allotment to their sons at all, since they could not afford to; it would have been uneconomical to break up the herd.

428 The youngest son was the residuary legatee of the father's property; he remained by his father's side until the latter's death, and acquired the father's tent, and such portions of the herds, etc., which the father had not made over previously to the elder sons.[110] In fact, the relationship between the youngest son and the parents was not restricted to the father; if the wife

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[108] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[109] Izraztsov, 2-3.

[110] Dingelstedt, 153.

[Great Horde]

428 survived her husband, the youngest son and the mother shared a double portion. Izraztsov gives the following instance: a woman with four sons received from her husband a herd of 200 head of livestock of various kinds. She then divided the herd into five parts; two parts, or eighty head, were reserved for her youngest son and herself, the three older sons, forty head each. This, however, did not require the elder sons to move away, for all the herds could continue to share in a common pasture, and to be otherwise indistinguishable, the natural increase being proportional to all.[111]

428 948 589 The widow's portion again was held in trust for her minor sons. A distinction was made between children born out of wedlock as follows: if a widow has borne sons to her deceased husband, any further sons she bore could not share in her husband's estate, but were reckoned to their natural and actual sire's line, a consequence of the doctrine that the son of an unmarried woman participated with full rights in his biological father's estate.[112] On the other hand, sons born to a widow who had borne no sons previously were reckoned to her husband's line if they were born within a few years after the death of the husband, and thus social fact overrode the biological.

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[111] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[112] Dingelstedt, 154.

[Great Horde]

429 The mother was the guardian of the children until they came of age. Failing a man's widow as guardian of his surviving children, the closest agnatic kin took over the guardianship of the minor children. These were apportioned equally when they reached their majority, the youngest son possibly getting a slightly larger proportion of the entire estate. The trustee in this case took charge of the entire estate until it was apportioned. A daughter did not participate in the apportionment, she
428 was entitled only to her dowry.[113] In point of fact, however, these rigid rules did not always work out purely. We have one case in which a daughter participated in the division of the parental estate to a greater extent than the mere apportionment of the dowry. The son in this case inherited thirty horses, 300 sheep, five cattle, five camels, and a yurt with its furnishings; the daughter received 100 sheep and valuables worth 100 rubles,[114] a portion greater than a typical dowry, but less than a full share in the estate.

Where equal provision was not made, other factors, such as favoritism may have been brought to bear. In any case, no Kazakh died without society making provision for the apportionment of his heirs: succession ab intestat was

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[113] Izraztsov, 4; Lingelstedt, 153.

[114] Izraztsov, 70.

[Great Horde]

428 unknown to them.[115] The maximum which any of his children would receive was determined by the father; the minimum was often set by the elders and respected men of the community to whom appeal would be made by a dissatisfied heir.[116] The authority of these elders was advisory rather than coercive, however, for they had no means other than public opinion to cause the father to change his mind.[117]

428 596 Further restrictions on the distribution of the family estate existed: a kalym or bridewealth had to be provided for all the sons, a mandatory provision in the Kazakh customary law.[118] Again, if a man was squandering his patrimony, a wife could appeal to his senior kinsmen, the elders of the community, and these men could adjudge the father irresponsible, and remove his estate from him. In such a case, the estate was usually allotted to a major son, or failing such, to the closest paternal kinsman to be held in trust for equal apportionment in the manner described above.[119] These evidently drastic measures could only have been found necessary rarely;

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[115] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[116] Grodekov, 45.

[117] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.; Grodekov, loc. cit.

[118] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[119] Israetsov, loc. cit.

428 nevertheless they must be regarded as limitations on
596 the authority of the father, which was far from absolute therefore. It would be difficult to see, in any case, in view of what is known of Kazakh society and of the steppe societies generally, how a man could have an absolute authority, independent of all outside force, within his family. The family was far from an independent entity even as an extended family. It was part of a larger whole which included wider and wider reaches of collateral agnatically related lines, and hence extended both backward and forward in time.

429 The estate of a man went first to his sons, whether major or minor; if he died without male issue, the estate then adverted to his brothers. Even if the brothers had quarreled and were living apart, no one could prevent this order of succession, for the estate necessarily remained in the male line, if not the direct line, then in the closest collateral line.[120]

According to Izraztsov, the following was the order of succession:

1. Sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc.
2. Brothers, brothers' sons, their successors.
3. Father's brothers, father's brothers' sons, their successors.

In each group, the division was equal, subject to the

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[120] Izraztsov, 5.

428 will of him who made the bequest. The inheritance passed to the second category if the first died without issue, then to the third if the second was not filled, and so forth.[121]

428 596 It is of importance to note that the inverse order of succession, namely, brothers before sons, was not the case. And it is difficult to see how this could possibly have been: the estate included not only real, but intangible property as well, and with its control was correlated a great amount of authority. Now if brothers quarreled, and they often did, then they would split up. If an estate descended fraternally before passing to the next succeeding generation, this would mean that the locus of authority was always on the verge of moving off. Such an unstable situation could be envisaged, but it would also necessitate certain corrective or compensatory measures in order to lessen the friction which might thus arise; still no such measures are found in Kazakh society. In general, among the Kazakhs, the Kara-Kirgis, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and other steppe societies of Asia, the line of descent passed to the son, and failing a son it passed to the closest collateral line, whether that of the brother or that of the brother's son.

601 428 In addition to the evidence, both positive and negative, and the comparative material from other societies,

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[121] Ibid., 11.

[Great Horde]

601 there is a clear confirmation of the order of succession[1] in the kinship terminology. In fact, the close correlation with a particular--and relatively rare--application of the kinship terminology should become a classical case of a behavioral correlate of kinship terminology. In a manner parallel to that of the Kalmuks, brother's son and son's son bear the same term, the term in Kazakh being nemere.

604 428 The avunculate, the relations between mother's brother (nagaŷ) and sister's son (dŷien), likewise played a role in the transmission of real property.[1] The latter could call on his maternal uncle for support in paying his bridewealth, for the payment of a debt, and so forth. If the maternal uncle failed to fulfill a socially recognized obligation, the dŷien could effect a seizure on the stock of his nagaŷ's stock up to three times, and the nagaŷ had no basis for protest. If the dŷien exceeded the three sanctioned seizures, only then could the nagaŷ tell him that he had forfeited the rights of a nephew.

604 428 Just as the nemere term has a definable social correlate, so does the dŷien concept: both are related to the mode of acquiring a wife, transmitting inherited property, establishing respect and authority.

Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 431-432 -- Analyst]

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, sulu, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Middle Horde]

695 nence, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose
602 that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or
584 alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 The legal process continued to function within the
695 kinship system even under conditions of acculturation,
428 as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

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[170] Ibragimov, 237.

[Middle Horde]

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longer under Russian rule than those of the Great Horde. The acculturative process had proceeded farther in the Middle Horde than in the Great Horde as of the 1870's, as will be seen from the issues raised in the pleadings.) The older brothers argued that the Kazakh customs were no longer in force, and that Russian law required an equitable distribution of the paternal estate regardless of the settlements made on the older sons by the father during his lifetime. The matter thus presented to the biis brought from them the decision that the youngest son, the residuary legatee, had to give up one of his winter camps to the other two. (Evidently a wealthy estate was in question here.) The youngest son appealed to the Russian courts, who advised him simply to comply with the decision of the biis, but to take one of the older brothers' winter camps instead. The youngest son declined both decisions.

His appeal to the Russian courts was strongly resented by the community and he was threatened with arrest, whereupon he removed to a nearby town, and the entire affair was placed in the hands of the local biis, but it was left unsettled. Finally the courts found in favor of the youngest son after the appointment of a new governor general in the region.[171]

[171] Ibid., 253-257.

[Middle Horde]

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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bii in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

[Little Horde]

000 married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[207] However, the maintenance of separate house-
595 428 holds was not correlated exclusively with the need for diminishing family friction, it was closely associated with the distribution of family property among the various segments of the household, as we shall see when the question of inheritance and succession within the family is taken up. Briefly, subject to later confirmation, it may be said that the wealth of the family was settled on the sons during the father's lifetime in a polygynous family, and if the settlement was made while the sons were still minor, the wife living in her own tent with her children held the patrimony in trust until her sons came of age. There was some change of roles within the household: while in the 1870's the first wife was the mistress of the menage, by the turn of the century the second wife could often rule over the first.[208]

587 A certain number of the polygynous households were the result of the levirate where the surviving brother was already married. A proverb of the Little Horde runs:

aga ulsa dzenge mura
eni ulsa kelin mura
at ulsa saury mura.

"If the elder brother dies, his wife goes to the younger

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[207] Balliusek, 85-86.

[208] Karuts, loc. cit.

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ground for divorce occurs now for the first time and may be added to the general transformation of certain traits through acculturation.

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Rules of Inheritance and Succession

We have seen that the estate of a brother was equally distributed among the surviving brothers on his death. The equal division of a man's estate among his survivors is only one aspect of a complex problem. The practice of allotment or apportionment of sons as they came of age was the basic mode of transmission of physical property, which together with the payment of the kalym on behalf of the son, formed part of the total property transfer when the son came of age. For the coming of age was associated with marriage, and entailed both the payment of the kalym and the apportionment of the son.[217]

The youngest son, in contrast to his elder brothers, was not portioned off during the lifetime of the father, although the kalym was paid on his behalf when he came of age, that is to say, when he was married. He shared his father's estate during the father's lifetime, and did not take up full possessive rights until his father's death, when he became the sole residuary legatee of the

[217] Balliusek, 104.

[Little Horde]

428 estate. For it was considered that the elder sons gave up their rights in any further share in the patrimony when they were portioned off. The youngest son thus had a favored position in one sense--usually if the father were wealthy: compare the case cited in the Middle Horde, in which the youngest brother was envied and hailed into court by his elder brothers. The youngest son likewise received a special title, found both in the Turkic and the Mongol worlds, prince of the hearth--the lord by right of succession to the paternal hearth.[218] However, any civil or military honors, any hereditary rank by birth was passed to the eldest son, as well as the position of authority in the family and community.

The apportionment during the lifetime of the father is considered to have been recent among his Kazakh by Balliuzek. This is an interesting point, if it can be maintained successfully, and it is further claimed that the practice arose because formerly there had been much conflict over inheritance. This practice of apportionment during the father's life, or rather, on the coming of age of the son, is called inóe, and in it, the son gives up all further rights in the paternal estate, except in the case of the youngest son. It is further maintained by Balliuzek that the daughter's share is

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[218] Idem.

[Little Horde]

equal to that of the sons in the inče, her share taking the form of a dowry or marriage portion.[219] Unfortunately, it is nowhere corroborated that the inče was of recent date (as of the year 1872), and the equal participation of the daughter was definitely limited to wealthy Kazakhs, who made a dotal settlement equal to the kalym they received for the daughter as a matter of prestige.

It is the ideal family situation which is here described: the wealthy family could afford to realize in practice the family ideal by maintaining the extended family unity. When the son was portioned off, he remained within the family enclave or aul, which was in turn identical with the extended family of the wealthy. For in such a case, the collateral lines, including father's younger brothers, and their sons, and their sons' sons, lived together with the father, his sons, and their families and offspring in one great community. When Pater Schmidt equates the Grossfamilie with the aul of the Kirgis-Kazakh, his equation can be accepted in the light of the considerations here entertained: that it relates to the ideal family, the sought-after family, the wealthy family.[220]

In the transmission of the property from one gen-

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[219] Idem.

[220] Schmidt, Eigentum, 187.

[Cf. Cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 481-482 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

428 In the transmission of the property from one generation to the next, the rights of the dzien, the sister's son and the daughter's son, to the property of the mother's brother and his mother's father were recognised. In the Little Horde the dzien had the right of free seizure (baranta) up to three times from his nagasy or mother's brother, whether by agreement with the nagasy or without his knowledge. The dzien could not be punished unless he abused his rights by seizing beyond the customary three times.[221] This is the avuncular relationship and neither here nor elsewhere was it a smoothly working principle. The mother's brother did not volunteer to transfer a part of his property to the sister's son; the latter had to make seizure to obtain it. In principle it is different from the bulk of Kazakh (and Kalmuk) consanguineal relations; these are agnatic. The avuncular relationship in question here is a matrilateral relation, which, added to the patrilateral, form a limited cognatic pattern. Thus a problem of the dynamics of transition from the principle of agnatic to a partial application of the principle of cognatic kinship is posed. The problem further is that the mother's brother is not a voluntary participant in the relation, but seeks to protect his property against the seizure by the dzien, warning him that after the third time he

[221] Balliuzek, 109.

[Little Horde]

428 604 loses his rights as such. The same relationship, with its inherent conflicts, is found among the Kalmuks.[1] Another aspect of the problem is the unforeseeable nature of the baranta. It is not merely that the nephew comes silently and unbeknownst to the uncle to drive off his portion; it will also be recalled that marriage residence is patrilocal, and the brother may not reckon with the existence of a sister's son who appears from afar to demand what is his. Such a seizure may disturb whatever prior arrangements the nagaŷ may have made. An act of seizure is a violent act, and per se is disruptive of social peace. The entire relationship is a disharmony built in to the social structure.

428 The principle of apportionment to the elder sons during the lifetime of the father and that of ultimogeniture continued in force in the Little Horde at the turn of the century: "The inheritance on the death of the father goes to the unmarried sons still living in the paternal aul, or if all are married, to the youngest, who remains with the father. The elder married sons will have been established during the father's lifetime and have no more rights in his property."[222]

577 Adoption was generally practiced among close kin alone,[223] which recalls the practice elsewhere of adoption

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[222] Karuts, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42; Karuts, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 113.

[223] Balliuzek, 96.

1 [Cf. cat. no, AHI Mongolia, p. 274 ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

624 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the *aul*, for
596 the extended family, and in those cases, *a fortiori*, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The *aul* was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the *kalym* was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where
[562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

● 428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.

[Inner Horde]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 Divorce is reported as having been easy and fre-
596 quent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but
177.59 since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture con-
[591] tact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

601 used for So) is bala.

A matter that calls for further analysis is the cousin terminology. The term for Fa Br So is nemere, differentiated as Fa Br Ol So, nemere aga, and Fa Br Yo So, nemere ini. Fa Br Ol So and Fa Yo Br bear the same term. The term nemere is also applied to Br So and So So, and thus applies to all those who stand eligible to receive the patrimony, real and intangible, of the family; more important, this group of kin, called by the same term, form a unit which ego looks to for maintenance of the paternal line. If the direct line fails, others stand as a reserve of kin to maintain it. This is the outer limit of the extended family, together with those more closely related in the paternal line as a corporate unit. Within this group the junior levirate is practiced.

601 The Fa Si So is dŭien, and the term is extended to
•428 include Si So and Da So. Above we have seen the limited rights enjoyed by the dŭien in the property of his Mo Br, from whom he was legally permitted to rustle livestock up to three times; beyond this number, the nephew forfeited the rights of a dŭien. The rights of the dŭien were associated with some kind of forced or violent act. Moreover, the rights of the uncle were protected by supplying him with a formula which effectively was a quitclaim from the viewpoint of the nephew. Implied here

601 is a certain amount of tension, of dysnomie: if a sys-
428 tem is functioning smoothly, there is no need of force and formulae for the containment or limitation of that force.

The rights of the Si So in the estate of the Mo Br go beyond the strictly agnatic system of relationships. The Si So and Da So relationships are cognatic, for they bring in relationships to the kinship system which exist through the mother.

The right to share in an estate in an agnatically related society is asserted by demonstrating descent from the father or the paternal grandfather; these are patrimonial rights. The system of rights shared by the Kalmuks and the Kazakhs, however, are established through descent from either grandfather, paternal or maternal, although in a greater proportion from the Fa Fa than from the Mo Fa. This is an expression of the mode of transmission of the property rights. From the view-
601 point of the kinship terminology, however, a totally different problem emerges: it will be recalled that the cousin system of the Kazakh is of the Omaha type; that is, there are separate terms for paternal parallel, paternal cross, maternal parallel and maternal cross cousins; and there is the distinctive feature of Omaha cousin terminology, Fa Si Ch bears the same term as Si Ch, dzien. But the variation on Omaha is that the term dzien has

[Soviet Era]

683 422 Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

58 Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before puberty.[290] [553] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa <u>gul</u> underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

428 The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.

428 All sons except the youngest were equitably apportioned from the corporeal property during the lifetime of the father, and they thereby gave up all rights to inheritance on the father's death. In addition, daughters were assigned their marriage portions when they wedded, and likewise had no further claim on the paternal estate. The residuary legatee was the youngest son.[292] And this pattern, too, extends down from the earliest times to the most recent, and is shared by all the pastoral nomads of the Asiatic steppe.

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[292] Ibid., 67.

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

●428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for
[587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined
[587] by the aqsaqal[1]. A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1 [leader of uru -- Analyst]

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

[695] the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by [628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a [587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from [429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

597 Touching the breast of the adoptive mother is a symbol that she considers the adopted one on an equal with her own children, whom she nursed, although she did not nurse him.

The adopted one is usually not considered as close as the true child, although he may gain more affection than the true children by his spiritual qualities and his services. The same can be said of adopted slaves.

When they wish to reject the adopted one, they give him an allotment only of inchi or only of kalym. In extreme cases it is enough to give him a horse for his departure. On the request of the adopted one, the aksakas may request the father not to reject his foster child without a serious offense (Perovsk uyezd). The adopted one, on his part, can always go away to his clan at any time.

The clan does not change through adoption, at any rate not now.

[582] According to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov, the adopted child (inchiles bala), coming from a clan and lineage with which marriage is permissible, can under no circumstances enter into marriage with those who have adopted him. This includes not only the family, but also the close relatives of this family. He is considered as a true son of the adopter and has a right to the name and the inheritance on an equal with the lawful children.

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429 After the death of the father, even though the mother is living, one of the close kinsmen takes the place of the father for the protection of the orphans (yetim), and the wards nomadize together with him.

This guardianship is not juridical but patriarchal, for which reason also there are rarely used words signifying the guardian: miraskhur, miras, mira(1), and according to Daulet Bushaev - vasy.

1. On hearing the word "mirasy" meaning "his guardian" they took the sy for a suffix and began to use "mira". Actually, the Arabic miras means inheritance, and miraskhur, the receiver of the inheritance. Among the Kazakhs these same words have received the meaning of guardian.

/39/ If no one remains alive in the tent but the successor, who is not of age, then he moves with all his property to the nearest kinsman (Perovsk uyezd). To this last kinsman other kinsmen come

and take what they need of the orphan's property, saying "when you eat (1) why shouldn't I eat?" (sen yegende men yemeyminbe?)(Torgai). 429

1. To eat is the equivalent of to use.

Only when the closest kinsman is completely unsuitable to be a guardian, then by demand of the remaining relatives, a bii or aksakal appoints another, if possible a close kinsman, or to speak more precisely, they do not appoint but give the minor into his hands.

In the absence of men, a woman is invited to be the guardian, the mother or a close kinswoman, for although women are bought by a kalym, in likeness to property, and although oaths are not sworn from the woman's side, it is not denied that they have a mind (akl), or otherwise they would not be allowed to give testimony in court. When male relatives are not to be found, women are themselves considered guardians. Outside aksakals are invited to be guardians only in the most extreme cases. In general, the guardian is usually of a relationship no further than the seventh degree.

Also the very close kinsman of the killed man, who presents the claim for the wergeld, or he who defends the rights of the deceased when there is no very close kinsman, and takes his place, is designated as guardian.

When the mother marries a kinsman of her dead husband, the children remain with her. But when the mother goes to a new husband of a strange clan, then the children remain under the guardianship of the former relatives.

The insane, cripples, etc., are not deprived of their property. Their closest kinsmen are considered their guardians. Even though they cannot earn their own subsistence, they are given wives without breaking the rule that the sons are married in order of seniority.

/40/ For minor sons (up to 15 years approximately), their guardians intercede on their behalf.

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A girl must have the consent of her guardian to marry, if he is a kinsman. If he is not, she must have the consent of her closest kinsman. The guardian who is not a kinsman can only advise his ward, the groom or the bride, to defer the payment of the kalym until the spring when the number of livestock is doubled. The nearest relative can refuse his consent to a marriage which is desired by the guardian and the children themselves. The guardian is not forbidden to marry his female ward, with the observation of the usual rules. For example, when he is a close kinsman, he cannot marry within the forbidden

429 degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"
[582] rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only
837 the latter is not customary. (1)

1. According to Makovetskii, I.P. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

[Great Horde]

429 The mother was the guardian of the children until they came of age. Failing a man's widow as guardian of his surviving children, the closest agnatic kin took over the guardianship of the minor children. These were apportioned equally when they reached their majority, the youngest son possibly getting a slightly larger proportion of the entire estate. The trustee in this case took charge of the entire estate until it was apportioned. A daughter did not participate in the apportionment, she
428 was entitled only to her dowry.[113] In point of fact, however, these rigid rules did not always work out purely. We have one case in which a daughter participated in the division of the parental estate to a greater extent than the mere apportionment of the dowry. The son in this case inherited thirty horses, 300 sheep, five cattle, five camels, and a yurt with its furnishings; the daughter received 100 sheep and valuables worth 100 rubles,[114] a portion greater than a typical dowry, but less than a full share in the estate.

Where equal provision was not made, other factors, such as favoritism may have been brought to bear. In any case, no Kazakh died without society making provision for the apportionment of his heirs: succession ab intestat was

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[113] Izraztsov, 4; Lingelstedt, 153.

[114] Izraztsov, 70.

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house. 574 565

It may be noted here that qonaqaçь (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals. 527

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamьr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject. 608 431

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamьr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamьr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamьr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16] [171]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 247.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

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Now let us turn to a listing of the gifts which the groom is obliged to give the women:

1) Sutakky, to the bride's mother for nursing at the breast, is a camel or a horse, but no less than a good coat at 4 rubles. In the Perovsk uyezd the rich give 10 camels, and the poor a good animal at 40 rubles, or the same amount in money (Torgai).

2) Baldyz kurimdik - a keepsake for the bride's sister (baldyz). This gift is presented at the time of orunbargan, and in any case before the wedding, or otherwise the baldyz will take offense.

3) Yengetai - to the wife of the bride's brother, or the wife of that closest kinsman of the bride who follows after her father. The amount is similar to the preceding gifts.

4) Sauka lening baygazysy. The bride's headdress /71/ is put on by some woman who appears before the groom to receive a gift, a coat or a shirt, for giving up the headress to the bride.

5) Otau dzhabar - For the uncovered tent given by the bride's father the groom provides felts, and for covering the tent with felts he gives the women one animal.

6) Endikimdik - For the weariness of the women who ran and got out of breath (endikib kelgen) when the groom arrived, a gift of 20 or 40 kopeks.

7) Atbaylar - for tying up the horse - is a gift of 9 pieces of clothing (toguzkiim) or 3 pieces of matting. The women divide this among themselves.

8) Tyusek salar - for laying the bed for the oruntoy.

9) Shimildyk baylar - for tying back the bed curtains.

10) Kolustartar - for delivering the bride into the hands of the groom at the oruntoy.

11) Shashsipatar - for the right to smooth the hair of the bride.

12) Kurpa kamyltartar - for moving the bedcovers.

13) Ityrilder - for chasing off the dog that snarled at the groom. (1)

1. A woman who sits at the threshold of the tent portrays the dog.

14) Bakansaldymdik - for opening the tyundyuk /the felt over the top part of the tent/.

15) Muyuntastar - for the throwing of the sheep's neck through the tyundyuk by the women.

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16) Arka yatar (not among all the Kazakhs) - for the departure of the woman lying behind the back of the bride.

17) Kyzkuterer - for lifting the bride on a rug.

18) Kempir ul'di - so that the old woman who has been hindering the union will pretend to be dead.

19) Kuyau attandyrar - for seating the groom on his horse.

/72/ 20) Kyz kashar - For bringing the bride in, after her flight to her kinsmen.

Each of the last gifts is worth 20 to 40 kopeks, while according to Irsbai (Tashkent Kazakh), a small piece of cloth is given, similar to a kerchief.

When the groom refuses to pay after his money is exhausted, the women say: "even if the horse should die of hunger, the customary gift ought not to perish" (at ulse de kada ulmeydi), for according to the proverb; the bride can be without a kalym but not without gifts (kalyngsiz kyz bulady, kadesiz bulmaydy).

If the groom gives nothing, the women tear the clothing of his companion. The young men of the bride's village, who threaten to kill the groom, receive a gift called mushe (1) from him, consisting

1. In Budagov's dictionary, it says under the word mushe that mushe basy "the chief gift", a silk coat or a horse, is presented to the eldest by birth, and he gives it to the sultan or to another Kazakh, older than himself. The remaining mushe are presented in succession to the younger clans. The last one - a scrap of silk material or calico - is grabbed by someone who races away. He is followed and the one who catches him receives it, so that it finally remains with the man who has the swiftest horse.

of kerchiefs. The aksakal receives a coat at this time (Perovskuyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the relatives of the groom themselves drive animals to the home of the bride's father for the regalement of the guests, and arrange the entire feast. The women receive kishmish /raisins or seedless grapes/, pistachio nuts, and baursak from the groom. and the buyrek /kidney/, shiirak and muche (yota yilik) from the slaughtered animal. The groom who does not give them this is called bad, and they shame him, but do not beat him. They entertain themselves with kukbure and baiga, and with the balalaika and zurna /stringed instrument and type of oboe/. The bride's father gives a sarypay for the zurna player /zurnaichi/of the groom and the groom's father. On the first day of the wedding the kukbure is not

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called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1)

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1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from her father (Torgai).

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

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The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire, wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

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entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

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Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

005 a horse, sheep or some other object.

When the farmers are threshing, gathering the grain from
735 the threshing floor, or measuring it, poor people who do not have their own fields go about to the threshing floors of their clan or community and collect alms, keusen. They are usually given a wooden bowl containing from 2 to 6 pounds of grain, or else one or two handfuls. /Inserted page. Picture of girl from the Perovsk uyezd.* 1

431 /125/ "Bazarlyk" is asked from someone who is riding back from a bazaar.

If a bii concludes a matter successfully, the people who are close ask for "satal" (1) from the biilyk he has received.

1. In general satal is given by everyone who has gained a profit or made a find. (Bii Khalmakhammed).

If a rich man gives his son a small allotment, the latter turns to his sisters, matchmakers and respected outsiders and asks for "inchibasy" (Torgai). They give him something, for example, a ewe, with the wish of increasing his herd. (2)

2. According to the communication of the Kazakh Katpa of the Kurama uyezd, inchibasy is set aside to support the mother in her old age, before the division among the family. According to bii Sultan the word inchibasy denotes in general that cow, good horse or other good animal which is selected (tanglab alady) by the persons receiving their allotment, or by their father or mother, as the "beginning" (bas) of their allotment.

If the father has arranged the betrothal (ayttyrsa) of a bride for his son, the latter asks a man of the same age for a congratulatory gift called "nemeurin." This one gives him something, thereby gaining the right to demand a similar gift when he is in a similar position (Torgai). According to bii Sultan, the nemeurin is customary both during the allotment and during the kalym. In the first case the kinsmen give sacks, lassos, utensils and livestock, and in the second case only livestock or money.

A person who has bought something new is greeted with the words: kutty bulsyn, i. e., to your happiness! The owner of the object expresses his thanks by saying: aytsyn, or kuttuktamak sizden bulsyn. In the first case they demand a gift of "baygazy" from him,

1 [Not reproduced --A]

under the threat of cutting off a piece of the new acquisition, for example, the toe from a boot. In the second case he himself asks a gift from the person who greets him. If the new thing is a coat, the women (without the greeting) ask for a gift for sewing on the fastenings, "tonbau", even though they do not sew them on, or itekkesti, "for cutting off the hem". threatening to cut off the hem. 431

If the wife of a friend gives birth, it is necessary to send cooked mutton by a third person, with a piece of material for a shirt for the baby. The husband of the woman who has just had a baby asks: "Why have you come?" (nege kel'ding). The person sent replies: "I have come with /126/ a greeting" (kuttuktab kel'dim). The former answers: "Choose what you wish" (kalagandyngdy ayt). The envoy chooses an animal or a hunting bird, saying: "I came to ask this" (sony tilete kel'dym), and then he receives it.

When it is planned to arrange a betrothal to a beautiful girl, and she lets it be understood that many already have her in view, and therefore it is necessary to leave some sort of substantial proof of one's words (byr nishane kylsang iken, byr bil'gi kureyetib koysang iken), one animal is presented, with a promise to come for a betrothal. This gift is called kargybau or batayak.

On moving into a new dwelling or halting place, the neighbors give the greeting: 'konys kutty bulsyn", or: "konys dzhayly bulsyn." The gift to the guests on moving into a new dwelling is called erulik.

If someone enters accidentally into a place where women are engaged in weaving or in making felt, the women hand him a piece of wool, the acceptance of which obligates him to give a gift, like a muskmelon, etc. This custom is called "yung salu." Women working on tobacco plantations give tobacco instead of wool, called "temeke salu."

People who meet a hunter ask him to apportion parts of his game, under the name of "chyralga."

* * * * *

The time and place for trade is not limited by any rules. On the steppe, Sarts, Kazakhs and Tatars exchange manufactured goods, dried fruit, medicines and other objects for wool, fleeces and other products of herding. 437

Among themselves the nomads buy and sell on credit /v dolg/, with various terms of payment. Witnesses of a bargain are not obligatory, but when the seller and buyer do not know each other there are usually guarantees.

4:Grodekov--155 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

694 Everything which takes place gives way to the salavat in another dominion, for example, in the Kokand dominion, except a suit concerning a bride (yesir dau).

According to a report from the Chimkent uyezd, affairs concerning matchmaking do not have limitation, but all other matters have a ten year limitation, excepting only matters of wergeld (1)

1. The biis at the meeting of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September 1887 established that "matters are not accepted for attention after a limitation of 10 years, with the exception of affairs concerning brides and wergeld."

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which are examined even after ten years have elapsed since the day of the murder, when the court is presented with only factual proof, but without an oath.

431 Syuyunchi means a gift for news concerning relatives. Syuyunchi may be 1) voluntary, for example, for receiving the news of the birth of a son, daughter (for a daughter they give less), etc., and 2) more or less necessary at the news of the loss of property, finding it, the capture or detection of the thief, etc. A suit for not receiving syuyunchi is accepted by the bii for examination.

The extent of the syuyunchi depends on the services rendered to the person found, and on the value of the property itself. For bringing back a stolen animal about one-twentieth of its value is given, and for confiscating it from the thief by force, one-fifth. For bringing back the thief himself at the same time, the syuyunchi goes up to half the value of the object stolen.

/174/ The syuyunchi paid for finding a camel is 24 rubles or 6 tillias (according to Torgai and Abdurakhman), or 3 tillias for finding a horse, or 2 tillias for finding a cow.

The syuyunchi is called kulaksyuyunchi, if the person who brings the news has only heard that the lost object is found but did not see it himself. Kulaksyuyunchi is not large, being 2 rubles for a camel, 1 ruble for a horse, 1 ruble for a cow, 20 kopeks for a sheep and 10 kopeks for a goat.

The thief who is sentenced to pay a fine, pays also for syuyunchi among the other requirements.

The thief himself cannot receive syuyunchi, even though he also brought back the lost animal. 431

Kinsmen cannot demand syuyunchi.

If someone receives syuyunchi for promising either to find the animal or to detect the thief (muynyna koyib beremen), and after that if he does not succeed in accomplishing the one thing or the other, he returns the syuyunchi received in one and a half times the amount.

The bit aygak (personal witness) who discovers a murder receives one-fifth of the wergeld as a reward. For the discovery ofor informing about thieves 4 tillias are given for a horse, and 8 tillias for a camel. 431 695 The witness is awarded the amount indicated only if he himself, in the presence of the biis, indicates the thieves. In order to confirm the witness's accusation of the person indicated by him as having committed the misdemeanor or crime, the biis sitting in judgment require the accused to choose persons from the side of the witness to take an oath (1) that he has actually indicated the guilty person. But

1. The choosing of persons from the witness's side to take the oath takes place in the same order as the selection of persons from the side of the defendant.

if /175/ the accusation of the person indicated by the witness is not confirmed after the admission for the oath by the persons chosen, the accuser pays back the person from whom he received syuyunchi in an amount double what he received. (Absaliamov, Chimkent uyezd).

/176/ CHAPTER X

The organization of the peoples court by the law of 1867. - The rank and position of the biis. - Arbitration. - The order of selection of cases. - Attorneys. - Witnesses. - Guarantors. - Concrete evidence. - Payment of the bii /biilyk/ . - Losses and expenses. - The organization of the people's court by the law of June 12, 1886. 692

Among the Kazakhs the people's court was organized in the following manner on the basis of the law of 1867.

The people's court is the examination of cases according to folk customs by chosen judges - biis.

The following types of courts were organized: 1) the individual court of the biis, 2) the volost session of biis, and 3) the extraordinary

[187 cont.]

x648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it [793 again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was [778 ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was 641] brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's [431] presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [654] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev 439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned 579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[199 cont.]
[648] of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent
662 him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

[644 431] Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

[576] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

Y648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

Y648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X648

[664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[220 cont.]

×648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
●[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[221 cont.]

x648 ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[431] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[72] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[727] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[644] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[726] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[726] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely
took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[443] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[234 cont.]
x648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1).

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years. [431 661] These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.

[721 726] The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
x648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[238 cont.]

*648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [663] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as [631] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

[243 cont.]

x648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[283 cont.]

*648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[842] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

*648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

*648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

/218 cont./

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyl-datar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accompanied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

[431]

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
496 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

427 In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
● 432 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover
312 are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i. e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

000 usually guarantees.

It is possible to sell property in the absence of the owner only
437 under the following circumstances: in case of close kinship, of trust,
432 and by order of the authorities. (1)

1. In the latter case they choose only that animal which in not working, not in a caravan, in general the least necessary one.

/127/ An object purchased from minors is returned without fine on the demand of the father.

[685] A person who knowingly buys something stolen is considered a thief.

The buying of livestock or objects which are not in sight is
437 avoided. But if they do buy sight unseen, a horse is understood to be a five year old stallion or a three year old mare, and a camel a five year old male or a three year old female (Perovsk uyezd).

A deposit is unknown to the Kazakhs.

At the bazaars there is always a special middle man (del'del') for each type of livestock, a Kazakh or a Sart, who tries everything to bring the two sides to an agreement, putting the hand of the seller into the hand of the buyer by force.

In addition to shaking hands, the act of sale is validated by the seller by the words: Use it with good fortune, etc. (bereke tap, khayrin kur, iygliginga tutun, etc.), and by the buyer with the words: "May one be returned to you a thousandfold; May you too benefit" (biring myng bulsun, sen de bereke tap).

Both sides can still back out until the money has been paid.
437 After the payment they cannot. However the seller can take back
432 the object sold, with the consent of the buyer, for a certain sum to pay it off (pshayman, pshaymana). The buyer too can request, but not demand, of the seller the breaking off of the sale if the animal is in the same condition as it was at the time of purchase.

If in about a week's time faults are shown in the animal which were not mentioned during the sale, but outside people knew of their existence, the buyer can refuse the animal or demand the return of the money paid. In anticipation of this, it has become customary for the middle man to say to the buyer during the sale: "Look yourself, to see if the animal is absolutely healthy. Once you have bought it, it will be yours, even if it dies today." (Collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, according to the communication of

bii Umurbek, the sale of an animal /128/ is broken off (saudasy kay-tady) without a fine, when the owner does not mention its faults which are known to him, but not later than 2-3 days, depending on the type of livestock, since a deadly disease in an animal is recognised in a short time. (1) If a sold animal dies, the buyer does not receive his

1. For example, yamandatpa or yamaldatpa in horses is recognized in a day.

money back, because he could have filed a complaint before its death. In a sale a period of time is often designated within which it is still possible to return an animal for the sum which was paid for it.

According to a communication from Torgai, an agreement con-concerning the faults of an animal is usually one of three kinds:

1) During the purchase it is asked whether the animal has anything wrong with it. When the answer is negative the buyer suggests the designation of a period of 3-4 days, within which he can return the animal if faults appear in it.

2) The seller, who is hiding the faults of the animal which he is selling cheap, says: "Look yourself. Take it or leave it, as you like. If you cross this mark (drawn on the ground by him as he says the words) the animal is yours."

3) The seller declares: "If it has a lawful defect (aybi shar"y) (2)

2. For example, glanders or farcy (manka), or lameness.

I will take it back. But if it is sick it will stay with you." If later one of the aybi shar"y is discovered, it is declared the next day. If the seller says to this: "This defect was not there yesterday, but you saw it yesterday", then an oath is designated, namely, they give one of them (preferably the buyer) a choice between receiving an oath from the seller that the defect was not there yesterday, and giving his own oath that it was there. If both sides are unwilling to swear, the animal is returned to the seller with a buying off payment from the purchaser, or else the animal remains sold and the buying off money is paid by the seller. If the seller has gone away and only the warrantor, i. e., the middle man is at hand, who has received the middle man's /129/ money (shirinkame), or another warrantor, then he is made responsible. But the warrantor refuses to pay the pshaymana. He would say that he only guaranteed that the animal was not stolen, but did

431 not guarantee its quality. The bii requires the warrantor to find the seller, but does not sentence him to pay the pshaymana. If the seller
432 is not found the case remains without further result.

Formerly it was possible to renounce a purchase or sale which was already completed, on the ground that it was bought for too much, or sold too cheaply. There is even a proverb: "The sale of a horse can be broken off for a month, and the sale of a camel, in the course of a year" (at saudasy ayinda kaytady, tyuya saudasy yilinda kaytady). This is never done now. If the buyer or seller claims he was deceived in the sale of an animal or other object, saying that they convinced him falsely of the expensiveness of the object, its newness, of the general pennilessness of the bazaar, etc. the sale is not broken off, because they do not believe the claimant, and feel that he is simply renouncing the sale (aynydy).

Among the Kirgiz, an agreement is made on the period of time within which an animal can be returned, in case defects are discovered in it. If such an agreement was not made, it is not customary to return the animal. A declaration saying the animal was too dear, although without defects, is also not accepted among the Kirgiz

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426 When borrowing on credit (karz beresek) the presence of witnesses and guarantors is obligatory. In general, they try to have witnesses.

If the defendant denies the existence of a debt, then an oath is required on general grounds, as in cases of crime. But a debt (1)

1. The requirement of percentages (usum, payda, idzhara) is not obligatory. Credit is given with interest and without it. According to the communication of Abulfaiza of the Chimkent uyezd, honorable /130/ Kazakhs take 20% a year, called deduazde, i. e., 12 for 10. Bad persons take 20 kopeks a month for one tillia /worth 3-4 rubles/. According to a report from the Perovsk uyezd, Kazakhs take 20 kopeks a month for a ruble, or else nothing. Among the Kirgiz, 20 kopeks a month interest (tuam) is paid for 4 rubles.

is exacted without a fine. The biilyk and the court costs are required from the debtor.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 556 [101] 433 The nomads in question[1] occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur, around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh, as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year round, and supported themselves by caring for their own farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.[268] Hence the following account of <u>aul</u> nomadism is to be understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy Kazakhs.[2]

[177.62]

621 The <u>aul</u> in its several variations was entirely a kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh <u>aul</u> elsewhere, even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homogeneous kin group. This was not so among the northeasternmost Kazakhs. The <u>auls</u> of the latter fall into two categories: the fully nomadic <u>auls</u>, such as those of the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach <u>aimak</u> (Oirot Autonomous Oblast');[269] and <u>auls</u> which are entirely sedentary, such as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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[268] Ibid., 1-3, 62.

[269] Samoilovich, 312.

[1] [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 523ff -- Analyst]

[2] [For further data, cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 527-544 -- Analyst]

621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
0433 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the auls of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of auls of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the aul was small; if the aul was large, it broke up into

[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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The situation in herding is similar. The leading pastoral regions are in the western parts of Kazakhstan, the Guryev, West Kazakhstan, and Aktyubinsk regions. There has been a steady decline in cattle, sheep, and goats in the Guryev region from 1946 to 1953, which means that Kazakh herding in this region has not participated in the postwar recovery (Kazakhs form over two-thirds of the population of the Guryev region). A similar decline in cattle has been reported for West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan. In the regions of East and North Kazakhstan, cattle and sheep are below the prewar figures. Throughout the republic the ratio of cows to the total number of cattle in the kolkhoz herds is disproportionately low (24.3 per cent) and is falling; for instance, in the year 1952 the number of cows dropped by 10.8 per cent. Cattle have been falling in number from year to year in both collective and state farms.[4]

The milk yield per kolkhoz was lower in 1952 than in 1940.[5] This statement is an even graver admission than it seems at first glance, because the individual collective farm is larger in 1952 than it was in 1940 and there are fewer kolkhozy now than then.

In the same period, 1940-1952, the average milk yield per cow dropped 76 liters.[6] The average annual milk yield per cow for 1939 was 650 liters[7]; if it can be assumed that there was little change between 1939 and 1940, a fall of 13 per cent in milk production per cow is indicated for the 1940-1952 period.

Milk production is closely associated with the statistics of gravidity, and there has been a considerable decline in this category in Kazakhstan as well. In 1948, out of 100 cows 88 were with calf, while only 74 out of every 100 were with calf in 1951. Similarly, of every 100 mares, 78 were with foal in 1948; this figure had dropped to 67 in 1951.[8]

The area sown in livestock feed had fallen in 1952 below the prewar (1940) level; this reduction led to the critical situation regarding milk production, and that of meat and wool as well. Despite the tremendous gain in pork, total meat production fulfilled only 60 per cent of plan. The same ratio of 60 per cent holds for wool and cotton.[9] The situation regarding wool is particularly bad; the wool yield per sheep has fallen off even more sharply than the milk yield per cow. In the period 1940-1952 the annual wool yield per sheep fell from 2.4 to 1.9 kilograms, or 4.2 pounds, an over-all drop of 21 per cent.[10]

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On the one hand, the Kazakhs do not cooperate in the Soviet pattern of production; on the other, the Soviet emphases are such as to exclude the Kazakhs. For example, the stress on such alien foods as pork, potatoes, and garden vegetables, in the development of the urban pattern, means that as the Kazakh moves to the city he must give up many or all of his old food habits. And yet only in the city can one find higher learning.

[4] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.
[6] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[7] *Ibid.*, 4 Oct 52.
[8] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
[9] *Ibid.*, 14 Nov 53.
[10] *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 53.

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is [184] especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds himself and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten [434] rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/131/ The value of domestic animals according to customary law

Names of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Karamulla, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd		Other reports	According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Doulatkulov, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	Notes
/132-133/ Camel, tyuya	1	hota		~10 rubles	1 baytal	10 rubles		1 tay	
	2	taylak		15-20 rubles	1 bisti at, with a small amount of money added	15 rubles		1 yilky	
	3	kunanatan	konadzhin	25 rubles	1 bisti, 1 tay	20 rubles	Biî Sultan reports 40 rubles for Chimkent uyezd; Torgai reports that it was formerly 40 rubles. The books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd have 40 rubles.	2 yilky	The time of mounting and castration is the 4th year, when they go up to 432 lbs. A mounting Bactrian camel is called bura, a dromedary - ulak.
	4	dunanatan	dunadzhin	30-35 rubles	1 bisti, 1 kunan	25 rubles		3 yilky	A four year old male is equivalent to a three year old female. (Auliye-Ata uyezd).
	5	bisti atan	bisti ingen	30-35 rubles	2 bisti	30 rubles		3 yilky 25-30 rubles, depending on the bazaar. Earlier it was more expensive.	A five year old male is equivalent to a four year old female. The value of a camel begins to decrease at the age of 13-14 years.
Saddle horse, at Herd horse, dzhylky	1	kulun, ak	zimye dzhabagy	4 rubles	1 koy, 1 serkesh	4 rubles		1 koy	
/134-135/	2	tay		8-10 rubles	2 koy, 1 kozy, or 2 koy, 1 serkash	8 rubles		2 koy	
	3	kunan	kunadzhin baytal	16-18 rubles	3 koy	10 rubles		7 rubles	The time of mounting and castration is the 3rd year. The mounting male is aygir.
	4	dunan	dunadzhin-baytal	16-18 rubles	4 koy	13 rubles	Stallions and mares 20 rubles, according to the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd	8 rubles	The Kirgiz in place of kunan and dunan also say bishti, and in place of bisti-azi, they say ati. A six year old animal is called yakasti, a seven year old is called ushasi, etc.
	5	bisti at	bisti baytal	20 rubles	5 koy	15 rubles		9 rubles (now 12 rubles)	The price of a horse decreases from the age of 10-11 years.

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Names of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Karamula, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd	Other reports	According to the Kirgiz Kurpezal Doulatkulov, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	Notes
cow, bull silz, ukuz	1	buzau, among the Kirgiz: muzak		3 rubles	1 buydak 2 rubles		2 rubles	
	2	tana, among the Kirgiz: tay turpak		5 rubles	1 koy, 1 serkesh 4 rubles		3 rubles	The time of mounting is in the second and third year. A mounting male is buka.
	3	kunanukuz or nanpak	kunanilir	8 rubles	2 koy, 1 serkesh 8 rubles		4 rubles	
	4	dunanukuz	dunanilir	12 rubles	4 koy 10 rubles		5 rubles	
	5	bisti ukuz (azi)	bistilir	20 rubles	5 koy 15 rubles	20 rubles, according to the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd.	7 rubles (now 9 rubles)	The price decreases from the age of 8-9 years.
Sheep, koy	up to 3 months	kozy		1 ruble	1 1/2 rubles		1 ruble. If 1 ruble is borrowed during the summer, 1 kozy is given back in the autumn.	The time of mounting is 1 1/2 years. A male is koshkar.

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Name of livestock	Age	Names: Males	Names: Females	Value in money or in terms of other livestock: According to Karamulla, Perovsk uyezd	According to Umurbek Auliye-Ata uyezd	Other reports	Notes
sheep, koy	From the 4th month, when shearing begins	tokty		2 rubles	2 ulak		
	From 8 months	buydak		2 1/2 - 3 rubles	2 1/2 - 3 rubles		
	2 years	isek	tusak	3 rubles	tusaks 1 buydak, 1 isek.		
	3	kunankoy	kunan saulyk	3 1/4 - 4 rubles 3 rubles	3 kozy	4 rubles	
	4	dunan koy	dunan saulyk	4 - 4 1/2 rubles 3 1/2 - 4 rubles	3 kozy	5 rubles	
	5	bisti koy	bisti saulyk	4 rubles 3 1/2 - 4 rubles	3-4 kozy	6 rubles	After 5 years the price decreases.
Goat, eshke,	1	ulak		60 kopeks	-	40 kopeks	1 ruble.
	2	shebish	tushe	1 ruble, 50 kopeks	-	1 ruble, 40 kopeks	
	3	kunan serke	kunanichke	2 rubles	-	2 rubles	
	4	dunan serke	dunanichke	2 1/2 - 3 rubles	-	3 rubles	
	5	bisti serke	bisti ichke	2 rubles	-	4 rubles	
Donkey, isek istek	1	gure		2rubles			The time of mounting is in the third year. The male is angi, the female is mashi. After the age of 10, the price begins to decrease.
	2	taylak		4 rubles			
	3	Kunanisek		5 rubles			
	4	dunanisek		6-7 rubles			

Footnote: The bils exact the payment of the prices indicated when the actual bazaar price of a missing horse is unknown, or when the obligations are stated in livestock, not in money. Variations are permitted from these average prices. A pregnant animal is considered more expensive.

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[286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the
[283] yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are
[289] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the
[531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and
[286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting.
[531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden
[412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by
[287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually
[462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary
[435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

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"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

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The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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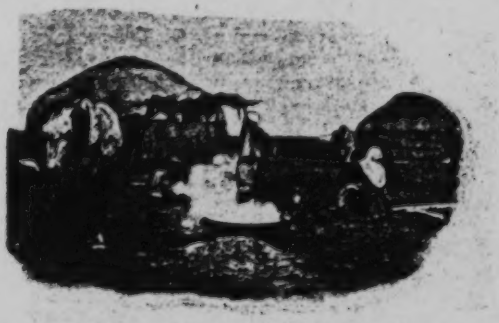

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and 403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[435] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

under the threat of cutting off a piece of the new acquisition, for example, the toe from a boot. In the second case he himself asks a gift from the person who greets him. If the new thing is a coat, the women (without the greeting) ask for a gift for sewing on the fastenings, "tonbau", even though they do not sew them on, or itekkesti, "for cutting off the hem". threatening to cut off the hem. 431

If the wife of a friend gives birth, it is necessary to send cooked mutton by a third person, with a piece of material for a shirt for the baby. The husband of the woman who has just had a baby asks: "Why have you come?" (nege kel'ding). The person sent replies: "I have come with /126/ a greeting" (kuttuktab kel'dim). The former answers: "Choose what you wish" (kalagandyngdy ayt). The envoy chooses an animal or a hunting bird, saying: "I came to ask this" (sony tilete kel'dym), and then he receives it.

When it is planned to arrange a betrothal to a beautiful girl, and she lets it be understood that many already have her in view, and therefore it is necessary to leave some sort of substantial proof of one's words (byr nishane kylsang iken, byr bil'gi kureyetib koysang iken), one animal is presented, with a promise to come for a betrothal. This gift is called kargybau or batayak.

On moving into a new dwelling or halting place, the neighbors give the greeting: 'konys kutty bulsyn", or: "konys dzhayly bulsyn." The gift to the guests on moving into a new dwelling is called erulik.

If someone enters accidentally into a place where women are engaged in weaving or in making felt, the women hand him a piece of wool, the acceptance of which obligates him to give a gift, like a muskmelon, etc. This custom is called "yung salu." Women working on tobacco plantations give tobacco instead of wool, called "temeke salu."

People who meet a hunter ask him to apportion parts of his game, under the name of "chyralga."

* * * * *

The time and place for trade is not limited by any rules. On the steppe, Sarts, Kazakhs and Tatars exchange manufactured goods, dried fruit, medicines and other objects for wool, fleeces and other products of herding. 437

Among themselves the nomads buy and sell on credit /v dolg/, with various terms of payment. Witnesses of a bargain are not obligatory, but when the seller and buyer do not know each other there are usually guarantees.

000 usually guarantees.

It is possible to sell property in the absence of the owner only
437 under the following circumstances: in case of close kinship, of trust,
432 and by order of the authorities. (1)

1. In the latter case they choose only that animal which in not working, not in a caravan, in general the least necessary one.

/127/ An object purchased from minors is returned without fine on the demand of the father.

[685] A person who knowingly buys something stolen is considered a thief.

The buying of livestock or objects which are not in sight is
437 avoided. But if they do buy sight unseen, a horse is understood to be a five year old stallion or a three year old mare, and a camel a five year old male or a three year old female (Perovsk uyezd).

A deposit is unknown to the Kazakhs.

At the bazaars there is always a special middle man (del'dei') for each type of livestock, a Kazakh or a Sart, who tries everything to bring the two sides to an agreement, putting the hand of the seller into the hand of the buyer by force.

In addition to shaking hands, the act of sale is validated by the seller by the words: Use it with good fortune, etc. (bereke tap, khayrin kur, iygliginga tutun, etc.), and by the buyer with the words: "May one be returned to you a thousandfold; May you too benefit" (biring myng bulsun, sen de bereke tap).

437 Both sides can still back out until the money has been paid.
After the payment they cannot. However the seller can take back
432 the object sold, with the consent of the buyer, for a certain sum to pay it off (pshayman, pshaymana). The buyer too can request, but not demand, of the seller the breaking off of the sale if the animal is in the same condition as it was at the time of purchase.

If in about a week's time faults are shown in the animal which were not mentioned during the sale, but outside people knew of their existence, the buyer can refuse the animal or demand the return of the money paid. In anticipation of this, it has become customary for the middle man to say to the buyer during the sale: "Look yourself, to see if the animal is absolutely healthy. Once you have bought it, it will be yours, even if it dies today." (Collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, according to the communication of

bii Umurbek, the sale of an animal /128/ is broken off (saudasy kay-tady) without a fine, when the owner does not mention its faults which are known to him, but not later than 2-3 days, depending on the type of livestock, since a deadly disease in an animal is recognised in a short time. (1) If a sold animal dies, the buyer does not receive his

1. For example, yamandatpa or yamaldatpa in horses is recognized in a day.

money back, because he could have filed a complaint before its death. In a sale a period of time is often designated within which it is still possible to return an animal for the sum which was paid for it.

According to a communication from Torgai, an agreement concerning the faults of an animal is usually one of three kinds:

1) During the purchase it is asked whether the animal has anything wrong with it. When the answer is negative the buyer suggests the designation of a period of 3-4 days, within which he can return the animal if faults appear in it.

2) The seller, who is hiding the faults of the animal which he is selling cheap, says: "Look yourself. Take it or leave it, as you like. If you cross this mark (drawn on the ground by him as he says the words) the animal is yours."

3) The seller declares: "If it has a lawful defect (aybi shar"y) (2)

2. For example, glanders or farcy (manka), or lameness.

I will take it back. But if it is sick it will stay with you." If later one of the aybi shar"y is discovered, it is declared the next day. If the seller says to this: "This defect was not there yesterday, but you saw it yesterday", then an oath is designated, namely, they give one of them (preferably the buyer) a choice between receiving an oath from the seller that the defect was not there yesterday, and giving his own oath that it was there. If both sides are unwilling to swear, the animal is returned to the seller with a buying off payment from the purchaser, or else the animal remains sold and the buying off money is paid by the seller. If the seller has gone away and only the warrantor, i.e., the middle man is at hand, who has received the middle man's /129/ money (shirinkame), or another warrantor, then he is made responsible. But the warrantor refuses to pay the pshaymana. He would say that he only guaranteed that the animal was not stolen, but did

431 not guarantee its quality. The bii requires the warrantor to find the seller, but does not sentence him to pay the pshaymana. If the seller
432 is not found the case remains without further result.

Formerly it was possible to renounce a purchase or sale which was already completed, on the ground that it was bought for too much, or sold too cheaply. There is even a proverb: "The sale of a horse can be broken off for a month, and the sale of a camel, in the course of a year" (at saudasy ayinda kaytady, tyuya saudasy yilinda kaytady). This is never done now. If the buyer or seller claims he was deceived in the sale of an animal or other object, saying that they convinced him falsely of the expensiveness of the object, its newness, of the general pennilessness of the bazaar, etc. the sale is not broken off, because they do not believe the claimant, and feel that he is simply renouncing the sale (aynydy).

Among the Kirgiz, an agreement is made on the period of time within which an animal can be returned, in case defects are discovered in it. If such an agreement was not made, it is not customary to return the animal. A declaration saying the animal was too dear, although without defects, is also not accepted among the Kirgiz.

* * * *

426 When borrowing on credit (karz beresek) the presence of witnesses and guarantors is obligatory. In general, they try to have witnesses.

If the defendant denies the existence of a debt, then an oath is required on general grounds, as in cases of crime. But a debt (1)

1. The requirement of percentages (usum, payda, idzhara) is not obligatory. Credit is given with interest and without it. According to the communication of Abulfaiza of the Chimkent uyezd, honorable /130/ Kazakhs take 20% a year, called deduazde, i. e., 12 for 10. Bad persons take 20 kopeks a month for one tillia /worth 3-4 rubles/. According to a report from the Perovsk uyezd, Kazakhs take 20 kopeks a month for a ruble, or else nothing. Among the Kirgiz, 20 kopeks a month interest (tuam) is paid for 4 rubles.

is exacted without a fine. The biilyk and the court costs are required from the debtor.

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The meaning of kuriyen is a ring. In ancient times when some tribe halted in a particular place in the form of a ring and the oldest of them camped exactly in the middle of the circle, it was called a kuriyen. At the present time when a hostile force draws near they form themselves into such a figure so that no stranger or enemy may penetrate into the center. 221 621

The unwieldy kuriyen, however, tended to break up into smaller groups called ayil consisting of a number of individual kibitkas. The kuriyen provided excellent facilities for defense but was not adapted to the grazing of large herds. This inconvenience was especially felt by the wealthy individuals in the kuriyen who possessed great numbers of horses. Those who were sufficiently powerful through having numerous relatives and supporters to protect their animals therefore separated from the kuriyen and traveled in the smaller ayil group. Valdimirtsov[19] believes that by the thirteenth century the kuriyen manner of nomad economy had been supplanted by the ayil. Thirteenth century travelers do not mention it and Rashid, as quoted above, speaks of it as practised in "ancient times" and in his own day only as a military measure.

The products of pastoral economy were supplemented to a considerable extent by hunting and fishing. Especially important were large collective hunts, highly organized, with numerous beaters.[20] Rubruck says[21] " . . . they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking." At a later period collective hunting was organized on a very great scale.[22] [224]

Manufactures were few but each group had a few specialists, blacksmiths, and carpenters.[23] Trade with the sedentary regions was small but even at a very early time there were foreign merchants among the Mongols, usually Uighurs and Moslems from Central Asia who controlled even the trade between Mongolia and China.[24] [439]

THE GENS

The basic element of Mongol society of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries was the gens, oboğ.[25] All the members of the gens traced their descent from one common ancestor, ebügе.[26] Pozdneev speculates on the probable early form of the gens thus:[27] 614 592

The original character of the Mongol clan community was doubtless that of a family which consisted of individuals descending from one another and being in the third or fourth degree of blood relationship, from grandfather down to great-grandchildren inclusively. The head, who was the oldest member of the family, enjoyed general respect, disposed of every single member of his

[19] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 45–46.
[20] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 404–406.
[21] *The Texts and Versions*, 194.
[22] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1:396–97.
[23] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 43–44.
[24] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394.
[25] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 46.
[26] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 148.
[27] Quoted from a manuscript copy of the unpublished third volume of Pozdneev's *Mongolia i Mongoly*, by Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 290.

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642 on his own initiative punish one of his relatives,[157] yet it is stated in the Great Yassa[158]
423 that: "He ordains that even the senior of the emirs, if he has committed some offense shall
565 give himself up to the messenger sent by the sovereign to punish him. . . ." Riazanovskii however is quoting the fragment of the Yassa from Maqrizi's version[159] which may have been altered somewhat to accord with the latter's idea of the proper attributes of a sovereign.

In any case such centralization of authority did not continue for long. The number of fiefs was constantly increased by the practice of dividing up the ulus of a particular vassal among his descendants, so that the number of princes, vassals and sub-vassals was soon very large.[160] The constant tendency toward branching and subdivision became evident in the ruling gens itself which split up after the death of Chingis into rival and hostile families.[161]

In the process of feudalization it is not clear what was the fate of the minor aristocrats, the leaders and chiefs of groups other than that of the dominant khan. Koz'min[162] states that the aristocracy of the Mongol empire consisted of the aristocrats of all the peoples and tribes of which it was composed. Some families were no doubt annihilated in the wars leading to unification. It seems probable, however,[163] that most of them allied themselves with the rising power and retained immediate control of their people as sub-vassals dependent on the princes of the major fiefs.

[439] The unification of Central Asia under the feudal empire made safe the trade routes and greatly stimulated commerce between the nomads and the settled regions. A variety of products which formerly had been unknown to the Mongols now became available to them.[164] The increase of trade and the appearance of foreign goods did not however greatly
[231] alter the pastoral economy. Cattle breeding continued to be the chief occupation of the people but there is evidence that under the feudal régime the use and occupation of pasture land became strictly regulated. The fiefs had definite boundaries and within them the grazing lands of each group were strictly allotted. Carpini observes:[165]

> Moreover the emperor of the Tartars hath a wonderful dominion over all his subjects. For no man dare abide in any place unless he hath assigned him to be there. Also he appointeth to his dukes where they shall inhabit. Likewise the dukes assign places unto every millenarie or conductor of a

[157] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 100.

[158] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59.

[159] See Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2: 160–64.

[160] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 60–63; Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroistva*, 426; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 7.

[161] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[162] *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Fendalisme*, 60.

[163] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 103–04.

[164] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394; Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 44, 129–30; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 63–64; *The Texts and Versions*, 194.

[165] *The Texts and Versions*, 120.

[139 cont.]
175 101 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are [721] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

175 648 439 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[643
439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
● 439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[156 cont.]
x648 a power over the Great Horde which he did not possess, to make
[662] himself important in the eyes of the Russian court and thus to acquire influence over the entire Kazak nation.

Empress Anna's letter patent of July 10, 1734 proves Abulkhair's deceit. First of all, this letter is presented in the name of various beys and elders and not in the name of Djulbars, who was then commander of the entire Great Horde, as is known from several documents and Rychkov's History of Orenburg. Furthermore, in the letter patent it says: "Our subject Abulkhair Khan has reported to us as a faithful subject that he has already accepted you among the ranks of our subjects, and for this purpose he has sent your deputies Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr to our court." These words are founded upon Abulkhair's writings and the oral declarations made by his son, but neither the one nor the other promoted anything but falsehoods. On the one hand, it is recognized that Abulkhair, who lived a long distance from the Great Horde, could never have any influence upon it. On
[636] the other hand, we see that this horde never took an oath of loyalty to Russia and was not counted among her subjects. In the third place, it must be noted that the head of the Orenburg expedition, Kirilov, who received this letter patent at the moment of his departure from Petersburg, did not even send it to its destination. It is probable that he felt this move to be
[57] indecorous when he arrived at the border and was able to appreciate the truth of the circumstances mentioned in this document.

x648 The second proposal to admit the Kazaks of the Great
439 Horde as Russian subjects is much more probable than the first, though little more sincere. This was made in 1738, not by a man claiming to be chief of the Great Horde but by Djulbars, the true and legitimate chief of this horde. Having learned of the founding of a Russian city at the mouth of the Ori River and the opening of trade with the Kazaks of the Middle and the Little Hordes, he sent to ask for the same benefits, and to help [157] attain his end, he proposed making not only his own people Russian subjects, but also the neighboring nations, if it was

×648 [157 cont.]
439 desired to protect and facilitate their trade at Orenburg. The conditions suggested by Djulbars show that he was thinking less about submission than of profiting from the advantages of trade relations, and experience justified this assumption. Djulbars did not swear his loyalty and never even came to the border. The letter patent prepared in Petersburg on July 17, 1739 as a result of his promises still rests today in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

×648 Later the Russian government received several more proposals related to the submission of the Great Horde, but these were made by sultans or individual tribal chiefs whose authority did not extend over the entire horde and who desired the gifts which the Russian sovereigns made to their new subjects more than the protection of the empire.

Besides, if the Great Horde had decided to submit with the Little Horde in 1730, or with its Khan Djulbars in 1738, it would have found great obstacles to the fulfillment of its desire. The contiguity of the Dzungars and the distance of the Great Horde from the Russian frontier would have stopped it. Galdan Tsyren or Cheren, Kungtaidji of the Dzungars, would never have allowed his Kazak neighbors to take such a step, for he sustained a hereditary hatred against them and never allowed an opportunity to escape for oppressing them or avenging the wrongs done to
[721] his forefathers. The union of the Middle and the Little Hordes with Russia persuaded him to reduce the Great Horde to a position where it could not follow the example of the others; he attacked it, defeated it, and subjugated it.

×648 This conquest, however, like all victories won over nomadic
181 peoples, could not be a permanent one. Even though the Russian employees who were then (1) in the [158] Kazak steppes said

1. See Lt. Gladyshev's journal preserved in Orenburg at the Border Commission.

that Galdan's new subjects gave him a korsak /steppe fox/ pelt apiece as a sign of their submission, nevertheless misfortune could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

[158 cont.]
x648 could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

When they realized that it was impossible for them to keep their old regions on Lake Balkash, they drew back to the Tsuya
[726] and Sara-Su [Sary-Su?] rivers. Later when they united their forces, they attacked Tashkent and Turkestan and laid them waste, as well as many other cities and villages belonging to those two states, and they acquired so much power over the residents of Tashkent that they forced them to choose their khans from the horde.

Shubai, Arslanov, and Mansur, residents of the former province of Vyatka, came from Tashkent to Orenburg in 1742 (1)

1. See the file for 1742 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and told how the khan named above ruled in Tashkent until 1739, and that a powerful old Kazak named Tiul Biu shared his authority,
[651] and every year they levied a tribute on the city. Later Djulbars was killed, but Tiul Biu continued to rule after him for a time and to levy tribute. A certain Kussiak Bek, a tributary subject of Galdan Tsyren, and perhaps his lieutenant, put an end to the power of Tiul Biu.

He was the ruler of Tashkent while Shubai and Mansur were there, but the Dzungarian sovereign received the tribute he took from the people. According to our travelers, under Kussiak Bek the Kazaks had no more influence over Tashkent, but they re-
[726] strained the environs of this city to such a degree that it was as though under a state of permanent siege. They cultivated land under its walls, seized the neighboring forests, and at the slightest dissatisfaction they seized the residents of the city and the merchants who came to trade with them.

x648 Turkestan too was for a certain time in a [159] similar
721 position, although the Kazaks did not hinder the Dzungars from
● [439] trading there. As for the small towns between Tashkent and Turkestan, the Kazaks who conquered them during this period kept them until the beginning of the present [19th] century.

[176 cont.]

[148] spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[311] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [342] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[439] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[177 cont.]
with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[182 cont.]

[648] This attempt was fruitless, however. Although some detachments did suffer from their attacks, Kirilov himself reached his goal, and on August 15, 1735, he laid the foundations of the new city on what is now the site of the fortress of Orsk.

As soon as the fortifications began to rise, and troops and artillery had been introduced, Sultan Niaz, kinsman of Abulkhair Khan, was sent to the horde with several elders to announce to the Khan that his request had been fulfilled, in other words, that Orenburg had been built on the site which he had chosen, and also to invite him to present himself with all the chiefs of the hordes in the spring of 1736 in the new city to confer with Kirilov. At this same time the merchants of Tashkent who had come into [439] Russia with goods were sent back. In order to induce them to come and trade in the new city, various assistance was given them and many gifts, and they were informed of the privileges accorded to Orenburg.

[669] Moreover the revolt of the Bashkirs far from being put down grew more and more violent, and constant attacks were made on the supplies of our armies. Count Rumiantsev, commander in chief of the armies and father of the famous Zadunaiskii (1),

1. This means "beyond the Danube" and was a nickname given the famous Rumiantsev after his Turkish campaign. Note of [French] translator.

was appointed to force them to submission. Meanwhile Kirilov, who was constantly occupied with him about Bashkir matters, had no time to make closer contacts with the Kazaks.

[183] These facts indicated to him that another fortified line from this river to Samara, independent of the line of fortresses on the Yaik, was indispensable in order to guarantee the safety of Russia's relations with her Yaik colonies. As soon as he saw a chance, Kirilov endeavored to establish both the one and the other. From his reports to the imperial cabinet (1)

1. See the report of October 27, 1736.

[184 cont.]

×648 its aim, for Kirilov, who had spent the winter of 1736 to 1737 drawing up plans, which he had firmly resolved to carry out in the spring, for the regulation of Kazak matters, died in the month of April of the same year.

It is especially unfortunate that he did not have time to carry out two acts: first, to meet with the Khan and tribal chiefs who were soon to arrive in Orenburg at his invitation, and second, to send to Tashkent a caravan which had been lead by Tashkent ●[439] merchants who had come to Kazan by way of Orenburg in 1736. Elton, a naval officer in the British service, was to accompany this caravan as a merchant (1), in order to gather information on

1. This same Elton later went into the service of Shah Nadir and was the cause of diplomatic explanations between the Russian and English ministers.

the principality of Tashkent, and especially to explore the Aral Sea, on which it was being proposed to establish a flotilla, as was said earlier. Elton's order had already been written, as was found among Kirilov's papers after his death; but it remained without consequence, as did the plan to erect a city at the mouth of the Syr /Darya/, on the Aral Sea, which it was planned at first to populate with criminals who had been condemned to exile (2).

2. There was an ukase on this subject of February 11, 1736.

The importance of the matters entrusted to Kirilov and their anticipated results required that a man be chosen to replace him who was both intelligent and energetic, and this was the case. Tatishchev, famous for his history of Russia, was appointed as chief of the Kirghiz [-Kazak] expedition, or, as they said then, the Orenburg expedition. This appointment was made known at once to the Kazak Middle and Little Hordes by two letters patent in the name of the Empress. One was immediately delivered to Abulkhair, but the other, addressed to the deceased Khan [185] Shemiaka,

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [654] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev 439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned 579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[192 cont.]
648 641 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should [439 728] escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to [721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] [662 and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. 152] But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[202 cont.]

×648 [726] their attacks on the borders while he, fearing to come near the Ural River, found a way in the heart of his deserts to avenge himself upon the Russians who had retained his son. First he robbed a caravan going from Astrakhan to Khiva, which had the misfortune to pass through his lands. Later he stopped the journey of Lieutenant Gladyshev, who was going from Orenburg to the Karakalpaks. Nor was he satisfied with robbing the Karakalpak envoys who had come from St. Petersburg and were accompanying Gladyshev, but he even seized the imperial letter which was entrusted to them (1).

[739]

1. It is worthy of note that in his journal Gladyshev speaks of having found an English merchant named Djake [Jack?] with the Little Horde in 1742, and that he bought various articles from him in order to present them to the Karakalpaks as gifts.

×648 721 This conduct strengthened the Russian government in their intent to punish the Kazaks through the Volga Kalmuks, inasmuch as the quarrels of these two peoples and their raids upon each other had become more intense at this time. Consequently, on April 24, 1744, Dunduk Dash, deputy of the Kalmuk khanate was presented with a letter patent commanding him to collect as many armed Kalmuks as possible, who would receive powder and shot at Astrakhan, would march against the Kazaks, and would act under the orders of the governor of Orenburg, Nepluev. By way of recompense, the Kalmuks were promised all the plunder they could take from the Kazaks, except for elders and their children. This letter, out of precaution as much as through confidence in [203] Nepluev, was sent to him directly instead of to the horde, so that he could use it if it were indispensable. It is not known what he thought of such a decisive measure, but this letter remained at Orenburg, and the original is still preserved in the archives of the Border Commission.

[214 cont.]

x648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
[664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
x643 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had
662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
● [439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

x648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
[765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

[218 cont.]
The news of her death arrived in Orenburg before Tevkelev had been able to have a conference with Nurali (2), and prevented

[4-39]

2. While waiting for Tevkelev, Nepleuv had delegated an officer interpreter to Nurali and his mother to advise them and to acquire information about the Dzungarian ambassadors. This interpreter was ordered to present to the Khan, as a rare thing, 10 chetverts of flour and as much [219] groats. The principal aim of this gift was to induce the Kazaks to take wheat from the Russians in exchange for their merchandise.

the latter from being told of the orders given to begin [219] his father's tomb immediately and the intention to receive Chingis as hostage. These measures had become unnecessary in a time of calm.

[661] Being in ignorance of the indulgent disposition of the government and in order to conform to previous demands, Nurali in 1749 presented his legitimate brother Adil as hostage to replace Sultan Aichuvak, and in 1750 he exchanged this brother for his own son Pirali, who was only five years old.

[662] At this time Sultan Batyr, the father of Kaip, then khan of Khiva, and the son of the Kaip who had been the sultan of the Kazaks, opened relations with the authorities in Orenburg. As was already said above, his father Kaip had written in 1718 to Peter the Great. Batyr had inherited his father's hatred for Abulkhair and had never recognized his authority, and for this reason had had no relations with Russia for a long time. But when a part of the Little Horde proclaimed him khan, the equal of Nurali, and when his son had become the sovereign of Khiva, he had still less respect for Abulkhair's son and hoped that Russia would have the same consideration for him as for his rival.

However, at the beginning of his relations with Orenburg, he had not decided to request that he be recognized as khan. In

[219 cont.] In
1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power, expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[222 cont.]
x648 acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[643] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Abla
[662] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu
[166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the
Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

X 648 [226 cont.]
[661] he did not release it until nearly a year had passed. When this caravan returned to Orenburg in 1754, an envoy of Kaip himself
[662] accompanied it as well as a Russian officer who had been in Khiva. The latter declared that he had met Sultan Erali on his way and that this prince had begged him to report to Nepluev that he and his brothers were ready to attack Khiva to avenge the insults of Sultan Batyr and his son, and that he planned to join the discontented subjects of Kaip, to put him to death, to seize his place, and to release the Russian prisoners who were then in Khiva. He asked only that in case he were unsuccessful Russia would promise to ransom him if he himself were taken.

To everyone's great astonishment the envoy from Khiva, instead of carrying out his master's orders, complained to the Russian government of the avidity and injustices of the Khan. He described the evils he made the people suffer, and in the name of all the Uzbeks, the people [race] to whom he belonged, he demanded help in order to dethrone the Khan.

Although this demand provided Russia with an opportunity to punish the Khivans for their perfidy and their prince for his insolence the year before in detaining a caravan from Orenburg, nevertheless the government then thought the conquest of Khiva more difficult than it was useful. Moreover Erali's pledge provided hope for acquiring some influence over this land without bloodshed. Consequently the government refused to acquiesce to the proposal of the Khivan envoy, who [227] had solicited help in overthrowing Kaip, but did not forbid him to ask help from the Kazak princes (1). Khan Nurali and Sultan Erali were

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 2, 1755.

permitted to march against Khiva and to seize it if luck was on their side. Also it was decided to grant Erali his ransom if he happened to be captured on this expedition.

[721 739] Russia would certainly have gained an enormous advantage commercially if Abulkhair's sons had carried out their plan and

[227 cont.]
had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali. The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

Prince Maksiutov, the captain sent at that time from Orenburg to the Little Horde, wrote in his reports that Nurali Khan and his brothers were preparing to march against Khiva and convoked an assembly of the people who approved of the plan. But when a khoja, who as a kind of saint had been asked for a blessing for the success of the expedition, forbade them to make war against the Khivans, they obeyed him. The Middle Horde then suffered from the last exertions of the Dzungars. In 1754 they found themselves so harassed by the latter that a large number of Kazaks of this horde asked the government to allow them to pass their women and children over the Russian lines if they could not be allowed this permission themselves. Some of them went so far as to ask that they be granted lands on the border, where they promised to engage in agriculture and to build villages.

Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 317, 1755.

after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

[240 cont.]

×648 not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very ●[439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[662 643] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. [727] Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

[246 cont.]

[648] [72] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167] [439] [579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[430] [579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[247 cont.]

[648] The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439] almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and [579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342] [177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [66] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[259 cont.]
×648 of the punishment inflicted upon it by the Russian troops the year
[727] before. The Middle Horde had been causing suspicion for some time because the rumor had spread that Ablai, profiting from the recent troubles of the Bashkirs, had sent several messengers to them to induce them to move under his domination. But investigations proved that these rumors were false.

During the months of June and October of this same year, several elders and sultans who were independent of Ablai sent deputies to the commander of the Siberian line to propose that
[661] they be recognized as Russian subjects. Among these was the son of Khan Abul Mahmet, Abulfeis, who had asked that he be assigned an annual stipend. Ablai's son and nephew asked for the same thing.

Empress Catherine received the report and replied in a rescript of May 25, 1776 in the name of the governor of Orenburg, as the principal administrator of Kazak matters, that the individual proposals made by the Kazaks of the Middle Horde to be received as subjects were founded on nothing more than the desire to obtain gifts. It was added that they were completely useless, for the entire horde had been recognized as subjects of the empire since the reign of Empress Anna, and that if such demands were satisfied this would only produce new demands. Furtheremore it was said that the fixing of annual stipends would become an obligation for the government and would accustom the Kazaks to regard as a duty that which was only the effect of the government's indulgence, and consequently it would be much better to conciliate them with gifts which were not fixed. These concepts showed a profound knowledge of the character of the Kazaks; they were the fruit of 46 years experience, from 1730 to 1776.

×648 Irnazar Maksiutov, the Bukharan ambassador, who came to
439 [260] Russia in 1775, revived the idea of building a Russian city in the Kazak steppe at the mouth of the Emba in the conferences he had on the means of removing the trade of caravans between Russia and Bukhara from all danger. The Russian government showed itself ready to carry out the plan (1), but it remained without

1. As a result of the ukase given on this

[260 cont.]

x648 [439]

subject on December 17, 1775, the geodetic specialist Vasiliev drew a map of the environs of the Emba and the rivers which flowed into it.

execution, as had all the others which had been made previously. [721] It can be seen in the reports from the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorf, to the Empress in the months of March and April, 1776 that the Little Horde had once more begun acts of hostility against Russia, and although after the Russian troops entered the steppes in 1774, the border authorities had been forbidden to send troops beyond the Ural, yet Khan Nurali himself had asked for armed assistance to bring his restless subjects to their senses. [662] Sultan Ablai, on the contrary, was then becoming more powerful, older, and wilier from day to day. Having had more experience than any of the contemporary Kazak princes and being known for his intelligence, dreaded by his subjects, and distinguished for his ties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of China (2) /sic/,

2. The best known among them was Sultan Dair, son of Barak, who complained to the governor of Orenburg that Ablai had unjustly usurped the title of khan.

he had every possible right to the post of chief of the Middle Horde. Sure of his ability, he knew how to attract followers by his importance and his prudent behavior. He threatened his enemies with his power and acknowledged himself now a subject of Russia and now that of China (3), depending on the occasion,

3. Some Kazaks who came within our borders stated that Ablai spoke Chinese.

being in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can notice this especially after the year 1771, when he made less [643] effort to conserve appearances of an external submission to Russia, and having become less hypocritical, he openly took the title of khan.

[267 cont.]
x648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

x648 ●439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

x648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
● [439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[274 cont.]
course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[295 cont.]

×648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 721] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
[311 establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
●439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

S /190 cont./
291 Altai Kazak /Cossack/ women often wear a man's costume in the summer because it is more convenient to work in (to ride horseback) in the mountains.

S The food and drink of the Kazak /Cossack/ are simple.
262 His dinner consists of one dish -- meat soup (usually mutton)
272 and milk. Those living along the Irtysh eat a great deal of fish
273 (in various forms). Groats /kasha/ are rare, while potatoes and vegetables are quite common. Brick tea plays an important role in the diet of the Kazak /Cossack/, and no family celebration passes without it or without vodka. They drink their tea strong, taking a bite of sugar with it. Their bread is mostly of wheat (rye bread is very rare). Vodka is widely used. In the Altai they make an intoxicating beer of honey, which takes the place of wine.

S We have already spoken of the occupations of the Kazak
241 /Cossack/. Service duties do not leave much time for the
461 development of the productive forces of the Kazak /Cossack/
464 population. Since agriculture demands a great expenditure of
438 labor, it does not enjoy his favor, and if it is carried on, it is
439 almost always with hired workers -- Kirghiz /Kazak/. Trade
K- in livestock and goods, or even in bread which has been bought,
[464] is preferred as an easier and more profitable occupation, thanks
[439] to such undemanding and compliant buyers as the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The Kazak /Cossacks/ of the Kokchetav uyezd (former peasants) are considered the best grain farmers.

S There are many livestock raisers along the Irtysh and in
233 the steppe uyezds (Akmolinsk and Atbasar), where the natural
S conditions are also propitious. Some of them have tens and
[471] even hundreds of thousands in capital from this occupation. The
S Irtysh (and a few of the Kokchetav) Kazak /Cossacks/ engage
226 in fishing, but they do this in a quite primitive fashion and it does not constitute a substantive business, but only an auxiliary one. Fishing with nets, as an industry, exists only on Lake
S Zaisan, where small fishing families are gathering. Beekeeping
231 is carried on by the Kazak /Cossacks/ in the Altai, but it is poorly set up and does not yield such good results as among the peasants living next to them.

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"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[758]

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian population of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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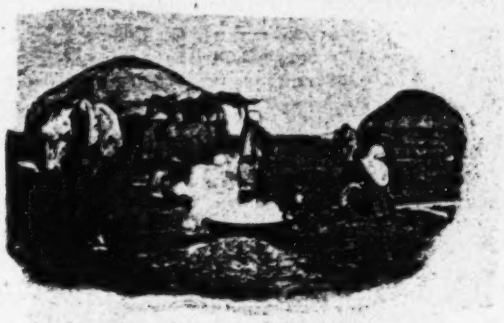

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
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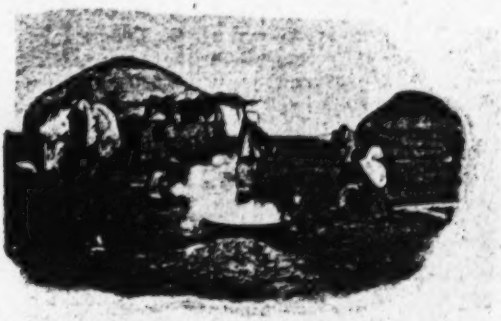

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them- [147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/206 cont./

342 grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with
[286] colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the
[283] yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy"direction (Mecca and Medina are
[280] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the
[531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and
[286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting.
[531] All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden
[412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by
[287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually
[462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary
[435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

/213 cont./

28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is 286 made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, 283 hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 286 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 462 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes mentioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers engage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the 326 harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/ Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.
[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [033] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [564] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 535 [191]

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it should be noted that according to a custom adopted once and for all, auls are not allowed to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in the past it led to cattle rustling because the offended parties in such a case had difficulty in feeding their herds in winter and attempted to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing and loading of the tents and property falls upon the women. The head of the household only supervises the arrangements, and the other men round up the cattle, and form herds from them, each family separately. The departure is after dark, and when everything is ready, the whole caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and the other women ride after her on camels or horses, carrying the property. At this time the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes. They place their most precious and costly things (carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and in general the whole procession has a festive air. Since the cattle do not all move at the same pace, the herd soon begins to separate. As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over several versts. The head of the household is usually not with the moving aul; slow movement is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the side or hunts along the way. The march is usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and then there is a halt and rest, which in summer is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered
621 in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

/118/ CHAPTER VIII.

Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

241 465 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 465 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pasturing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyzmekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

/213 cont./

28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is 286 made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 283 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 286 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes men- 462 tioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

• 443 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers en- 326 gage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/. Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.

[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[3] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own.

Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another perspective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[5] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[6]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[6]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of

[3] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1953.
[5] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[6] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 496

long, running west of Lake Balkhash from Mointy to Chu,[3] and an east-west line, 546 kilometers (350 miles) long, connecting Akmolinsk and Pavlodar.[4] There are no railroad lines in southwestern Kazakhstan, presumably because the Caspian Sea is a more economical substitute. This solution may prove unworkable for the Soviets if the falling water level of the Caspian continues to isolate the northern and eastern ports from access to the sea.

Soviet criticism of Tsarist location theory for railroads in Central Asia applies equally to the Soviets themselves.[5] These lines are designed to integrate the sources of raw materials in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, with the manufacturing centers of Russia. They are not primarily designed to aid the local population in meeting internal problems. Moreover, the political ties closely follow the railroad network. Thus the capital of Kazakhstan was established at Kzyl-Orda in 1925 largely because it lay on the old Orenburg-Tashkent line, not because it was a great center of culture. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that the Soviet government, even in the 1920's with its modicum of laissez faire, would have supported as capital of the area a potential center of political crystallization. The capital was subsequently moved to Alma-Ata because it was the railhead of the Turksib at the time, and there the capital has remained.

KN [361]

K 463

The trend in the Soviet Union regarding the training of Kazakhs as skilled workers in railroading is parallel to that of the factory systems. The Kazakhs are not being trained in numbers proportionate to their relative strength in the republic. They are being excluded or, alternatively, they are not coming forth to be trained. Of 17 brigades honored for their contributions to the building of the Mointy-Chu line, which runs north-south to the west of Lake Balkhash and along the eastern edge of the Hungry Steppe, only five were led by Turks.[6] Yet the line runs through country which is marginally suitable for herding, and for little else; it is a region of Kazakhs. On the other hand, for the Akmolinsk-Pavlodar line in the north, which runs through country where the proportion of Kazakh population is relatively low, the recipients of honors bore Slavic (Russian and Ukrainian, one German) names typical of the local populations.[7]

K [311]

KN 433 439

By way of conclusion, the following may be said of the industry in Kazakhstan: First, the republic is an important producer of raw materials (oil, coal, lignite, copper, lead, meat, wool, cotton, wheat, and tobacco). Second, most of these raw materials flow outside Kazakhstan to industrial centers of the USSR in European Russia and the Urals. (This type of flow—raw materials to manufacturing center, finished goods from center back to source of raw materials—is precisely what Soviet propagandists have always denounced as imperialism.) Third,

[3] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.
[5] See unpublished doctoral dissertation by Holland Hunter on railroad systems of the Soviet Union (67).
[6] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[7] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.

the uneven commodity flow creates an unbalanced economy. The Kazakh republic is far from becoming economically self-sufficient. Fourth, the key to understanding the industrial picture in the KSSR is the total economic dependence of the Kazakhs on Russia for all consumer commodities. These include clothing, processed foods, furniture, and all electrical and electronic commodities, such as light bulbs and radios; motor supplies, automobiles, and the gas and lubricants necessary to run them; stoves and all other heating devices for using the coal and lignite the Kazakhs themselves produce. KN 433 439

A good example is afforded by the chemical industry. Kazakhstan has long been known for its riches in salts and other chemicals. In the 19th century, shortly after the annexation of the territory by Russia, a small-scale chemical plant was established at Chimkent. To this day, this remains the sole chemical-pharmaceutical plant in the entire republic, although it has been expanded under the Soviets.[1] The bulk of the chemicals are extracted as raw materials, shipped elsewhere for processing, and only then made available to Kazakhstan, within the framework of the general pattern for distribution of these materials. KN [381]

Finally, it is clear that this economic dependence on Russia serves to reinforce Moscow's political control over the peoples of Kazakhstan.[2] KN [648]

The problem of manpower and the training of labor is central here. The industry of Kazakhstan, aside from the prerevolutionary mining centers, was established by means of forced labor camps at Karaganda, which during the 1930's was an NKVD area, and by the transfer of workers from Leningrad in the same period; during the war, workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Donbass were brought in for work in industry and mining. The Kazakhs have not participated in this industrial development. Very few industries requiring skilled labor have been established in Kazakhstan, and those few are based on a labor force derived from Russia and the Ukraine. The Kazakhs are not being introduced to the techniques which Russians are learning to master in the process of their industrial growth. The industrial picture confirms the conclusion drawn from the examination of the social and political scenes: The native Kazakhs are being encouraged by the Soviets to enter into industry, but they are not coming forward to be trained; they are holding back from participation in Soviet life. KN 464 K [463] K [177] [668]

[1]Kunaev, 1949.
[2]Belzak (6), 1949.

S /190 cont./
291 Altai Kazak /Cossack/ women often wear a man's costume in the summer because it is more convenient to work in (to ride horseback) in the mountains.

S The food and drink of the Kazak /Cossack/ are simple.
262 His dinner consists of one dish -- meat soup (usually mutton)
272 and milk. Those living along the Irtysh eat a great deal of fish
273 (in various forms). Groats /kasha/ are rare, while potatoes and vegetables are quite common. Brick tea plays an important role in the diet of the Kazak /Cossack/, and no family celebration passes without it or without vodka. They drink their tea strong, taking a bite of sugar with it. Their bread is mostly of wheat (rye bread is very rare). Vodka is widely used. In the Altai they make an intoxicating beer of honey, which takes the place of wine.

S We have already spoken of the occupations of the Kazak
241 /Cossack/. Service duties do not leave much time for the
461 development of the productive forces of the Kazak /Cossack/
464 population. Since agriculture demands a great expenditure of
438 labor, it does not enjoy his favor, and if it is carried on, it is
439 almost always with hired workers -- Kirghiz /Kazak/. Trade
K in livestock and goods, or even in bread which has been bought,
[464] is preferred as an easier and more profitable occupation, thanks
[439] to such undemanding and compliant buyers as the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The Kazak /Cossacks/ of the Kokchetav uyezd (former peasants) are considered the best grain farmers.

S There are many livestock raisers along the Irtysh and in
233 the steppe uyezds (Akmolinsk and Atbasar), where the natural
S conditions are also propitious. Some of them have tens and
[471] even hundreds of thousands in capital from this occupation. The
S Irtysh (and a few of the Kokchetav) Kazak /Cossacks/ engage
226 in fishing, but they do this in a quite primitive fashion and it does not constitute a substantive business, but only an auxiliary one. Fishing with nets, as an industry, exists only on Lake
S Zaisan, where small fishing families are gathering. Beekeeping
231 is carried on by the Kazak /Cossacks/ in the Altai, but it is poorly set up and does not yield such good results as among the peasants living next to them.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished
464 Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

KN 233 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[1] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have K [131] the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

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K 562 Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another per- 464 spective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers KN in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of [462] Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[2] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance K and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks [463] (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[3]

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[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1952.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

233 The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively;
[465] if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sbjЬrcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЬlqЬcЬ) were from necessity obliged to
[342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate
511 to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary
565 among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 120.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the 428
inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor 426
and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans 602
of different kinds of animals; savɨn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majɨn, the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride price. Such loans were made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[64] says that one hundred percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the animals. Dingelstedt[65] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of [465]
payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the approximate wage of a shepherd.

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

[64] Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.
[65] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

/118/ CHAPTER VIII.

Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

241 465 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 465 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pasturing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyzmekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

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A master who is touched by the plea of the servant, who throws himself down at his feet and holds him by the hand, sometimes forgives the entire suit. When there are blows from both sides, the matter passes without attention. 466

A servant is not fined for negligent service, but is only dismissed with a settlement. At present some require a servant to pay for damage resulting from his negligence. For example, if a sheep is lost during the day, some sue for half or one-third of its value. But if it is lost at night the shepherd is not guilty because he sleeps at night. Sometimes a koychi gives a friend a sheep belonging to his master, which the latter does not even miss. The shepherd justifies himself by saying that it ran away. If the deception is uncovered, the shepherd pays the value of the sheep and an additional fine in the amount of one sheep. If the master recalls that there were losses of sheep even earlier under this shepherd, he then requires an oath concerning these losses from the shepherd himself, or if the shepherd lives with his family or his kinsmen, he requires the oath from them. The master may consider it a dishonor to himself to take an oath from a shepherd as a person not his equal (koychinyn dzhanyn almaymyn, durus ksi imes). In this case the biis require the oath from the master himself. 466 233

The shepherd is not held responsible for sheep eaten by wolves even when conditions had been made for reimbursement of damages. A shepherd is not held responsible at all for falls and natural death (adzhal') of the livestock.

Only a rebuke, but not a suit is made for the shearing of wool with scissors (kyrktys) from the master's sheep by a strange man or by the shepherd himself, for the wool, milk and working power of the animals is considered "the beneficence of the animals" (malnyng khayry), and no payment is made for their use. /120/ A person who demands payment for them is reproached with the words: "Let that man perish who has not grown wealthy" (bay bolmay ulsin).

A strange animal joining the herd (buralky, nukatyk) is in general acquired by the shepherd. A greedy master can demand it for himself on the ground that his livestock attracted the strange animal. Among the Kirgiza strange animal joining the herd goes to the shepherd if he does not declare it to his master. But if the master finds out about it, he demands it for himself because it joined (singib kitti) his herd. Some keep the strange animal (bularky in Kirgiz), others slaughter it for kudai, a feast of the people. Under the Russian dominion it has been established that a runaway or strange animal. 466 233 425

• 466
425 joining the herd must be presented to the authorities. The master who loses an animal turns to the authorities who investigate the whereabouts
233 of the lost animal.

According to Makovetkii (I p. 43), the amount of syuyunchi
425 for the presentation of a lost animal goes up to one-fifth its value. An exception is the sheep: the person who finds it keeps its offspring, and returns the lost animal to the owner. But if he spoils the sign of the owner on the sheep, then he returns the sheep and its offspring. Torgai says that the person who finds a pregnant sheep returns the ewe and the lamb to the owner, so that if the finder ever loses a pregnant ewe he will also get it back with the lamb. But if the owner of the found ewe declares himself only after two or three years, he is given one ewe, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat, " and they say: "If you recognize your lamb, take it" (kozysyn tanysang alakoy). Torgai also knows another opinion, by which an owner who appears after two or three years is granted only half a sheep, having in view the expense and labor of its maintenance (bagyb kagyb). If the person who found the sheep denies it, the oath is required of the owner himself. For the return of his lost horse, cow or camel, the owner must present seven witnesses (isbat), of whom two must swear an oath. If the finder has informed everyone of his find, it is not thievery for him to put his brand on it.

/121/ Livestock are kept for two or three weeks. After that, they declare to the volost administrator that the owner has not appeared.

If the animal found gives birth to a calf, the calf is not divided from its mother and also belongs to the owner, while if no owner appears, it belongs to the finder. If many livestock are lost, and fewer found, the finder is accused of having hidden the rest. This kind of case is settled on the basis of testimony from unimplicated persons, without an oath.

Things which are found (nerse, buyum), go to the finder if no one witnessed the finding. If there were witnesses, the find is kept by the finder from one to two months until the owner appears, who then receives his object for the payment of syuyunchi.

The longer the object is kept, the larger the amount of the syuyunchi. Speaking approximately, for an object worth 1 ruble, the syuyunchi amounts to 20 kopeks, for something worth 10 rubles, 2 rubles, for something worth 20 rubles - 5 rubles, for a horse - 1 tillia /3-4 rubles/, for a camel, 5-8 rubles. If the owner of the thing does not declare himself, it becomes the possession of the finder.

When money is found it is divided among all those present when it is found, with the obligation to give it up if the owner declares him-

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 648 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. [565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

[233] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [162] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry [167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 698 [474]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tegzhanov, 1954, pp. 6-8, 33.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 208.
[3] Tegzhanov, 1954, pp. 38-39.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over
648 the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along
197 lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken
621 lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communi-
● 474 ties have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm
621 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining
[563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[1]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[2]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[1]Korbe, 1950, p. 71.
[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 580 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The levirafic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [589]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [589]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1]Ibid., p. 86.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

female backwardness has not yet been overcome. The Kazakh women are not moving in the direction of Soviet goals at a pace with the rest of society; they are as far behind the men in this matter as the Kazakh men are behind the Slavic peoples of Kazakhstan in accepting the Soviet way of life.

K 562 KN [563]

The place of Kazakh women in the economy is in the farming sector and in specific aspects of herding, primarily as milkmaids. In fact, they are the basic labor force of the collective farms. In the chapter on Kazakh social organization some of the ramifications of this division of labor were examined. The fact in the economic picture remains as one Soviet authority has put it: "The greater proportion of the 233 kolkhoz members capable of work are women. Women are now the basic labor force in the kolkhozy of Kazakhstan generally. This is accounted for first of all by the increasing role of women in kolkhoz production, and also by the greater number of men leaving the kolkhoz for industry, transport, the cities, the Soviet administration, schooling, etc."[1]

K [474] KN [474]

A broad conclusion from the survey of urbanization as a world-wide phenomenon indicates that men proceed to the cities first, and are followed by women after a time lag which may extend over years. The Soviet Union's urbanization pattern is no exception. Women are the basic labor force in rural areas in the Soviet Union generally, and there has been a flight of men from the farms. In Kazakh society there is the additional factor of the unwillingness of men to take up farming. Although the women are the basic rural labor force, they are underrepresented in farm leadership, from brigade leaders to collective farm presidents. This same pattern will emerge from study of the figures for literacy, higher education, and Party work: nonparticipation of Kazakh women, or participation at a lower rate than among men.

KN [369]

AGRICULTURE

KN 241

Agriculture in present-day Kazakhstan falls roughly into four categories:

(1) Grain
(2) Truck farming
(3) "Technical crops," including cotton, sugar beets, hemp, olives, tea, and tobacco
(4) Farming in conjunction with herding, with emphasis on livestock feed

Most of the cultivated land is in grain for human and animal consumption, as shown in Table 3.

The total area under cultivation in Kazakhstan increased in the decade 1942-52 by 4,000,000 hectares or 36 per cent. The area in grain increased by only 19 per cent, and the proportion of the total area in grain fell from 93 to 73 per cent. This drop is accounted for by the increase in area devoted to truck farming (largely a wartime development) and to a lesser degree by an increase in "technical crops." The

[1] Kerbo, 1960, p. 71.

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend- 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

425 who agree among themselves to be shareholders (kumalak). Each
476 tent participating in this receives a sector of irrigated land commen-
312 surate with the number of workers it sent, /104/ the days of work and in general the labor expended (mikhnat). Those who did not participate in putting through the canal are not given a sector.

In case of departure, a shareholder can rent out his sector, or
427 reconvey it with all rights and obligations to another, from whom he
432 receives a remuneration for the labor expended. Sectors growing clover
312 are not only leased out but also sold for a price which is independent of the labor expended by the shareholder. In the Kurama uyezd, they sell not only sectors growing clover but every kind of plot. Among both the Kazakhs and the Challa Kazakhs, there is no knowledge of the shafi, i.e., the right of the neighbor as the most favored buyer. The buyer of the sector joins the commune liable to taxation, to which this sector belongs. (Perovsk and Kurama uyezds).

312 The person who puts through the canal and irrigates a certain
425 area of land with it receives the right to the use of this land. The canal is usually named after him, in addition.

If someone puts through a new canal in the canal bed of an old one, and after a certain length of time the proprietor of the latter appears, they refuse him satisfaction saying: "Why did you not declare yourself sooner? Then we would have put the canal through in another place."

312 If a certain clan digs out a canal or a well, with the slaughter-
423 ing of an animal before the work is begun, as is the custom, and if it later departs to nomadize elsewhere and another clan settles there in
425 its place, the first clan, on reappearing, will demand its canal or well. Such demands are made by the relatives, even to the seventh generation. "Here the labor of our grandfathers was expended" (baba myzdyng mikhneti), they say in such cases. If the accused refuse, under the pretext of not knowing about the previous owners, the plaintiffs are required to swear that they or their ancestors dug out the canal or well. If the clan which occupied the canal or well after it was made expended labor on cleaning and repairing it, it is told: "You used the water for this." If they have not yet used the water, they are permitted to settle together /105/ (kosylyb egever) and share in the payment of taxes and dues, but only if they renounce with a written document the rights to the canal or the well. In such a case, the land they occupy is considered only a pledge.

Among the Kirgiz, canals and wells belong to those who first dug them with the slaughtering of an animal, even though others

the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i. e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts. 476

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

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359] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
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262] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538
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534] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

[484] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

5: Levchine--191 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--192 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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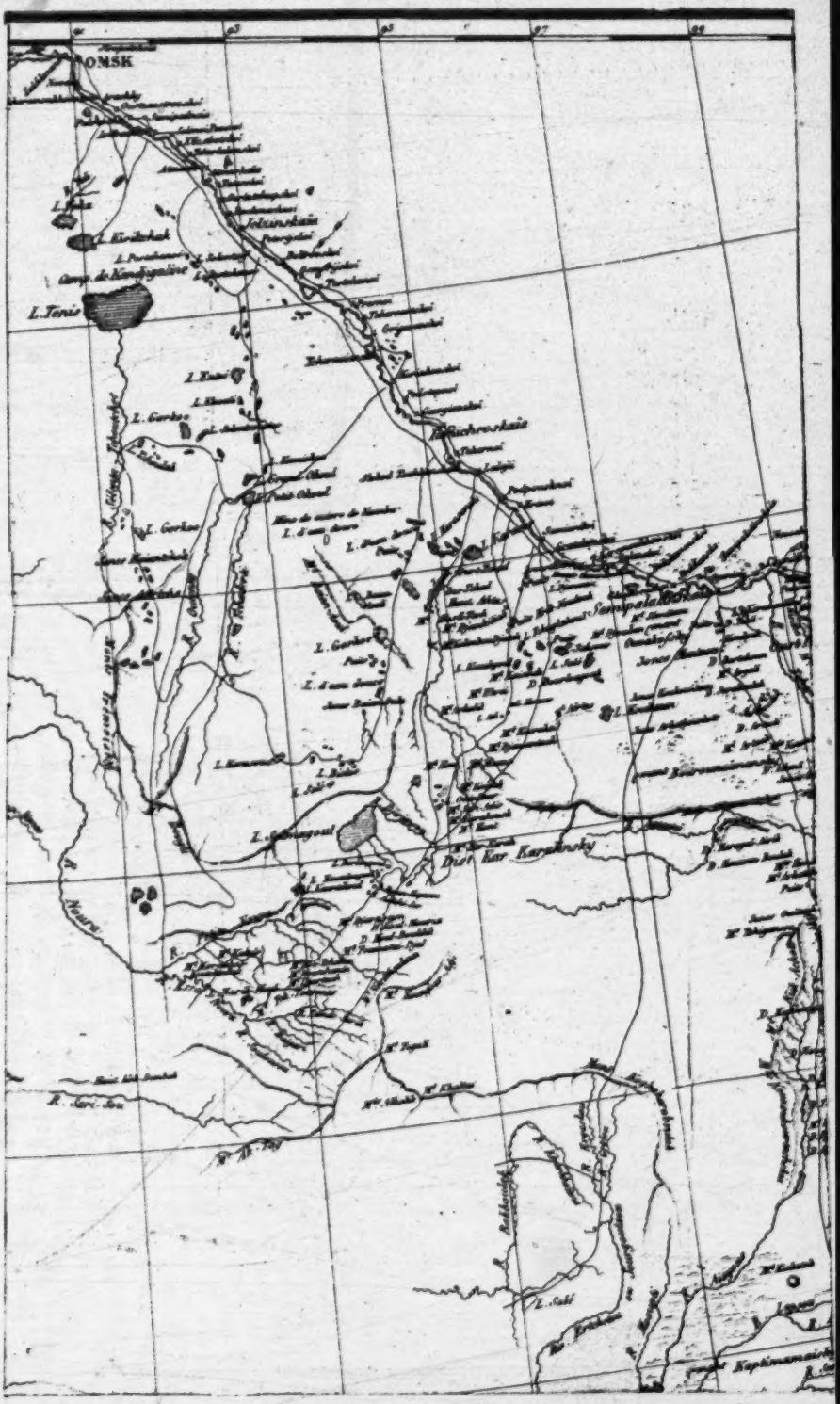

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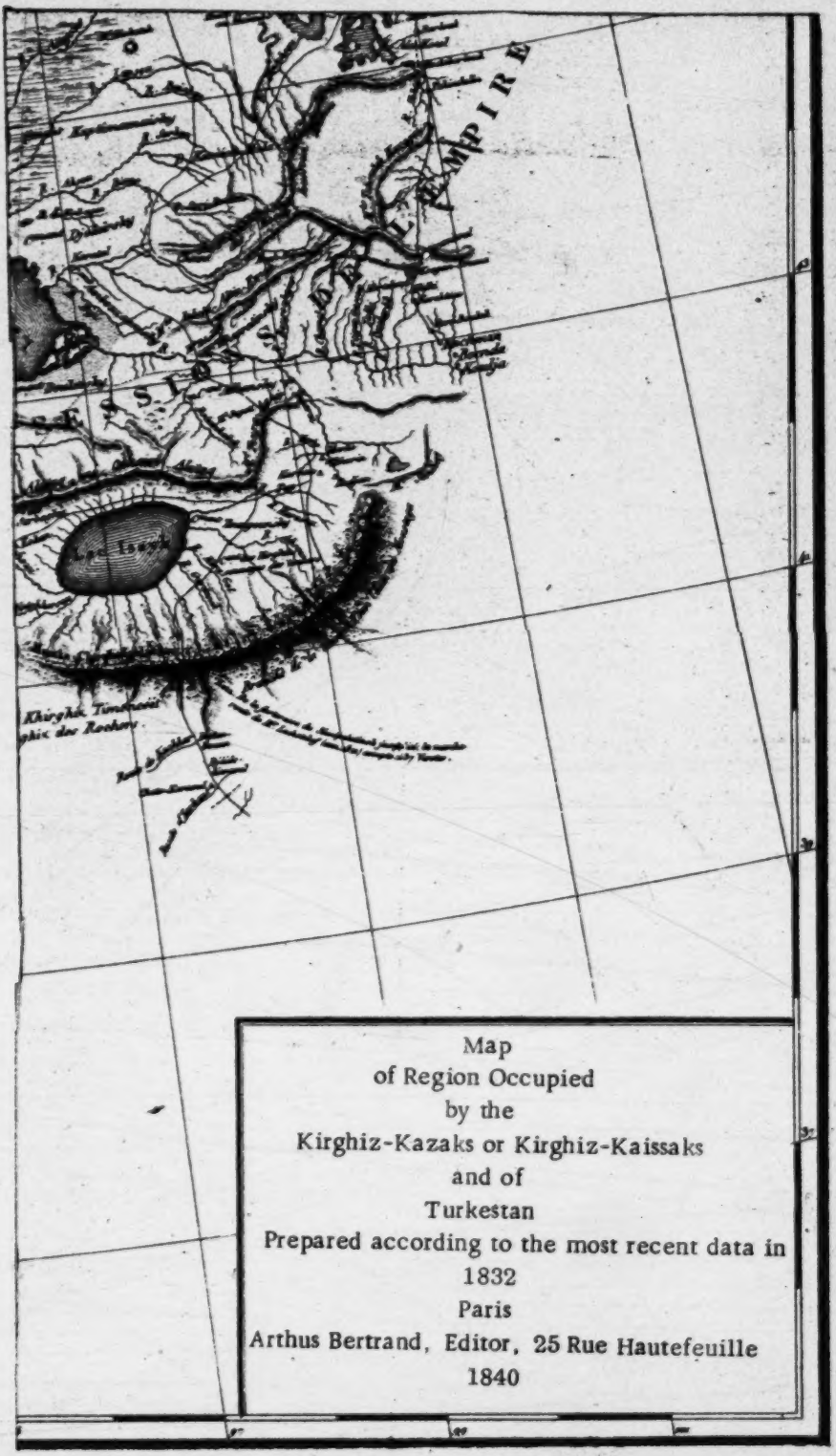

489 /138/ Drivers (kerekesh tyuyekesh) are dependent upon caravan heads (karavanbashis) /keruanbasy/. The latter are of two kinds: 1) Well known (bel'gili) and influential (ulkun) persons, living in cities, where they give the merchants guarantees of the scrupulousness of the drivers; 2) persons who are less influential (kshi, ksi) who are placed first at the head of the caravans, and receive the invoices from them. In addition to these appointed karavanbashiss, the leaders of the caravans are usually also the best people in general among the drivers.

The drivers can transfer their licenses /bilet/ to the leader of the caravan, even though each has his own camels and a special cargo.

The karavanbashis go in advance.

The custom among the urban karavanbashis to help the drivers out with favors (yagalsyb salu) until they find work, also exists among the Kazakhs. (Torgai and Umurbek).

Merchants can send their cargo without the use of karavanbashis, by drivers who have guarantors. Before sending the cargo, the merchants and the drivers, or karavanbashi in their place, exchange written bonds on the quantity of the cargo, the price of the shipping, and the time of delivery.

The karavanbashis cannot abolish the low wage established for one of the drivers, to the detriment of another.

The karavanbash chooses the time and place for halts and spending the night. He settles arguments between drivers on the road. He forces them to pay debts and imposes fines for stealing. Occasionally heavy corporeal punishment is arranged, which is administered standing, not lying down, and for this there can be no complaint. Umurbek admits even that if there is disagreement between the karavanbash and the collective opinion of the drivers he must be obeyed, although in such cases it is difficult for him to get his own way.

489 According to the old customary law, the drivers had to pay
672 damages even without a preliminary agreement, on the basis of the
685 rules of acceptance for safe-keeping.[1] According to the new customary law those who are not obligated by signature, the affixing of a seal and stamp /tamga/ do not pay. The exhaustion /139/ of the camels and their falling down is not taken into consideration by the sender of the cargo. The losses are born by the driver. He changes the tired camels for fresh ones, or buys others, changes the loads of the fallen animals onto other camels, etc.

According to Torgai and Umurbek, a driver is not responsible to

1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 109 -- A]

the owner of a camel, when he has rented it for money (kere) from an outsider, and it falls, for some reason or other than its load being too heavy. But he is responsible for a camel which was taken for use without pay. However, they rarely pay in full (tutas), for the bii takes into consideration the fact that the camel was given on the basis of acquaintanceship, and arranges an agreement for 1/2, 1/4 or one-eighth the value of the animal. The demand in court for the full value of the camel would be a manifest rupture of the conditions stated above. 489 672 685

If a driver loaded a greater weight on a camel than that permitted by the owner of the fallen animal, for example 648 lbs. instead of 576 lbs. (1) the value of the fallen camel is divided into as many

1. Every camel has a known lifting capacity. Some carry only up to 432 lbs., others up to 648 and even to 720 lbs. The average weight without straining is about 500 lbs.

parts as there were pounds in the load, and the driver is required to pay as many parts as there were extra pounds, in the given example, two parts.

The owner of a spring and a well can refuse to give a caravan a place for a halt and water, because of its inadequacy for his own needs, and for other reasons. It is impossible to complain about this in court. But if an owner with extra space does not allow a caravan to come in in winter during bitter cold, and people or livestock freeze as a result, customary law asks wergeld for the people and the payment of the value of the livestock. 489 [423]

Now drivers are not willingly permitted to stop near a village, for a loss may occur in the caravan for which the drivers will blame the nearest village. [672]

In case of a complaint in court concerning a loss taking place between two villages, the biis make an inspection of the place and /140/ measure the distance of each neighboring village from the place of the loss by means of a rope. Then the village is accused of the theft, which is shown to be closest (Tergai). According to other sources, the biis do not measure the distance but accuse the village which is considered less dependable. (Report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis Sagyndykov and Sultan Kanaev and other persons of the Chimkent and Kurama uyezds).

There are no drivers among the Kirgiz, since the Auliye-Ata Kirgiz have few camels.

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, [415] harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevêts] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour [231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. [182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. -- 21 U-4, 5 (no date) 1903

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T. /149 cont./
175 was soon recognized by the Russian government, and in 1594
167 they commanded the building of the town of Tara (Tobolsk
648 guberniya) on the border of the Kuchum kingdom of that time. The town served its purpose. The Russians finally forced the Tartars out and administered several serious defeats to Kuchum. The latter fled south to the Kalmyk (according to some reports, to the Nogai), where he perished. By the beginning of the 17th century only memories remained of the former Siberian tsar and his empire.

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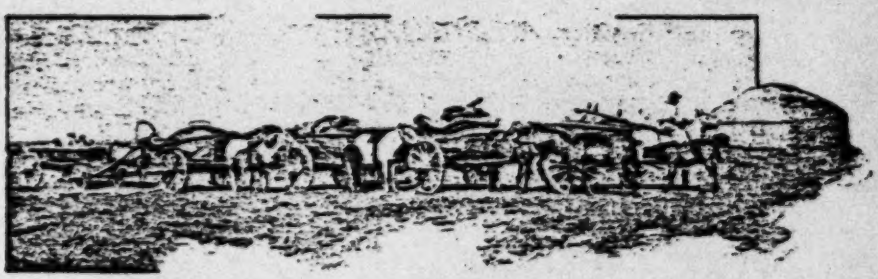

Migration of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

H.T. It is difficult to believe that the conquest of the area was
175 due exclusively to the daring and strength of the Kazak /Cossacks/
631 and service men. There is no doubt that disintegration had already
648 begun in the Tatar empire itself. This empire, which consisted of a whole series of volosts subordinated because of yassak /tribute in furs/ to the clans of Kuchum, was not in itself any kind of whole and solid thing, since it had no deep internal bond. This was /150/ particularly noticeable after the first defeats of Kuchum by Yermak, when the Yassak natives almost all failed to move voluntarily after the retreating followers of Kuchum. Here, too, we saw the same thing. Even the Tatars themselves did not stand fast around Kuchum in order to make a concerted attack on the Muscovite commanders. They either agreed to pay the yassak to the Russians, or else fled from

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. [782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

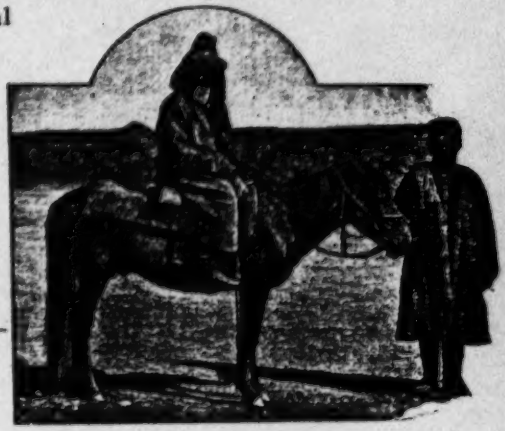
342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
177 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).

→ The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.



At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the
361 Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation. Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

342 days of suffocating heat it is cool and there is no dust inside. During heavy frost it remains quite warm within the good tent covers, [164] and only the smoke from the hearth is bad for the eyes, developing the eye disease, which is one of the most wide spread diseases among the nomads.

The yurt, containing all the property of the Kazakh, and providing certain conveniences for the disposal of various household articles, can be dismantled and assembled easily and quickly, in about half an hour, can be loaded conveniently and is light enough so that [492] the whole establishment of a tent of medium size can be packed on one camel. All the felts, piled up in several layers, are put over the backbone of the animal; the kerege, the uks, and the chiy mats, rolled up into a tube, are hung on his sides, while the chagarak is put over the humps, and all this is very skilfully looped on. This same camel with his load, when he comes to a new station, at the place where the yurt is to be - indicated by a lance which has been left in the ground by the householder when he went there ahead - is quickly unloaded, two women set up the kerege according to the indicated circumference with kanaats, and fasten them; two others or the same ones. after finishing the first job, put up the chagarak over the center of the space being formed, with the help of bakans, insert the uks into it, and at once fasten the other ends to the side screen, which they cover with chiy and side felts, on top of the uk they put the felts and the tunduk felt, fasten all this down, and the tent is ready within the half hour. On the floor of the yurt they spread out felts leaving in the center

353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [412] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt,

H.T. /149 cont./
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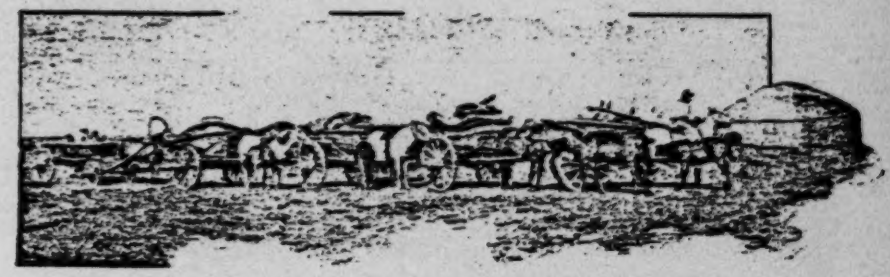

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/211 cont. /

262 272 [252] [415] Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 [272] have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in [252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the [264] hands) and then the fat. "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

/218 cont. /

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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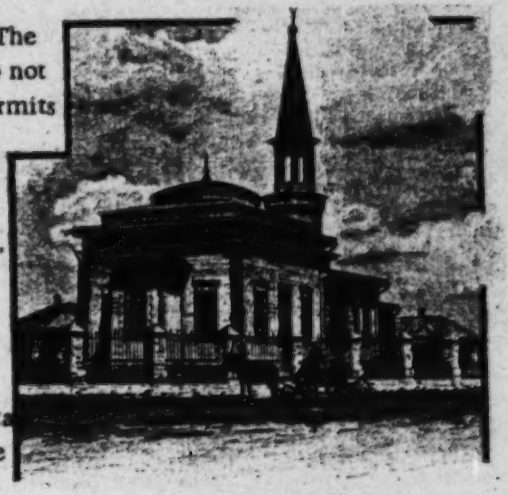
Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accom-
[431] panied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, espe-
785 cially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits [779] taking food for three days or three periods of three days only for [346] [493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta [262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
797 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

[177 cont.]
[439] with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

[654] 11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

[504 501] 13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted [716] to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

[705] 14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

[654] 15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

[662] 3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[177 cont.]
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233 The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively;
[465] if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse.

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sЬjЬrcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЬlqЬcЬ) were from necessity obliged to
[342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate
511 to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary
565 among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 120.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

x [291 cont.]
[648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166] Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[292 cont.]
[648] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[511] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[727] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[727] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[643] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking 61
Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of 592
the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many 592
families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives 513
might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and all others in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.

[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 34.

[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Pondneev on pages 77–78.

[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 70.

415 are kept in cases and in chests of various sizes and various outside trimmings. Clothing and all soft things are wrapped up in more or less new and costly rugs, and napless rugs, and even in ordinary ones, and carefully looped on to packages conveniently transportable on
353 camels. With these packages, as well as chests,
• 513 cases, and with sometimes also cupboards, the yurt is barricaded up to the top on the side opposite the door. Wooden folding beds are placed on the right and left sides, which are very low and short, but with unusually slanting backs which fold back. With this kind of arrangement the bed does not take up much space in the yurt with its legs, which are held in an oblique position by a special kind of wedges, and much can be laid and stood up under the back. At the same time the upper part of these legs form a back /401/ at the head and foot of the bed which is at an extremely obtuse angle with the plane of the bed, so that when the bed is covered with many felts, taking the place of a mattress here, the Kazakh can lie down on it at full length. The felts are covered also with many quilted blankets, covered with calico, of various sizes and values, and with several pillows, also padded with calico. Others also have another arrangement for a bed, something like ours, sometimes iron folding beds, and also feather comforters and pillows with clean white pillowcases, but all this, especially the last, is extremely rare. Many do not even have the simplest type of bed. They spread out felt bedding in such cases in the same places where others have the beds. The Kazakh
854 crib is similar to our children's cribs. They not only do not rock but also do not have

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and
403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[136] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

[291] [492] [516] → to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/218 cont./

585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538
533] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [196] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the 526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this 524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

527 554 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

525 stake (tiku) must be paid to the winner, for the conditions of a wager are inviolable (chirt kaytpaydy). If they staked a sister and she is ashamed to marry because of a lost wager, then her kalym can be paid in her place, or tyuya bastagan toguz, often equalling the value of a kalym (Turgai). In the Kurama uyezd they dispute about an object seen at a distance, for 2-3 rubles. Bii Sultan Kanaev compares wagers to games of chance, for example, cards, which incidentally are known only to urban Kazakhs.

Kukbure.

526 They put on kukbure (they skin the kid) on joyous occasions (1)

1. According to the Kazakhs, in Bukhara kukbure takes place also on mournful occasions.

such as escorting the daughter with her bridegroom, the arrival of the bride at her father's house, the birth and the circumcision of a son, Moslem holidays and the arrival of a welcome guest.

The person arranging the entertainment throws the kukbure, i.e., a kid or another young animal on the ground, with its head cut off. Those participating in the game bend over without sliding off the horse, and one of them lifts the kid up and races away, while the others chase him, take it away from each other, and beat each other /perebivaiut/. Outsiders who see the game from a distance, mount their horses and take part in it. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A Kazakh steppe beggar of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii./1/ /253/ The victor is he who succeeds in carrying the kid to some village where he throws it before the tent of the person whom he wishes to honor. This man, in his turn, either gives a kerchief or skull cap, etc., for the kid, or gives a new kid for the continuation of the game.

1 [Not reproduced--A.]

Bayga.

The bayga is arranged primarily in the autumn, when the livestock are fatter, the people are free of work and provisions are cheap. Among the Kazakhs, occasions for the bayga are escorting a bride, the birth of a son, funerals and memorial services; among the Kirgiz it is only the latter occasion.

The bayga differs from the kukbure in that they race in only one direction all the way to a certain goal or sign, and the first to reach the goal receives prizes. The bayga cannot be without a prize (oldzha).

793

tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure. 796

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people. 871

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year. 875

The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided. 793 875

They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (ashubi-hazhyuyly) 627

/252/ Wagers

526

The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

525 stake (tiku) must be paid to the winner, for the conditions of a wager are inviolable (chirt kaytpaydy). If they staked a sister and she is ashamed to marry because of a lost wager, then her kalym can be paid in her place, or tyuya bastagan toguz, often equalling the value of a kalym (Turgai). In the Kurama uyezd they dispute about an object seen at a distance, for 2-3 rubles. Bii Sultan Kanaev compares wagers to games of chance, for example, cards, which incidentally are known only to urban Kazakhs.

Kukbure.

•526 They put on kukbure (they skin the kid) on joyous occasions (1)

1. According to the Kazakhs, in Bukhara kukbure takes place also on mournful occasions.

such as escorting the daughter with her bridegroom, the arrival of the bride at her father's house, the birth and the circumcision of a son, Moslem holidays and the arrival of a welcome guest.

The person arranging the entertainment throws the kukbure, i.e., a kid or another young animal on the ground, with its head cut off. Those participating in the game bend over without sliding off the horse, and one of them lifts the kid up and races away, while the others chase him, take it away from each other, and beat each other /perebivaiut/. Outsiders who see the game from a distance, mount their horses and take part in it. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A Kazakh steppe beggar of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii./1/ /253/ The victor is he who succeeds in carrying the kid to some village where he throws it before the tent of the person whom he wishes to honor. This man, in his turn, either gives a kerchief or skull cap, etc., for the kid, or gives a new kid for the continuation of the game.

1 [Not reproduced -- A.]

Bayga.

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The bayga differs from the kukbure in that they race in only one direction all the way to a certain goal or sign, and the first to reach the goal receives prizes. The bayga cannot be without a prize (oldzha).

The goal consists of a stone or clay curbstone (chartak, sure, belgi) or else of a tomb itself (mola).

Both invited persons and univited take part in a bayga. (1)

1. Uninvited persons have free access to all celebrations of the Kazakhs. They invite people the day before saying: "Come tomorrow with the people (el menen)"

The distance can be 2, 4, or 6 tash, (2) in keeping with the

2. A tash = 8 versts /5 1/4 miles/.

value of the prizes established, and the quality of the race horses.

First of all they go to the point of departure quietly (yelib barady) with 2-4 conductors (aydauchi) who are armed with sticks in order to prevent the racers from starting at the wrong time. When they have reached the place, which was determined in advance, everyone is given a short rest, and then after a signal (bata) by the conductors of alla akbar, "God is great", they are all allowed to race at once back along the same path by which they have come. /254/ An hour after the departure of the race horses, the three year old foals (kunan) depart in the same order, but for a shorter distance (for example, 2 tash instead of 6 tash). The kunans arrive much sooner than the race horses, and therefore the prizes for the kunans especially are less valuable.

When the audience sees the race horses at a distance, the owners of the race horses ride out to meet them and encourage them (kuterme) and accompany them to the goal.

Those who reach the goal throw their skull caps, fur hats and in general what they have on their heads before the person who stands on the curbstone or tomb and gives out prizes. After all the race horses have arrived, these objects serve as proof that the goal has been reached.

If 20 race horses participate, only 7 prizes are designated. If there are 100 or 200 race horses, then there are 20 or 30 prizes. The first to reach the goal receives the highest prize, the second the next, etc. The prize can consist of livestock, long coats, pieces of matting and money. If the first prize is a horse, the last is often a goat or a kid. If the first prize is 100 heads of livestock, the last is 10 heads. They say that in the Auliye-Ata uyezd, Yamankul at the funeral of his father gave a prize of 1000 rubles, and a year later at the mem-

526 orial service he again arranged a bayga. In Chirchik, Taylibai gave several prizes, of which the first was 4 camels and 100 rubles in money. They reached the goal only on the second day.

According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev, the first prize is often tyuya bastagan toguz, consisting of a camel, a sealskin, a long brocade coat, a horse, a long coat, a sheep, a lamb, a goat, a kid. The second prize is not nine objects but a smaller number. The last prize is often a long coat. Where guests belonging to various clans take part in the races, the competition is seen not as a competition of individuals but of clans. The prize is received not by the victor, but his clan, which divides the prize among its members, or else gives it out to the remaining clans. For this reason the war cries of their clans are shouted in a bayga.

/255/ The following rules exist for races.

For the loss or death of a race horse, occurring during a race, it is customary to pay the losses without a fine. They evaluate the horse, and if they know that so and so much was given for it, and the owner demanded so and so much, they take the average between these. An owner who does not agree with this evaluation can present an oath from his clan on the justice of his own evaluation. The owner of the horse, taking into account that the same thing would have happened to it if he had been riding it himself, can agree to receive the prize won by this horse, instead of its value. The prize is adjudged by the biis, instead of the value of the horse, in a case where the horse dies immediately after reaching the goal, and not on the next day. However they can also sentence the payment of the value of the horse and beyond that a certain part, either one-third or one-fourth of the prize won (Torgai).

If two horses reach the goal at the same time, the prize can be divided in half. In case this is not agreed to, both horses are allowed to make a second run, and the first to reach the goal receives the entire prize, and the second receives the next prize following the other.

They do not have hired jockeys, and young men from among the kinsmen and acquaintances are allowed to race the horses. If one of the riders in the race dies, the owner of the horse gives his relatives the race horse with the prize it won instead of wergeld, and bears the expenses of the funeral. But if the owner of the horse does not wish to satisfy the relatives of the deceased in this way, they can demand wergeld on the assumption that he can never prove by witnesses or by oath that the death took place without people being at fault. If a boy offers to race himself and is killed during

526

the race, wergeld is not paid.

At Kirgiz funerals they arrange single combat, called seis. Two young men (batyr) on good horses, armed with spears, try to push each other out of the saddle and down on the ground. Sometimes two women fight each other in this way. The victor receives a prize: 9 animals /256/ (tyuya bastagan toguz) among the rich, and 5 or 3 animals among the poor. The winner of the prize does not divide it with anyone.

Wergeld is not paid for death or mutilation in this competition.

Burials and memorial services.

764

A man who dies (1) during the night or in the morning is buried

1. The custom entered in the Budagov dictionary, under the word zhyrtu, that the Kazakhs tear the clothing of the dying person in order to relieve the agony, is not known among the local Kazakhs.

on the next day. One who dies in the evening is buried in the morning. In general the burial takes place as soon as all the close relatives gather for the ritual of the burial.

The deceased is usually carried on a litter of tent panels, /kerege/ if the grave is nearby and on a camel if it is far away.

Before the corpse is placed in the earth a prayer (iskat, pid"ya, daur, daur aylantyrady) is read. They give an animal to the mullahs to be divided among them and they also give to one of the poor people present, who is called mustakhikk (Perovsk uyezd).

According to the communication of Torgai, immediately after the corpse has been washed, they lead a camel up to it from the right side, and throw the bridle over the corpse to the mullah, who is sitting on the other side, saying to him: "We have designated you for the cleansing of sins by prayer (namazning kafaratiga seni koydyk). Do you take upon yourself the sins of the deceased for not performing (kaza) the prayer five times daily?" The mullah answers three times that he takes it, and receives a camel or a horse. This ritual can be carried out at first with a camel, then with a horse, a bull, finally with a ram. When they have no mullah, this ritual, called daur, is carried out by a kinsman.

After this the ritual of burial (dzhanaza) is carried out, for which /257/ the imam receives a sheep or another reimbursement. For reading the Koran after the funeral the mullah again receives a

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
777 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
• 526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

S
563 /The New Uighurs/

rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy
519 themselves.

S
563 7. Guardians of national customs

624 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are
554 Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The
577 people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S
563 1. The people

K
173 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S
563 The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They

K
526 are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to
[131] their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all
[241] kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S
563 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite

K
771 times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

782 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S
563 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer

K
221 they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S
563 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols,

K
342 except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

K 462 533 533

[191] It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

1. The people

M 131 361 311

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622

[195]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [795] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the
526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this
524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

527 54 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçb (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tambr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring law-suits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tambr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tambr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tambr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
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628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712
346

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karábulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

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According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.

one cannot escape the fact that the various societies and peoples of the Soviet Union are being reshaped and remolded with the image of Soviet culture as the target. The political life is that of Moscow's creation, as is the economic; the religious is that which is permitted by the central regime. The language of each nationality—as it is taught in the schools, or written in the newspapers—is the one which Moscow has decided upon. The various nationalities themselves have been regrouped, often arbitrarily, for the purpose of greater convenience of administration by Moscow. 177

The grandiose and sweeping nature of the changes planned under Soviet nationality policy is sufficient to assure that major change is in fact taking place. A question exists only in regard to the direction such change will take and how far it will deviate from the plan. Whatever the direction of change, the cost in dislocation and suffering among the minority peoples will remain enormous.

KAZAKH ART AND LETTERS

In the chapter dealing with Kazakh religion and religious developments, a discussion of current trends in history writing in Central Asia was included to illustrate the rise of nativism, the idealization of native culture. While the connection between historiography and religion is not immediately apparent, there is an underlying relationship. This relationship may be more easily traced when one is applying the methods of cultural anthropology, as was the case in the discussion of religion. If one starts with the premise that the various aspects of a people's life are an interrelated whole, it follows that the religious life bears upon the economic, the economic on the religious, the political on the artistic. The concept of nativism has been used as a means of synthesizing the different cultural trends in Kazakhstan. The significance of the glorification of their past by native Kazakh historians during the Soviet era is clear. The historical traditions of the Kazakhs are important to them; around those traditions they were building in the 1940's the nucleus of an independent revival of Kazakh culture. The Soviets regarded this as dangerous, and the participants were either purged or warned away from the theme. 668 [814]

This sort of cultural revival is a type of nativism known in many parts of the world; the common feature such revivals share is a distinctive religious tone. But it is not the old religion which is being revived among the Kazakhs; rather, the old traditions are being treated in a religious fashion. These traditions become a religion, and the renewed interest in them a religious revival. The movement among the Kazakhs to revive the traditions of the past immediately became involved in politics. The Russian term kultura usually implies such

ical ramifications. In this sense there is a cultural politics in
Soviet Union.

The cultural taste of the regime in Moscow serves as a model for
rest of the empire. This cultural taste includes in part that which
leasing to the political leaders of the Soviet Union. It includes 53 177

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the
climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes:
Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue
tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian
contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether
these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of
materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

538 177 form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.[1] And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."[2]

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.[3] But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.[4]

546 During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.[5]

53 177 Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

[1] Malinovskii, 1949, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 41.
[3] Ibid., p. 48
[4] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda, 6 Sep 53.
[5] Ibid., 23 Oct 52.

The form is also imposed by Moscow, whether it concerns the introduction of the novel form in literature or the imitation of the massive architectural style in public buildings. Only the ornament and embellishment are locally derived.

53 177

HISTORY

668 [814]

The same lines of criticism which the Soviets have directed at Kazakh literature and art have been applied to the writing of Kazakh history. The revival of Kazakh historical traditions during World War II developed into a great movement involving many Kazakh historians and writers. In 1950, Pravda published an editorial denouncing the entire movement, choosing for its main target the luckless Bekmakhanov, for his history of the Kenesary movement.[1] The Kazakh Party and press were slow in following the line laid down in Pravda. Only after a four-month delay did Kazakhstanskaia Pravda take up the attack, printing a policy statement from the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, which commented on the Pravda editorial of the previous December and called for a formal Party hearing on the subject. This hearing took place in April and was reported in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 24 April 1951, in an article giving the general Party findings and those of the Party primary organization of the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute. Kenesary was denounced at one meeting as "an enemy of the Kazakh toiling masses" by 11 speakers representing the Party leaders and the academic world. The attack was directed at others: school textbook authors Ismailov and Dzhumaliev, both professors of history; Sauranbaev, director of the Social Science Section of the Academy of Sciences; and one Adilgireev, all in addition to Bekmakhanov. But this was only the beginning.

The attack on Kazakh revivalism continued, centered around the figure of Kenesary, with a different series of authors subjected to the sternest criticism. The line now advanced by Pravda, the Party press of Kazakhstan, and the History Section of the Academy of Sciences, was that there were two kinds of leaders in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries—good leaders and bad. The Kazakh leader Kenesary was bad; he was called a class enemy, a reactionary feudal lord. Other Kazakh leaders were classified as good, for they sought to lead their peoples into an alliance with the oppressed Russian masses, seeking a common solution for their jointly shared troubles. The Kazakh leader Isatai Taimanov, for example, revolted not against the Tsar but against Russian capitalists who were exploiting his people.[2] This indicates, the Soviets conclude, that the Tsars had parallel interests with the poor Russians, while the enemies of both the poor Russians and the poor Kazakhs were the Russian capitalists.

The central Soviet historical journal, Voprosy Istorii ("Questions of History"), published in April 1951 a lead editorial, "On Certain

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Apr 51.

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
[594] sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

/206 cont./

342 [286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy"direction (Mecca and Medina are located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[283] [287] [531] [286] [531]

Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

[322] [412] [287] [462] [435]

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

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[222
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[517
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533] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

5Levchine--189 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 9

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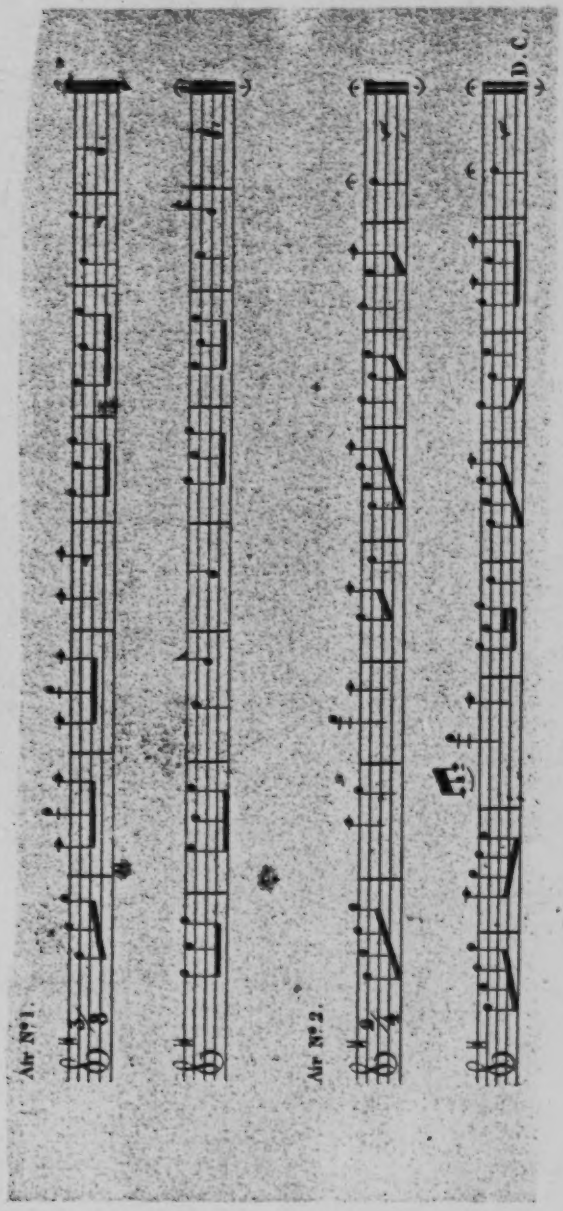
Two Kirghiz-Kazak Melodies



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but these attempts were unsuccessful.

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In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents. /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

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With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

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/146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural

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193 constituent parts of the word are easily separated. Such languages are known among some scholars as agglutinative, and among others as uninflected, formless, etc. Since Ural-Altaic peoples speak them, they are most often called Ural-Altaic
192 languages. Under the influence of Islam and of their neighbors (Russians, Mongols, and others), one notices /204/ an admixture of foreign words in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language from Arabic, Mongol, Russian, and especially Tatar, and several other languages.

538 The folklore is quite rich, although it is also monotonous. It is expressed primarily in works of lyric and epic content. The former come down to a description of love and the experiencing of various feelings and situations by the lovers. Much space is given to comparisons of the internal and external qualities of the hero and heroine. The epic works contain descriptions of the former life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the deeds and great feasts "across the whole steppe" of eminent heroes and rich khans -- Ablai, Naurzbai, and others. Of these, the poem "Kurpech (Kuzu) and Bayan (Solu)" deserves the greatest attention. This is an ancient work, evidently not by one author but by a group. Although it has an uncomplicated plot (Kurpech loves Bayan and on the advice of his father thinks of marrying her, but another suitor, Tologoi, appears and kills Kurpech, and Bayan then kills Tologoi and herself), this work is of great interest for its artistic description of nature and especially of the everyday life and manners of its time. From this point of view it has no equal among other Kirghiz /Kazak/ works. Its popularity among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is great. Many place names are associated with the names of its heroes -- mountains, rivers, landmarks, and others (where the events described took place). The grave of Kurpech has been preserved until now (not far from Sergiopol).

538 In addition there is a whole series of songs of everyday life associated with various rituals and events of life -- weddings,
● 533 funerals, etc. The works of the well-known folk poet Nogoibai and his followers should be named as compositions of the most

/204 cont./

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich). One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally, one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
177 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
[533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung, of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny" and "olengchi" (like the psaltery and kobza players of old Rus'). The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming," paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most important moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 535 [191]

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

S 563 K 526

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 144 174

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

584 They bargain over the amount of the kalym. The yauchi presents a gift kargibau, and receives as a gift a horse or a coat, which is called chege chapan (nail-coat), because he has validated the betrothal. The father of the bride sets the day, through this yauchi, for the coming of the groom's father with the formal proposal, for regalement and for delivering gifts to him (kiit kiib, sois yeb, kuda tusib ketsin). According to Makovetskii, "the formal proposal is frequently separated from /59/ the first agreement by many years, for example, if the groom and bride are in the cradle at the time of the agreement." Then the father or a kinsman of the groom becomes the matchmaker (kuda) who appears in the house of the bride, usually accompanied by relatives, for the formal proposal, the agreement about the kalym and the acceptance of the gifts kiit. According to Makovetskii, the more important the people making the match, the larger the number of matchmakers, sometimes more than twenty. As they approach the village of the bride's father, the matchmakers stop with his kinsmen and send an announcement of their coming from there. The bride's father notifies his relatives and friends of the presence of the matchmakers and orders the setting out of tents for the guests. When they appear, the matchmakers make the proposal in the presence of guests, which is accepted and validated by the slaughter of a white sheep and the reading of a blessing /baty/. The most valuable of the gifts is given to the father of the groom. This is required even when the groom's father is not among the matchmakers. In this case the gift is sent to him at home. According to the report of bii Khamahammed, the color of the sheep is indifferent; it can also be a kid and poor people can buy meat at the bazaar. He also says that the best gift is presented to the groom's father or to the person who is taking his place.

For the consecration of the contract which has been concluded, those present are regaled with fat-tail sheep fat (kuyruk) and liver (baur) which is cut into long strips. The platter with the kuyrukbaur is offered first to the groom's relatives and then to the bride's relatives. After this ritual the groom already speaks of his bride as "my lawful wife" (nikakhli khatynym). The feast, called kuda tusertoy, sometimes continues for several days. They arrange a baiga /horse race/, a fight, and the singing of choruses and soloists (zhirchi), who sing folk epics or compete in improvisations, [534] playing on the balalaika (dombra), violin (kobyz) and flute (sybyzga).

All during the merry-making the matchmakers play the most mournful role. The young women and girls make fun of them in all

possible ways. They strip them naked and drag them through the village with a rope around the neck, as the laughing-stock of the people. /60/ They are sewn into felt during the eating. They do such unpleasant things with them, that it is impossible to tell of them here. They drag them by the legs through the changarak /the hoop at the top of the tent/, etc. There have been cases where the women have caused the death of matchmakers from playing with them. In such a case their husbands and kinsmen are held responsible for the wergeld nevertheless.

After this the father or a kinsman of the bride, but with a smaller number of people than the matchmakers on the groom's side, visit the father of the groom and receive kiit gifts from him. According to bii Sultan, the kiit, which is determined by stipulation (kesimdi) is for the use of the bride's father. What the other matchmakers receive depends on the free will of the groom's father, without being fixed (kesimsiz). Regalement with kuyrukbaur is not obligatory. If the entire kalym is not paid on this visit, then the first installment is, in the presence of the guests. Further installments can be presented without witnesses. If the bride's father denies having received them, an oath is required of him alone. Relatives and acquaintances (tamyr, yekchet) contribute to the kalym (kalynga kosady) often of their free will. There is no custom for the matchmakers to give more than the value of the gift received by them from the bride's father (this contradicts Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 16).

Among the Kirgiz a rich father of the groom slaughters 4-5 sheep, a poor one 2 or 3. They are cooked at night. On the following day this meat, which is called "toy" is packed on a good animal, on whose head they tie a piece of cotton, called aktyk, for a sign (irym), and it is led to the bride's father. The animal is presented to him with the words: "for the transport of your treasure, " if it is a camel, or "for you to eat", if it is a horse. He is also given a sarypay. (1) The

1. Coat.

groom remains home. At the matchmaking they arrange baiga or kukbure /game played on horseback with kid. Cf. chapter XII/, the playing on the balalaika (2) and the zurna /type of oboe/. [534]

2. The Kirgiz balalaika has 3 strings, while the Kazakh one has only 2.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

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132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

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/205 cont./

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of
N the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing
462 and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their
533 hard life, their songs carry a melonckoly quality, and their
• 535 dance is simple.
[191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their ex-
S pert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horse-
563 back. There are three which may be played by all ages. One,
K similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep."
526 Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N
*563 F. The Mongours

M 1. The people
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361 The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north
311 bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were for-
• N merly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two
*563 major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow
M River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of
614 people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common
622 chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace
[195] their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers.
*563 One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols;
M another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-
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[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222 Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the
[231 Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
[273 them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very
[538 little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
533 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

[484] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

/203 cont./

193 constituent parts of the word are easily separated. Such languages are known among some scholars as agglutinative, and among others as uninflected, formless, etc. Since Ural-Altaic peoples speak them, they are most often called Ural-Altaic
192 languages. Under the influence of Islam and of their neighbors (Russians, Mongols, and others), one notices /204/ an admixture of foreign words in the Kirghiz /Kazak/ language from Arabic, Mongol, Russian, and especially Tatar, and several other languages.

538 The folklore is quite rich, although it is also monotonous. It is expressed primarily in works of lyric and epic content. The former come down to a description of love and the experiencing of various feelings and situations by the lovers. Much space is given to comparisons of the internal and external qualities of the hero and heroine. The epic works contain descriptions of the former life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the deeds and great feasts "across the whole steppe" of eminent heroes and rich khans -- Ablai, Naurzbai, and others. Of these, the poem "Kurpech (Kuzu) and Bayan (Solu)" deserves the greatest attention. This is an ancient work, evidently not by one author but by a group. Although it has an uncomplicated plot (Kurpech loves Bayan and on the advice of his father thinks of marrying her, but another suitor, Tologoi, appears and kills Kurpech, and Bayan then kills Tologoi and herself), this work is of great interest for its artistic description of nature and especially of the everyday life and manners of its time. From this point of view it has no equal among other Kirghiz /Kazak/ works. Its popularity among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is great. Many place names are associated with the names of its heroes -- mountains, rivers, landmarks, and others (where the events described took place). The grave of Kurpech has been preserved until now (not far from Sergiopol).

538 In addition there is a whole series of songs of everyday
533 life associated with various rituals and events of life -- weddings, funerals, etc. The works of the well-known folk poet Nogoibai and his followers should be named as compositions of the most

/204 cont. /

538 recent period. These are singers of the national grief, the
533 spokesmen of the needs and situations of the poorest segment of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the dzhetak /or djetak/. At the same time their songs also have an accusing tone (concerning the persecutions and injustices resulting from the power of the rich). One can point to "Zarzaman" (The Lament of Time) of Chortanbai as a satiric work of the most recent period, revealing rather successfully the failings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as they
538 have been created under the influence of Russian rule. Finally, one should mention Knombai (in the Semipalatinsk uyezd) as a representative of a new tendency in Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. He is the author of many poems that are elegant in form and poetic in content (especially in descriptions of nature). This
538 same man has made good translations of "Eugene Onegin" and of
177 many poems by Lermontov (which have shown themselves to be most understandable to the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Thus one can
[533] hear among the "olengchi" (singers) of Semipalatinsk the "letter of Tatiana" /from "Eugene Onegin"/, for example, sung, of course, to their own melody.

538 Lyric works, however, are most characteristic of Kirghiz /Kazak/ poetry. They, too, are simple and uningenious, like the nomadic life.

[212] In the absence of literacy all the works are transmitted orally, and this role is played by special persons -- the "akyny" and "olengchi" (like the psaltery and kobza players of old Rus'). The former not only transmit old songs, but also compose new ones. The "olengchi," however, usually engage in "rhyming," paying less attention to the content than to keeping the rhyme and the successful comparison.

538 All the above-mentioned types of folklore are not told
533 /205/ but sung. Singing plays an eminent role among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (primarily monophonic), and the most important moments in life cannot pass without it.

533 On first impression the Kirghiz /Kazak/ song seems musically unpleasant. If one listens carefully, however, the originality, simplicity, and inner sense of the melody produce

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. [593] [562] [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, 649 since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh 538 literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have 565 been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [620] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-398.

177 648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their [668] national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World [538] War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Vinikin, Bekmakhanov, Shoinbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such [668] as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [221] [596] [348]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Korbe and Mukhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

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Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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other languages (chiefly Russian) increased by five times the 1937 figure. The same change in the relative numbers of native-language and Russian-language titles occurred in Uzbekistan, although not to such an extreme degree.[1]

Table 15

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR AND SELECTED REPUBLICS, 1937 AND 1947[a]

Area	1937	1947
USSR	674,000,000	541,000,000
RSFSR	549,000,000	439,000,000
UzSSR	11,600,000	6,800,000
KSSR	5,300,000	6,400,000

[a]Compiled from Tables 3 and 4 of the standard volume, *The Soviet Press in Figures (Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh).*

Table 16

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN KSSR AND UzSSR BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION

Year	Kazakhstan		Uzbekistan	
	Kazakh Language	Other Languages	Uzbek Language	Other Languages
1937[a]	4,700,000	600,000	9,900,000	1,700,000
1938[b]	6,200,000	1,400,000	ND	ND
1947[a]	3,400,000	3,000,000	4,700,000	2,100,000

[a]Figures from Tables 4 and 5 of *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[b]Figures from *Tsifry o pechati SSSR.*
ND: No data available.

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The literary production of Kazakhstan in 1937 was given as 322 titles, of which 182 were original works and 140 were translations. (The parallel figures for Uzbekistan were 498 titles, 310 originals and 188 translations.)[2] It may be assumed that again most titles fell into the belles-lettres category. In some Soviet statistics this category is further subdivided into prose, drama, and poetry. No detailed data are available for the postwar period, but in 1937 Kazakh literary production was similar in respect to these subcategories to the total USSR "non-Russian language" production.

[1]These data lend themselves to a dual interpretation. One might say that although the native population had probably grown in size and certainly in relative literacy in those 10 years, it was being given less reading material than before the war. The Kazakhs could not turn to any books published in their language elsewhere in the USSR, since such production (if any) would be negligible. On the other hand, the 1947 ratio of native to nonnative publications corresponds more closely to the actual ethnic composition of the population.

[2]Table 6 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Of the belles-lettres publications in the USSR during the 1938-1947 decade, 16,400,000 titles were in the Russian language and 9,000,000 titles were in non-Russian languages. Prose works constituted almost 60 per cent of the Russian titles, only 36 per cent of the non-Russian. Corresponding figures for drama were 11 per cent and 8 per cent, for poetry 23 per cent and 46 per cent, and for other works 7 and 10 per cent, respectively.[1]

Almost half of the belles-lettres publications in the minority languages were poetry; the corresponding proportion of the Russian works was less than a fourth. The popularity among these people of poetry as an art form, and the significance of this finding for psychological warfare against Soviet minorities, seem fairly evident.

Radio

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Despite the claims of Party leaders, many people within the Soviet Union read very poorly. In a target audience where such is the case, the spoken word is a more effective means of communication. The standard medium of mass communication by the less-demanding spoken word is radio.

To the American observer it may seem that radio in the USSR plays but a minor role in comparison to the position this medium has achieved in the United States. Such a situation is certainly not due to official Soviet policy. The Russians are keenly aware of their need for more widespread utilization of the radio; this need is reflected in the Soviet term radiofikatsiia ("radiofication").

Organizationally, the Soviet radio system differs from the networks found in the United States or from the internal operation of the BBC in Great Britain in two major ways: (1) the extensive use of short waves in internal broadcasting (from roughly 75 meters or 40 KC down) and (2) the networks of wired speakers.

Short-wave broadcasting in local and relatively short-range traffic is popular in Latin America. If one may judge from the specifications of new Soviet receivers (published regularly in the periodical Radio[2]), the short-wave bands will play an even larger role in the Soviet Union in the future. Some indication of the relative importance of such broadcasts for the Kazakh SSR may be inferred from the distribution of transmitters. The CIA list of "Broadcasting Stations of the World" shows as of September 1952 a total of 12 transmitters operating in the KSSR, of which 10 are in the short-wave bands.[3]

A more strikingly Soviet phenomenon is the radio-diffusion exchange, radio-transliatsionnii uzel,[4] with its wired speakers, radiotochki. These speakers are found in homes of subscribers as well as in public places

[1]Table 33 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948.

[2]Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Standards for Radio Receivers," *Radio*, 1951, No. 9, pp. 11-13.

[3]The other two transmitters operated out of Alma-Ata (1103 meters, 10 kw) and Karaganda (412 meters, 20 kw). Eight of the short wave transmitters were based at Alma-Ata, the others at Guryev and Taldy-Kurgan.

[4]Also called *radiouzel* or *transliatsionnii uzel*.

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177 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces. The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet shane
[538] Iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs. 668 538 [214]

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture. [194] [104]

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form. 538 197

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

538 177 form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.[1] And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."[2]

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.[3] But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.[4]

546 During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.[5]

53 177 Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

[1]Maliszovskii, 1949, p. 43.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 48
[4]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 6 Sep 52.
[5]*Ibid.*, 23 Oct 52.

graves of the rich they build cells with a cupola and small minarets, with an enclosure. The clan brands are often carved on the tombstones.

The graves are usually visited on Thursday. When they reach home, they order the reading of the Koran.

/261/ Proverbs and Sayings (1) 539.

1. In part directly collected by A. A. Divaev; in part borrowed from the chrestomathy of Liutsh and from Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia/Materials for the Statistics of the Turkestan Region/ (Pt. II, the article of I. I. Ibragimov).

1) He who has the khan as his protector does not think of riding around the country in a boat.

2) You cannot cover the mouths of the people with a sieve.

3) When the population is sparse, pigs get to the top.

4) An insult inflicted by an outsider is easier to bear than one received from one's own.

5) If a bad man is given power, the stick will never go away from your head.

6) If you have a good mallet you will even hammer a felt stake into the ground.

7) Every scholar has his mistake.

8) Oh! Even if I had millet and salt I would boil kasha, but it is unfortunate that there is no butter.

9) If you have not seen water, do not take off your boots.

10) Shame the miser for his generosity.

11) The wind smashes mountains and stones, while man is damaged by calumny.

12) He who has not experienced misfortune cannot appreciate tranquility.

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13) A good youth never gives away a secret.

14) To entrust an affair to a fool means to lose the end of the thread.

15) Do not expect good from mankind.

16) A person with black ancestors is not whitened by washing; a born fool cannot be corrected by teaching.

/262/17) He who speaks at the wrong time dies without being ill. (1)

1. I. e., it is necessary to be cautious in conversation, for one word spoken in excess can lead a man to ruin.

18) While the ax is getting ready to chop down, the tree rests.

19) If you make a friendship with a good man, your name resounds far and wide, but if you do it with a bad one, you receive kicks in the sides.

20) What is heard by two will become known to seven (2) parts

2. By ancient story, there exist 7 parts of the world.

of the world.

21) The master of golden deeds knows the value of gold.

22) The lord is the sun, alike for all.

23) Words which have passed through thirty teeth, go out to thirty clans.

24) If you meet a good youth with bread and salt, he will glorify your head with good.

25) The horse gets fat from good grass, the deceased from the lines read from the Koran, the highly placed from flattery.

26) A dog brings help, but a woman misery.

27) The person who has eaten his fill says that karty (3) has a bad smell.

3. .Karty is fat horse intestines, considered by the Kazakhs to be the most delicious dish. [262]

28) The tops of the shrubs do not move until the wind blows.

29) The hungry child does not play with the full one.

30) You do not drain a lake by dipping from it with a spoon; you do not destroy a population by stealing.

31) A hint to the good man, a stick to the bad.

32) A population living in agreement does not become corrupt; clothing well sewn does not wear out.

33) A country which has no elder is like a body without a head.

/263/ 34) A bull with cow's horns does not have strength; a cow with bull's horns does not have milk.

35) Do no pursue something you will not overtake; do not grumble over something which was not fated for you to receive.

36) Words are born from words. If there is no talk, then where can they be born?

37) A good man does not meditate about giving away to the lowest. A brave man does not calculate the large numbers of the enemy.

38) A man who has a woman's voice is not capable of marital life.

39) The ignoramus does not see his own fault, but notices the faults of others.

40) He who trusts in God flies like a bird, and he who relies on his horse will fall off it unexpectedly.

41) A just ruler resembles the early spring, and an unjust one resembles the winter.

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42) An unlearned person is like a canal without water, and a a learned one is like a river.

43) A woman without a conscience is like food without salt. A young man without decorum is similar to a horse without a bridle.

44) A false word destroys the truth.

45) A bad man is usually evil-intentioned, a good one is usually well-grounded.

46) If you are honorable, do not make friends with a rogue.

47) Without death, the heart does not come out.

48) A wise enemy is better than a stupid comrade.

49) When a little bird is driven mad, it flies in chase after the golden eagle.

50) A fish lives by water.

51) When the dog grows fat he eats the owner.

52) Uzbek, be careful; do not call your neighbor a thief.

53) Water is muddied from the top.

54) It is better to walk than to ride on a bad horse; /264/ it is better to be a bachelor than to marry a bad woman.

55) A home with children is a bazaar, but without children a mazar. (1)

1. A grave.

56) The raven plays with the hawk and incurs death.

57) You will not overtake something by speed, but that which is fated will not go away.

58) Do not consider a good man an outsider, do not call a bad man one of your own.

59) A Sart becomes rich and builds a house. A Kazakh becomes rich and takes wives.

60) Around rivers they do not dig wells.

61) Where there is food, you will also find a kettle. Where there is a soul in the body you will also find peace.

62) What is seen with the eyes is true, what is heard with the ears is a lie.

63) Without time it does not grow light, the spirit does not leave before death.

64) The people are not spoiled under a just ruler.

65) Count the days after the month, and the months after the year.

66) All the stars taken together do not equal the brightness of the moon; all the poor people do not equal one rich man.

67) The rich man boasts - and he finds; the poor man boasts - and he is ruined.

68) Do not say that the enemy is not here - he is under the cliff. Do not say that there is no wolf - he is under the cap.

69) Drive the kachagan (2) to the cliff /yar/, hunt the naked

2. A skittish horse which is difficult to catch is called kachagan.

in the snow.

70) Daughter, I speak to you; My daughter-in-law, you listen. (3)

3. I. e., the daughter-in-law should make note of the remarks made by the father to his daughter.

•539 71) Do not avoid a good man, do not bring a bad man near you.

72) The good man has no enemy; the bad man has no peace.

/265/73) Do not boast that you have a brother, if he is unreasonable.

74) If a black race horse is weary , it is hard for him to make a crow's step.

75) If the luster of black eyes is extinguished, noon will seem like night.

76) Even if he does speak nonsense, he is the son of a rich man.

77) Of what use is wealth, if there is no good in it. Of what use is it to be a bek, if you are not just.

78) Do not undertake the impossible, do not fight with an athlete.

79) No matter how much you beg, a bad man will not forgive; No matter how straight it is, a bad knife will not cut.

80) Stupid people do not hear moral teachings.

81) Do not say that a wedge is small /Ne govori, shto babka baran'ia (malen'kaia)/ but make it if possible a hammer /matkoi/ (i. e., the thing with which you strike). (1)

1. I. e., do not say he is young if he is intelligent, but recognize him as an elder.

82) Two fools do not consititute a village; a dog, no matter how many pups it has, will not be milked.

83) A truly generous person does not boast of giving; the hero does not go back on his given word.

84) A stupid friend who thinks he is bringing help does not notice himself that he is only doing harm.

85) The first word of an Uzbek penetrates stone, while the last departs on the wind.

86) Do not always confide in your secret friend, for your friend also has a friend, to whom he also relates things.

87) When the eagle becomes old, it becomes a mouse-catcher.

88) Two stupid envoys who wish to bring four persons to one opinion proceed to cause six disagreements at the same time.

89) If you plead with a good man, he will forgive you; if you plead with a bad one, he will be proud, thinking you are a coward.

/266/ 90) If God wishes to chastise a rich man, he will send him on a baranta. If God whishes to chastise a mare, she will miscarry her foal.

91) Even if you push your own child he will not go away, but even if you chain a strange child, you cannot hold him.

92) It is better to marry a girl of good descent, unseen, than to marry a beauty you have seen.

93) The clever man makes a match with a clever one, but not a year passes and the matchmaking is upset.

94) The tricks of the rider /dzhigit/ reflect on the bek; the tricks of the wife on the husband.

95) The daughter is at home but her behavior is on the outside.

96) If two good men are united, they flow together like tin. If two fools begin to talk they will fly into a passion, like a flame.

97) When you talk with a good person - you become cheerful; when you talk to a bad person - you disagree.

98) If two wise persons talk, an unfinished affair is finished. If two fools talk, then a finished affair is completely ruined.

4:Grodekov--239 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•539 99) A young man of good descent stands out in a crowd.

100) Bow to the ground before one who bows, but before one who is haughty, lift your head up to the sky.

101) No matter where the raven flies, it will be worse than the falcon.

102) From a good man you do not hear bad words, and from a bad man you do not hear good words.

103) A magpie is better than a bad hawk.

104) A good man avoids no one, while a bad man approaches no one.

105) To a just bii there are no kinsmen, but to a shifty one there is no religion.

106) A bad hawk serves as food to the magpie.

/267/107) Even if its mane and tail are thick, do not allow a young stallion into a drove of fillies which has one stallion; even if the father of the bride is rich, do not marry the daughter of a man who is not of good descent.

108) Abuse is not smoke, the eyes do not smart.

109) He who knows how to suck from two mothers, sucks.

110) If you esteem your host, throw a bone to the dog also.

111) If the wife of a rich man dies, the bedding will be renewed, but if the wife of a poor man dies, his head becomes giddy.

112) Fear him who does not fear God; but do not fear him who fears God.

113) A sharp knife is useful for the hands, but harmful to the scabbard.

114) Who does not have relatives and friends? But there is less sharing from them than from a stranger.

115) The dog barks but the caravan moves.

116) If you raise a scrawny animal and caress it, your nose and mouth will be in butter; but if you raise a bad man, your nose and mouth will be in blood.

117) A good man knows the value of a good thing; a bad one cannot know the value of a good thing.

118) Can a gray goose swimming in the water appreciate the charm of dry land? Can a great bustard living in the steppe know the worth of a lake?

119) Even an angel will move out of the way when he sees gold.

120) He who gives birth to a good son kindles a fire, and he who gives birth to a bad son will be bitten by dogs even on a camel.

121) The beauty is not the woman who is beautiful but the woman you love.

122) He who is raised by his father will plane arrows, and he who is raised by his mother will make a long coat.

123) Salute for forty days him whom you have fed for one day.

/268/ 124) Two sheep's heads will not fit into one kettle.

125) What is received is fortune, but what is given away is misfortune.

126) There are targets in a frightened eye.

127) If your mouth is burned, you will drink and blow on it.

128) Where the horse has wallowed, hairs remain.

•539 129) Even the worst man praises his child.

130) The raven does not scratch out the eyes of another raven.

131) Take care and you will not be humbled.

132) The man who has seen much is experienced, not the man who has many years.

133) Respect yourself as a stranger does, so that strangers will respect you as well.

134) When gold is in the hand, it has no value.

135) A live mouse is better than a dead lion.

136) An athlete comes from a mother, a horse from a mare.

137) If you are to fall, fall from a dromedary. (1)

1. That is, from a great height.

138) The people is holy.

139) Two newly-weds have only one wish.

140) If there is grief, go to the khan, but if you are hungry, go to the rich man.

141) Sickness comes from food, and a lawsuit from relatives.

142) Your own opinion is enough for yourself.

143) The hand does not leave the place that itches; you cannot break away from the words of the person you love.

144) A beautiful woman cannot fail to be a loose woman.

145) He who has tasted can differentiate between fresh and bitter; he who has traveled at a trot can differentiate far from near.

146) Who respects me is close to me.

147) The revenge of a good man continues until /269/ a silk kerchief dries out, but the revenge of a bad man continues until the head (of the adversary) bows to the ground.

148) Do not ask for something when people are crying, but ask when they are laughing.

149) A saber does not go with a pedestrian; wealth does not go with a poor man.

150) If a golden saddle is tiring to the horse, take it off and burn it.

151) Who sees much becomes wiser, but who talks much becomes more voluble.

152) There is no land without a mountain; there is no people without a sultan.

153) A slave is not he who is born of a slave woman but he who behaves badly.

154) If you pursue a coward even he will become brave.

155) Pain from saddle straps is known by the horse, not the owner; the worth of a rider /dzhigit/ is known not to himself but to strange people.

156) If two fools make an agreement, God grant that they remain alive.

157) Dark night has no eyes.

158) He who is satiated does not understand the hungry man, and the healthy person does not understand the sick one.

159) God has no livestock which he pastures; he takes from one and gives to another.

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160) A slave, to whom God wishes to give, will take something on the road itself; but a thief will steal the last horse from the slave to whom God does not wish to give.

161) A thorn is unpleasant to bare feet.

162) A lost animal cannot be blamed if it returns to its former place.

163) In a man, the eyes are in front, and the faults in the back.

/270/164) There is no enemy stronger than a wife; she is imperceptible - and lies in embrace.

165) The knife that is lost has a golden hilt; the lost cow gave much milk.

166) Horses recognize each other by neighing; people know each other by talking together.

167) One hair is silver, the next a horsehair in the tail of a race horse.

168) A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea; it is easier for the former to perish from his own stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief.

169) If you do not have a dependable shepherd, go to the sheep yourself.

170) In 15 years, the tents become the master.

171) The great are not great, but he whom the heart loves is great; The good are not good, but he whom the heart loves is good.

172) If a guest stops once, it is good, but if he stops twice, it means hunger.

173) No one is without sin except God Himself.

174) The Kipchaks do not always appear when they are called to help. God does not always help when there is wailing.

175) All Uzbeks have the same origin.

176) Even a giant flees from a gypsy (i. e., a wanderer).

177) The bad and the good man are equal once after death (i. e., their wergeld is the same), and a second time during life (i. e., abuse can touch them both equally).

178) The goose hisses, the scabby man /parshivyi/ breaks wind.

179) The bottom of the kettle burst, the scabby man broke wind.

180) They put a kettle on the scabby man's head. The kettle burst, and he broke wind.

181) A hare fled at the foot of that mountain. I grew hungry as I chased him. After I returned I ate only mutton and quenched my thirst by looking at girls. (1)

1. This proverb is used when a young man falls into the company of girls.

/271/ 182) Thirty ducks and one crane scratch the ground when they settle. (1)

1. This proverb is used jokingly about a scabby man who combs his hair.

183) My scabby one! My scabby one! Do not curl your hair. And if they hit you once on the shoulder, do not turn around backwards.

184) In the grass is kekere /a type of grass/, in the grass is kekere, and from the kekere grass a rabbit jumps out who has eaten his fill. (2)

2. This is said of a miserly man who, like the rabbit, eats himself and does not give to others.

185) A bad relative is worse than a stranger.

186) If your padishah is just, you have plenty of land, grass and water.

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187) Who does not drink kumys, who does not court a girl?

188) It is not shameful to speak with superiors. If your jokes are pleasing, then joke with your father. (3)

3. This is said in justification when reprimanded for joking with superiors.

189) Agreements are not valid between enemies (everything is allowed).

190) From a good man his name remains, from a bad man the wailing remains (of his cruelty).

191) Contributions set the guests on their horses, helpers turn the enemies away in flight. (4)

4. That is, the more people there are in a village, the more they regale guests, and the better they repulse their enemies.

192) Bad lives with good everywhere. When good lives with good, what sort of life is that?

193) In an unseen people, there are unheard of things. (5)

5. They say this about the reports of travelers.

/272/194) Of a thousand words, one word holds conviction; after thirty days of fasting there is one holiday; after forty years of baranta, there is one day of reconciliation.

195) The key to what is begged for is in heaven. (1)

1. Said when it is difficult to beg something from a miser.

196) Do not set your (hunting) bird on a tree. Do not let your affair depend on a bad man.

197) An orphan's property dries seven rivers (i. e., it is dangerous to misuse it).

198) A woman without brains is like a frog without a tail. 539.

199) Do not feel sorry for an orphan. An orphan is "siger kutingdi" (i. e., never expect gratitude from an orphan).

200) If you are sharpening something, steel cuts, if you are begging, a good man forgives /debts/.

201) Do not fear the man whose exterior is attractive.

202) He who misuses something entrusted to him will be punished in the future.

203) There is no haughtiness in a good man, and no gravity in a bad one.

204) A hungry dog eats his strap. Birds love height. A good man leaves a good memory, a bad man leaves a bad one.

205) The mullah reads what he sees. The raven pecks what he sees.

206) Whoever does not value the worth of a husband does not know the union of God.

207) The pure-hearted sweats a great deal. (2)

2. That is, he takes care of his friends.

208) It is better to hit the man they are giving a gift to, than to ask him if he wants the gift.

209) With a shameless man a holiday lasts six days; with a man without relations it lasts seven.

210) Praise sustains, a bad testimonial kills.

/273/ 211) If they come to you, forgive, even sacrificing the wergeld of your father.

212) When they come to your house, even if you have a claim as big as a house, do not speak of it.

4:Grodekov--247 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•534 213) A blow with a stick returns with a stick (i. e., an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth).

214) Fighting and quarreling is an ancient custom.

215) In fifty years a people renews itself. A hundred years transform /them/ into dust.

216) A stone full of holes will not remain on the ground.(1)

1. This is said in relation to the fact that a girl will always marry.

217) From many, one is taken as a sacrifice. (2)

2. This is said if someone is sent as a spy or an envoy, risking his life.

218) It is not really summer until the Besh-Toguz month begins.

219) If you are good, the place of a man will always be found for you.

220) For one man, two men are God. (3)

3. That is, two men are stronger than one man.

221) The body (4) is respected among acquaintances, the clothing

4. That is, the man himself.

among strangers

222) There is nothing shameful about health. (5)

5. This is used in the sense that it is not reprehensible to guard the health.

223) It is not shameful to get lost, as long as you can find your house again.

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224) From death there is no ransom.

225) He who is not fated to die will not even die of hunger.

226) Calling to prayer is the buisiness of the mullah.

/274/ 227) A horse which is fed will not grow thin.

228) As long as the wise man thinks the thought, the foolish one will already carry out the deed.

229) For the insane no rules exist.

230) He who trusts in God will not be despised. Slaves who trust in God will not be subjected to any grief.

231) If your go out, trusting in God, you will return with fortune.

232) If God wishes to give to his slave, he will accumulate from everywhere; if God does not wish to give to his slave, then thieves will steal his last horse.

233) Better a man with a copper head than a woman with a golden head.

234) A spying friend is worse than an enemy living far away.

235) Nearness and distance are known by the traveler, bitter and sweet are known by the person who has tasted them.

236) The mother's heart (yearns) for the child, the child's heart (yearns) for the steppe.

237) When you choose a girl, look at the mother; when you choose sacking, look at the length; when you choose a hawk look at its whiteness.

238) What failed to come in with the mother's milk will not enter with calf's milk (that is, never).

•539 239) Who does not understand what he says will also die without pain.

240) An unscrupulous mullah can plunder a stupid people.

241) The back wheel of the cart will pass where the front wheel went.

242) When the mane of a lean horse improves, he will not allow fur to be fastened to his flank; when a poor man's flock increases, he will not allow others to nomadize with him, and if he does, he gives them no peace.

/275/243) To a lean horse, there is a whip in a burden.

244) It is not the person who ate who knows but the one who minced it (cooked it).

245) He who hastens will not bring his deed to its end. A prudent man does not lose his horse.

246) He who does not hasten will overtake the hare even in a wagon.

247) He who does not listen to his father will not live fortunately for long.

248) Do not drive your horse with the whip, drive it with food.

249) If you drive your horse only with the whip, you will walk on foot.

250) When a horse becomes emaciated, it is fit for a tulak; (1)

1. A tulak is a horse hide, used in place of felt.

when a man becomes thin, he goes for a visit.

251) The foal goes according to the tracks of the horse.

252) He who has not seen a horse will ride it to death.

253) If your horse is bad you can free yourself by selling it. If your wife is bad, how can you free yourself?

254) He who never stops prattling to no purpose, will not be able to find a word at a wedding (where it is necessary to improvise verses).

255) He who is afraid of the bear does not go into the woods.

256) If you are rich, be self-righteous; if you are poor, be obliging.

257) It is impossible to dispute with the rich; it is impossible to fight with a tree.

258) The affair of the rich man commands, the affair of the poor man toils.

259) Children! Everything done by children is done by half.

260) It is not fitting for a son to teach his father.

261) It is possible to say "honey, honey", but there will be no taste on the lips.

/276/ 262) He who has eaten honey, licks his fingers.

263) He who is afraid of baranta will not be a herder.

264) Be satisfied with what there is; bear up patiently if something is lacking.

265) Where there is an originator, an imitator will appear also.

266) He is God who gave his head (life) and will also give food.

267) Only let the head be unharmed, and another cap will be found.

268) To the one who gives, five seems much, while to the one who receives, six seems little.

•539 269) Do not look at the face of him, to whom you give.

270) Do not grumble about what has not been given, do not throw away what has been given.

271) Do not make the giver ashamed of a gift.

272) If you give you will receive; if you sow, you will reap.

273) For one horse two bridles are not needed.

274) After every starvation satiety follows.

275) Two mice do not live in harmony in the ground (under the tent) of one master.

276) Two feet do not fit in one boot.

277) It is not worth cooking two grains of wheat in one kettle.

278) A whole skin of oil is spoiled by only one small bit of excrement. One good man leads a thousand after him.

279) To him who has given food one day, forty days (should be given) salaam (greeting).

280) You are born in a day; you will die in one day.

281) In one tenga /coin/ there is no mare, in two tengas there is no camel. He who yearns for a stranger's welfare will not keep his own.

282) If you bite one of five fingers, all five will hurt equally.

/277/283) Ignorance frees one from a thousand misfortunes.

284) When angered by lice, do not throw your clothing into the fire.

285) One speaks for the head, the other for the ear.

286) A bachelor's sense is in both his eyes.

287) When it is cloudy it will rain; when it is clear it will be hot. Only a stupid man can forget the place where he was born and grew up.

288) The words of the ancients are never useless.

289) It is better for a foal to outstrip its own village than for a horse to outstrip a strange village.

290) It is better to be a shepherd in one's own clan than emperor of a strange people.

291) Food which is borrowed breaks the teeth, but it goes in.

292) He who has an infirmity has no force.

293) Of friends there are two, and of enemies eight.

294) A friend says stop crying; an enemy will say stop laughing.

295) Do not keep account with a friend but eat your food together.

296) My friend is well-disposed toward me, and my affair goes well.

297) If you allow your enemy to make peace with you, he will sit on your head.

298) When two women come together there will be a bazaar (noisy).

299) If you chase two hares you will not catch even one.

300) When two men speak (simultaneously) you do not catch either one.

301) Two mullahs disagree like women; one mullah is like two men (strong).

302) When two gerfalcons fight the solitary raven gets the food.

•539 /278/303) If you exert yourself you will suck.

304) The surface of the sheep's skin is bitter, the words of a bad man are bitter.

305) In the summer a feast, in the winter - a laughing-stock. (1)

1. That is, he who feasts in summer can be in need in winter.

306) One whip to a good horse, a thousand to a poor horse.

307) A good horse is submissive, a bad horse is unruly.

308) To a good man evil (remains) close, to an evil man the good (becomes) disgusting. (2)

2. In the original suuk - cold.

309) A good name is better than wealth.

310) A good man knows the value of a good thing.

311) If you travel with a good man, you will reach the goal you desire. If you travel with a bad man, you will be discredited.

312) A good man is steady, a bad man is irritable.

313) To a lazy man every day is a holiday.

314) A lazy man lies down and his maintenance slips away from him.

315) If you make a bad man a yesaul (3) he will bring enemies

3. A rider /dzhigit/.

to you.

316) If a bad man is caught in a crime he will say: this one was also my accomplice. (4)

4. That is, he tries to compromise others.

317) A bad stallion is unruly /norovit/ in the drove, the bad son-in-law misses his own relatives.

318) He who does not suffer misfortune will not find happiness.

319) There would be no more poverty if there were only a kind of food which could be obtained lying down.

/279/ 320) It is better to be the slave of a rich man, than the son of a poor one.

321) He who has lived through does not know, he who has been around knows. (1)

1. That is, he who has seen much knows, not he who has lived through much.

322) After the enemy has seized (you) by the collar, the dog seizes you by the coat.

323) After the enemies have departed, thrust your sword into the ground.

324) Butter is good even if it is not suitable to eat it; a rich man is good, even if he has not given anything.

325) The poor man has a scarcity but he is satiated.

326) The man riding a pacer does not look around for his traveling companion.

327) From a meek man it comes out thickly. (2)

2. That is, an unexpectedly sharp action.

328) He who is mounted on a race horse will forget even God.

329) A child who wants to cry will play with its father's things.

330) He achieves who is fated to (achieve), not he who runs.

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331) He who walks (has the wisdom of) the sea. He who sits (has the wisdowm of) the matting.

332) The people has fifty ears.

333) The people is not without thieves, the mountains are not without wolves.

334) He who has a younger brother has peace (from work).

335) Shame kills a man, reeds kill a hare. (3)

3. By preventing him from running away.

336) A man sees the real (state of affairs), a woman sees an erroneous one.

337) Though there are many men, there is no fuel; though there are many women, there is no water.

338) A man is the head, the wife the neck.

/280/339) The best of the young men does not know himself (that he is best) but the others know.

340) A man has a nose, a horse has lips. (1)

1. The sign of a horse that runs well is thick lips. The sign of a man's virility is a large nose.

341) When you gain the inheritance, bathe the legs of a donkey. (2)

2. That is, do not disdain any work.

342) When a donkey's burden is heavy, he wants to lie down.

343) Even if you put a dog on a golden dish she would jump off.

344) The baying of the dog is not heard by the wolf, the baying of the wolf is not heard by God.

345) Dog's food is black (mealy) kissel /gelatinous food of a kind of flour, usually cooked with berry juice or milk/.

346) The fox does not like the running of the dog, a sick man does not like laughter.

347) When they know how to lay /a fire/, even snow will catch fire; when they do not know how, even oil(3) will not catch fire.

3. That is, the best fuel.

348) One dog commands another, and that one commands its tail (puts its tail between its legs, obeys).

349) When a dog has no collar she pays no attention to a call.

350) A dog's stomach is not fit (to eat) cow's butter.

351) When a dog gets fat it will bite its master.

352) A dog will find the place where it had enough to eat, the man the place where he was born.

353) The way the mare is usually depends on the master, the way the poker is usually depends on the leather skin (for kumys).

354) The worst Kazakhs become Sarts, the worst Sarts become Kazakhs.

355) The careless person gets fat only from water.

/281/ 356) Do not expect wisdom for three days from the man who rode into the city.

357) The khan has the wisdom of forty men.

358) The khan (sometime) will also need his subjects.

359) A khan cannot be without subjects.

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360) As long as the khan has subjects he can even launch a boat on dry land.

361) The shamefulness of the black dog is also transferred to the white dog.

362) By the time the black (brunette) person flies into a temper, the yellow (blond) person has already used up his spirit.

363) A black man cannot be white, a white man cannot be black. When a knife will not cut the hand, there will also be no wounds.

364) The raven says to its child: my white one. The hedgehog says to its child: my smooth one.

365) The hair of women is long, but their wisdom is short.

366) If your wife is spiteful, of what use is the peace of the nation? If your boot is tight, of what use is the breadth of the world?

367) When your wife is a fool, let your whip be thick.

368) In whatever land you live, you will sing its song.

369) What is not settled by evening will never be settled.

370) A small stone can pierce even a head.

371) When there are many shepherds, the ram dies without being watched.

372) The dogs who are gray do not win, but those who are more.

373) He who has seen much is like a lake.

/282/374) If there is one child among many old men, he will act wise; if there is one old man among many children he will act as a child.

375) Of many words few are good. A few words are good alone.

376) Who talks much is a chatter box.

377) If there is much spitting there will be a lake.

378) For a timid man (everything) appears double.

379) The timid man does not recognize his father, the fool does not understand his mistake.

380) If you play with a hare, you will get tired. If you play with fire, you will get burned.

381) A strange horse is sweaty, strange clothing gets dirty.

382) What is done by man does not constitute the support of a man.

383) Do not sing the song of other people, sing your own song.

384) The eyes are cowards, the hands are heroes.

385) When the sun rises (1) over the kulan (wild horse), he will

1. That is, when danger appears.

not wait for his foal.

386) If the kulan falls into a well, the frog will dance on his ears.

387) If you speak your mind, the dirt (distress) comes out of the heart; if you wash, the dirt comes out of the shirt.

388) He who has seen is defeated also by him who has not seen.

389) In a maiden there is something like a beautiful flame; when she becomes a wife, she forfeits her value.

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390) Do not laugh at another, it (the misfortune) will come to you too.

391) When you ride out on a day's journey, take enough supplies for a week.

/283/392) There is no use in boasting.

393) Hold your tongue in the presence of the mullah, in the presence of the master /expert/ hold your hand.

394) He who has not been a wanderer is not a Moslem. (1)

1. Only he who has been a wanderer himself can have the necessary compassion for wanderers. This proverb came to the Kazakhs from the Sarts. The position of wanderers is difficult in the East. Compare the Arabic proverb: assafaru kyt"atun min assakar (a journey is part of hell) or: assakaru kyt"yatun minassaf (hell is only a part of a journey).

395) What you sow you will reap.

396) When knuckle bones land upright it spoils the game; a fool ruins a meeting.

397) A woman who has come after fire has thirty subjects for conversation.

398) A ruler has a spacious armpit (defense), a long stick.

399) The patient person will wait it out, the impatient one will boil over.

400) He who is patient will reach his goal.

401) The root (fruit) of patience is yellow gold.

402) God helps him who helps himself.

403) He who looks after himself achieves happiness.

404) If you greet a deaf man, he will speak of the head of your father.

405) If you make haste you will not find your master (God).

406) To speak of mine and thine shows a narrowness of the heart. To say "lie farther away, lie closer" indicates a narrowness of the blanket.

407) All the blind man asks is his two eyes.

408) The last camel has the heaviest load. (2)

2. It is difficult for the last camels to keep step with the forward ones.

409) Water is a mute enemy.

410) The sultan will not punish his bone (relatives).

411) It is not the beautiful which is beautiful but what one loves.

/284/412) Cows do not walk without pushing each other.

413) The teeth do not turn black in a horse which is well cared for.

414) At a break there is a mend.

415) A word passes through bones, a stick passes through flesh.

416) He who expresses himself awkwardly will say bad things even about himself.

417) If you wish to speak there are many subjects for conversation.

418) Character which entered with the milk (of the mother) will go out only with the bones (death).

419) A man with a scabby head is usually talkative.

•539 420) A good colt follows the horse, the bad horse follows the colt.

421) Turning somersaults will not get a foal out of the drove.

422) The throat (thirst) plunges into hell.

423) He who has struck you with a stone, strike him with food.

424) Instead of giving a mountain of desires give a finger of happiness.

425) To the tongue every day is a holiday.

426) The tongue is sharper than the sword.

427) Even though the beggar's pouch is filled, his eyes are not satiated.

428) Strike the iron while it is hot.

429) The wolf will not devour the livestock of him who is supported by God.

430) God's days are more numerous /bol' she/ than millet.

431) The fool forgets the place where he was born.

432) If you go to a wedding, it means to go having eaten and having left your business behind.

433) When he hears about a wedding even a potsherd (an old man) wants to rush there.

/285/434) A wedding is for people who have a long coat, memorial services for those who have a horse (for racing).

435) Do not keep salt a long time, for it will turn into water. Do not keep a maiden for a long time or she will turn into a slave.

436) There are friendly relations between four-legged camels, and between two-legged people of the same age.

437) He who drew near knows, not he who was born at the same time.

438) There is misfortune in turbulent mouths.

439) Outside it glitters, inside it is chattering (with cold).

440) To the mouse death is necessary, to the cat a game is necessary.

441) When your camel dies, your luck is gone. When your cart breaks down, it will be repaired.

442) Stretch out your legs depending on the blanket.

443) Before he enters, the guest is under restraint, after he enters the host is under restraint.

444) A road, even if it is long, is good. A maiden, even if she has bad morals, is good.

445) He who has fallen alone will not cry.

446) To everyone his own is as warm (dear) as a fire.

447) Ask advice of him who wore out one shirt earlier than you (elders).

448) He who was not satiated with the colostrum, will not have had enough with the ninth (dish).

449) He who has a home also has a song.

450) Shame is more powerful than death.

451) A great one begins, a small one throws away.

452) He who has not been exposed to a dispute does not count.

453) If your traveling companion is a Russian, let there be an iron ax in your hand.

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454) He who listens to instructions will not perish.

455) The skilled man is often without a knife.

/286/456) A sword will not cut a neck which is stretched out.

457) Do not regret past deeds. No matter how much you regret, it will not be as it was in the past.

458) What was inflicted (of insults) was mutual, and the rest (which was not mutual) is forgiven.

459) A blunt knife also cuts a hand.

460) When the devil is leading, the eyesight will not work.

461) Slander kills; praise supports.

462) If you do not accept the invitation, you cannot expect another invitation.

463) When someone holds his nose in the air, do so also in front of him for he is not the son of the Prophet. When someone bows, bow also before him, for he is not a slave bequeathed to you by your father.

464) He who is afraid of locusts will not plant.

465) At the trough there is also a pail.

466) A horse fettered on three legs is my own horse. A horse who is fettered by two legs is my free horse.

467) The flies circle around something rotten.

468) An escort who does not accompany the person to the end is not considered an escort.

469) He who is afraid of sparrows will not sow millet.

470) He who has no work also has no food.

471) Old clothes do not keep you warm.

472) There is nothing new without something old, and there is nothing old without something new.

473) He who has not found work has lice peeking out of his trousers.

474) I fell into an abyss without noticing it. Where do I get out?

475) A friend is bitter (not dear), livestock is sweet (dear).

476) If you do good to a person, some /287/ good for nothing will not accept your goodness. Many people have lived on earth who have lost trust because they answered good with evil.

477) He who begs from people grows thin. He who asks from God has something. A reasonable man discerns every matter with his mind.

478) The corruption of people is within, the corruption of livestock is on the outside.

479) It is impossible to enter a house without decorum. It is impossible to live in a country without a chief.

480) There are people who cannot control passion, the great enemy. Having made friends with passion, they cannot take their eyes away from the world.

481) My own tent is light, similar to a spacious sarai.

482) A friend who plans to take his leave begins to demand the back pommel of the saddle. (1)

1. That is, the impossible, for the Kazakh saddle has no pommels.

483) Words directed to a friend are in vain.

484) For an openhearted man, his horse will not grow lean, his long coat will not wear out, and he will not grow poor with all his generosity.

•539 485) The chick of a white gerfalcon cannot look for food for itself. On the lips of a scoundrel, a prayer has no force.

486) There are usually five or six chicks of the white gerfalcon, but of these only one learns to hunt swans. Those who are unable to hunt for swans become a laughing stock to the small bird.

487) If you tell a wise man he will understand. If you tell a stupid man he will laugh.

488) Make friends with the wise man, stand aside from the stupid one.

489) A hint to the wise, a big club to the stupid.

490) There is sense in food, there is bravery in youth, there is value in a stone.

491) When the leadership leaves the path of justice, the spine of the people cracks.

492) The words "we take" are the truth the words "we will give back" are falsehood.

/288/ 493) The weak man puts it off until the future life.

494) When you have food, you consort with people. When you have a horse you see the country.

495) The hasty duck dives (not head first but) with its tail.

496) A Kazakh whose father and grandfather were not biis, does not act according to custom. He hears petitioners with hints (for a bribe) and he does not stand before superiors, out of pride.

497) A daughter is gotten rid of thanks to the glory of the father; the cloth is disposed of thanks to the glory of the mata. (1)

1. Mata is a cotton material of local manufacture used for shirts and underwear.

498) Do not hunt hares with a man from another place. He will prevent you from shooting just by being by your side.

499) There sometimes are four year old foals which do not turn into horses. There are such widows who cannot be changed into girls.

500) He who sits on a horse does not appropriate to himself the property of a man on foot, and if he does, the people does not approve.

501) The horse, depending on its running, turns into money; a bad man is transformed into a slave by fleeing.

502) If you do not value your horse, you will find yourself walking. If you do not value food, you will go hungry.

503) A good horse is the horse Burak on the road; a good son is a light in the heart. If your horse is bad, your satisfaction departs; if your son is bad, your strength departs; if your wife is bad, the guests depart from your house, while if guests do come, you will depart from them downcast.

504) When a dog of the village is worthless, it will enter into an agreement with a wolf.

505) It seems to a hungry stomach that it will never /289/ be filled. To a full stomach it seems that it will never be hungry.

/ 506)is not in the text. /

507) Wickedness is a Kafir /infidel/, wisdom is a friend; add wisdom to your wisdom.

508) Step into the bazaar. There you will test your luck.

509) The rich man perishes from one ram, the hero perishes from one bullet.

510) When the rich man boasts, there is oil. When the poor man boasts, what is there?

511) Send a child on an errand, but run with it yourself.

• 539 512) He who cannot catch a fish muddies the water.

513) Abundance permits you to say what you please. Want forces you to eat what is polluted.

514) When there is something to eat, wipe it up with a piece of bread. When there is not; wipe it up with your spirit.

515) When there is something to eat, wet it and eat it. When there is not, sell and eat.

516) What happens to the head is seen by the eyes too. (1)

1. Variant: is suffered by the soul too.

517) If advice is asked of a hero, he will show his sword, gun and flag;if advice is asked of a livestock herder, he will show a one year old camel and a two year old camel; if advice is asked of a butcher, he will show his knife and grindstone.

518) If you are a hero and a rich man, why are you not the ruler? If you are poor but a bek, why are you not a laughing stock?

519) Do not compare your bad relative with yourself, do not call a bad person estranged from the good "your eye" (2)

2. Guardian, well wisher.

520) Being born together goes together, living together does not go together.

/290/521) There is a long road; although it is long it is near. (1) There

1. Suitable for passage.

is a road near at hand; although it is near it is long. (2)

2. Impassable.

522) If a guest stays one day, honor him; if he stays two days, swallow. (3)

3. Dzhut has two meanings - hunger and swallow /imperative case/. This proverb can consequently be translated in this way also: if a guest stays one day, honor him; if he stays two days, you will starve.

523) Once you have asked five for one tenga, you will not force silence for a thousand tengas.

524) Whoever says "I know" (about a crime) gets caught, but whoever says "I do not know" slips away.

525) Sometimes even one who knows allows an act (4), and also

4. A mistake.

one who does not know allows an act. (4)

526) Where is your knowledge if you do not forgive ignorance?

527) Rushes which have grown badly will even burn under water.

528) A people whose leader is a youth will not be left unharmed; a herd of wild goats led by a young goat will not be left unharmed.

529) Impurities are bad, but worst of all is poverty.

530) When you eat a goose at someone's table, dress your duck (for him).

531) Some skip from satiety, and some from hunger.

532) When you are in power, live powerfully, pass your time like a white pacer /horse/. When you realize that you have ceased to be powerful, yoke up a pair of oxen for a (strange) man.

533) When snow falls in a snowstorm or a hurricane, the land is covered with snow. It is the sign of a molodets (young man or courageous fellow?) to clean the path by which he has come.

534) To one who has not seen happiness, it seems that happiness /291/ will never be; he begins to envy the man who stands above him.

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535) A friend looks at the head, an enemy at the feet. (1)

1. Used when someone is making fun of a barefooted person. The head is called holy(aziz).

536) When a friend is drunk, he becomes an adversary.

537) If you pursue the world, it moves away; if you move away from the world, it pursues you.

538) Two plaintiffs do not make up a village; once you have called someone a dog or a pup, never stroke (flatter).

539) When two dromedaries squeeze against each other the fly between them dies.

540) If you are good, you will find; if you are bad, you will get thin.

541) Do not stretch your hand (2) away from good; it will be

2. Do not remove.

useful for many days. This world will not be a traveling companion, this power comes and goes, without permanence for anyone.

542) Among good men lies a saddle and a horse; among good females (3) lies a cradle and a son.

3. Women.

543) A good man will never be bad, a good horse, even though he grows lean will not be a jade.

544) Living with good people is paradise, living with bad means quarreling.

545) If you call a good person bad, he will stretch out his neck like a white swan. If you call a bad person bad, he will escape without a trace.

546) A good person knows the character of the good. How can bad persons know the cheapness and expensiveness of things? 539.

547) Advantage from the good, harm from the bad.

548) The spirit fattens from a good word.

549) A good son is the mainspring of the heart, a bad son is the dirt of the nose.

/292/ 550) One beam cannot be a house, only one man (1) cannot

1. Without the support of his relatives.

be a bii.

551) One sheepskin is little for a fur coat. A gathering of bad people alone cannot be a feast.

552) Do not do good to an evil person; he will attack your head.

553) Reason appears in a bad man only after noon.

554) Do not pay attention to bad, do not forget good.

555) Do not be in debt to a bad person, and if you are, do not spend what you have taken.

556) A bad man does not remain constant to one thing; the act of a changeable man is not changed by God into a better one.

557) The bad man does not recognize timeliness, the blind man does not recognize a pit.

558) Every act, good and bad, is initiated by God; some simpletons ascribe them to people.

559) It is better to be without a wife than to marry a bad wife; it is better to have no children than to have bad ones; it is better to walk than to ride a bad horse.

539 560) A bad man's shot will not hit the mark, and his words will not be realized.

561) He who causes pain to the soul is not a friend.

562) If you are poor, do not mind; if you are in debt, do not act haughty.

563) There are people who are adult in years, but young in mind; there are those to whom their own reason does harm.

564) The dust from a foot traveler is not visible, the voice of a single person is not audible.

565) Trees are the adornment of the earth, livestock are the adornment of the people.

566) A young man's beard grows out at twenty years; your son's ardor rises in the spring.

567) The snake twists as it flees, but goes straight into its hole.

/293/ 568) If you speak warm words, even the snake will come out of its hole. If you speak striking (with a stick), reason departs from the senses.

569) The rider who behaves badly is seized by the enemy in the midst of his own people.

570) Over the arrogant is God, over hard iron is the hammer.

571) If you give your food away to people, they will caress your head; if you give food away to dogs, they will tear your head apart.

572) When a man speaks, the road opens; when a woman speaks, the sitting opens.

573) Do not throw away the morning food, do not expect evening food.

574) A hairy lasso will not squeeze the neck of a man.

575) Do not marry the girl you saw through the door; take the one you have seen since the cradle. 539.

576) The dog is faithful, the wild animal bays.

577) I only want one thing, and that is a black stallion; when I obtain a black stallion, then you do what you wish.

578) Good wishes have developed among people, good deeds have developed between good people.

579) In an abandoned lake a frog is a stallion, for an abandoned wife, a worker is a stallion.

580) Continence fills the stomach, incontinence slaughters the last horse.

581) The unjust khan loses his position; the unjust bii loses his trust; the rich man who is not bountiful loses his livestock; he who grudges his livestock loses his friend.

582) Be not an adversary of the khan, be not a sinner before God.

583) Kinsmen dispute but do not reject each other.

/294/ 584) A relative goes to a relative, and misfortune descends on the stranger.

585) Do not confide your secret to a woman, do not believe until you are convinced.

586) A people which is led by a woman will not be left with anything.

587) Another fool makes friends with his enemy and disputes with his friend.

588) A long coat which is made after deliberation will not seem short.

539

589) I placed a dish before you, and put a knife in your hand.

590) The judgment belongs to /is in favor of/ him who owns the felt.

591) From a pack of dogs even a fox will not escape.

592) He who frightens /others/ much, thrusts (his hands) in deep.

593) Prolixity - obscenity.

594) He whose future stands before him has need of people; he whose future does not stand before him, what need has he of people?

595) When informing of the pasturage of wild horses, take your rest separately.

596) There is no urine in fighting, inside it boils like a kettle.

597) An eminent (bride) whom (you) have betrothed yourself to without seeing her is better than a beauty whom (you) have betrothed yourself to, having seen her.

598) A bird flies with its wings, and settles with its tail.

599) A lamb which will become a male usually has a prominent forehead; a youth who will be a good man has a spacious skirt and sleeve.

600) A short string is not enough for a slip noose.

601) When the poker is long, the hands do not get burned; when you have many relatives, people will not touch you.

602) Give your animal to be pastured by him who found it; let him who gathered the kindling burn it.

/295/603) There is no young man who would not acquire livestock; there is no woman who would not acquire a son.

604) When the master is absent, the slave enters inside the wall; when the dog is absent, the wild boar will grunt inside the wall.

605) The manner of vile people goes in twos and kicks itself. 534.

606) A cow is not usually (1) yellow, a camel is not usually a bay.

1. Is not called.

607) Before I have ferried across the river, I promise to give my daughter after I reach the other side; after I have crossed the river, I do not even recognize you by sight.

608) He who gives without being asked may boldly be called generous; the horse which runs without being urged can boldly be called a racer.

609) It is possible to speak to him who listens; but for him who has firmly stopped up his ears with wax, is it not all the same, what is said and what is not said?

610) He who hunts by a word will gain misfortune; he who hunts by a path will gain treasure.

611) Not to speak is better than to speak; a stick falls on the head of the speaker.

612) Those who have come together will not become close; kinsmen will not become distant.

613) If you eat to keep from being hungry, the foal will remain; if you eat to be filled, the ram will remain.

614) A stone is heavy to him on which it lies.

615) When the deer's horns ache in the mountains, then even the cow's horns ache in the valley.

616) A stream flowing from the mountains pours into the sea; do not rejoice when a good person is born of a bad one; he will follow in his tracks.

/296/ 617) A fool has eight legs; if one does not hit another one will.

539

618) As long as you live, observe and acquire knowledge, and follow all good people.

619) A goat without horns who wants to beg horns for himself will forfeit his ears.

620) The sparrow protects its baby from the rain, but protects its own head from hail.

621) Do not do evil to the person at whose house you ate bread and salt.

622) The Turkmen became rich in his sleep.

623) When four men are in alliance they can reach something which is over their heads; when six men disagree, they lose what they have in their mouths.

624) He who has a heart and a soul also has death on him; we are afraid before death.

625) He does not know himself, and does not listen to him who knows.

626) He who asks about the distant ancestors of the man who has made a rider (a good man) of himself, is a dog.

627) Do not confess your own sins; when they want to discover the traces, they will not be concealed.

628) When it is needed for myself I have a pair of oxen; when people need it, I have various kinds of work.

629) When I reflect myself, I receive a mare with foal; when I advise another to reflect, my feet barely touch the ground. (1)

1. That is, he who defends his own case in a litigation easily wins, and on the contrary, he who entrusts the running of the case to another has to flee from the court.

630) He who praises himself will soon be overtaken by death.

4:Grodekov--276 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

539.

631) An uninvited guest sits on the bare ground.

632) If he is beaten he will get as fat as a badger.

/297/ 633) He who does not know his own country will not be bii among his own people.

634) Do not say that the tent is yours; there are also other people behind the tent.

635) Singing is like a feast, obesity is like a ram.

636) A dexterous man swims against the current.

637) A thief does not get rich, a dish-licker does not get fat.

638) The heart of the thief knows, and the heart of the plaintiff knows.

639) Truth on the lips of a liar is lost in vain.

640) A false word is an enemy to the soul, a sharp knife is an enemy to the scabbard.

641) If you sleep you will acquire a dream; if you do not sleep you will acquire a herd.

642) Horses from different herds are united by a halter; people from different clans are united by God.

643) A shameless son is bad, a self-willed daughter is bad; a bad daughter is like hoar-frost: she will disappear somewhere; a bad daughter-in-law is like permanent hoar-frost: your soul will be tormented every day.

644) The worst fodder is the seleu grass; the worst people are the Teleu clan.

645) The dexterous man eats twice; what does the stooped man find?

646) The kulaks (run out) from the fallen person.

•539 647) It is easier to fight an enemy to whom on has grown accustomed.

648) For strong iron there is a hammer; for a presumptuous person there is God.

649) God takes care of the wronged.

650) The sword does not recognize agreements.

651) Give up your life to enemies, but do not give away a secret.

652) They cannot skin two hides from one ram.

653) The evil man gathers clubs, the fool takes wives.

/298/ 654) If your brother dies, your inheritance is your sister-in-law; if your horse dies, the hide is your inheritance.

655) A wife does not respect her husband, because she often sees his naked body; the father-in-law will not respect the bride if he sees her face often.

656) By selling his son he had a horse; by selling his daughter he had food.

657) The orphan with a father is a dishonest orphan, the orphan with a mother is a valuable orphan.

658) On the head of an orphan with a mother, a hand and a comb play; lice play on the head of an orphan without a mother.

538 177 form's sake, and above all, no subjectivism or nonobjectivism, so characteristic of recent western European art. And literature is to pursue socialist realism, that is, the objective expression of Soviet themes. In a word, art in the service of the state. The themes of Kazakh novels are typical Soviet themes: industrialization, as in the novel Life and Death by Mustafin; youth and the Soviet innovator or new Soviet man, as in Abishev's Young Generation and Mustafin's Shiganak; the Sovietization of rural life, as in Mukanov's Syr Darya and Mustafin's Millionaire. Mustafin and Mukanov have been officially praised for depicting the educative force of collective labor.[5] And Mukanov, Auezov, and Mustafin have been jointly praised for achieving professional stature as novelists, disclosing "their fruitful instruction by the Russian and Soviet literary classics in the method of Socialist realism in Kazakh prose."[6]

But the best works are those which deal with the past, such as Auezov's fictional biography of Abai and Mukanov's memoirs of his own prerevolutionary days, "My Schooling." These have been condemned because they contain glorifications of the past; they insist that all was not wrong in those times. The heroes of the new novels see their personal happiness in the weal of the Soviet fatherland; they think not only of immediate issues, such as their own collective farms, but of Moscow, Stalin, Leningrad, the Volga, and Stalingrad. They celebrate the Volga, Mother River of Russia.[7] But artistically, the new novels are less satisfying.

Auezov's novels about Abai are rich in their description of the Kazakh landscape, rich in language, but they are criticized for glorifying the "feudal-patriarchal" life of the past; they exalt past leaders and overlook Abai's fight against Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.[8]

546 During the war, the Kazakh film industry received a tremendous lift when the Moscow studios moved to Alma-Ata. This growth was short-lived, however, for the studios were moved back to Moscow after the war. A Soviet controversy arose about one of the few films made in Alma-Ata, a film on the life of Chokan Valikhanov. While the idea of filming the life of this historic figure was praised in the Party press, the film itself was sharply criticized. The reasons given for the criticism are highly instructive: The film does not show the influence on Valikhanov of Russian revolutionaries; it idealizes Pan-Islamists of the 1860's and 1870's; it revives the ideals of the Alash-Orda (free nomads as of yore—no cities, no schools, no science); it praises Kenesary; it fails to show how Valikhanov's father supported the union of Kazakhstan with Russia; it distorts the latter's role by claiming that he sought to disaffect from Russia.[9]

53 177 Kazakh literature and art are not nationalist in form and socialist in content. In the design of public buildings, in the various fields of writing, in the making of films, the content is designated by Moscow.

[5]Maliesovskii, 1949, p. 48.
[6]*Ibid.*, p. 41.
[7]*Ibid.*, p. 48
[8]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 6 Sep 53.
[9]*Ibid.*, 23 Oct 52.

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ.*

[55] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent uru in the next higher stratum. 582

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 531

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.[39] Il'minskiĭ, who apparently first reported the fact, states:[40]

> A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband . . . . If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov[41] describes a similar prohibition as applying to " . . . the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place . . . ." Radlov[42] reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " . . . eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko[43] says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " . . . all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children . . . " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samoĭlovich.[44] As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Boshai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Boshai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

[39] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81; Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 85.

[40] Il'minskiĭ, *Materialy k Izucheniiu Kirgizskogo Narechiia*, 191.

[41] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81.

[43] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59, note 2.

[44] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–63.

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoïlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoïlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606 Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582 Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Kazakingizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura-
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow
776 girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore
young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to
bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil
spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even
under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating
846 fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling
(suuk).

When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give
553 the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they
give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another,
551 then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child
some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long
life, for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he
not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey
tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut,
Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta
(stop). Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male
or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names
originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who
came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or
blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay,
or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child
in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs
bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pista-
chio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple
blossom), Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl),
Tursungul' (stop!, or flower), Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i. e.,
Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds
the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin,
Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

500 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1) 852

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eh atyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz). 576 561

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/ /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

784

/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

428

423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them, etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where sanxanl, shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1/2 [Not reproduced -- A]

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura
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500 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
● 553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

764 Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

[Soviet Era]

583 422 Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

58 Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before [563] puberty.[290] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa aul underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

428 The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest
son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be en-
countered more rarely, for danger forced them
to move as nomads with large auls. Now this
reason for keeping together is considerably
less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are
beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world
without causing any particular worries to his
relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their
own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers.
It is self-evident that in most cases their
devices are actually harmful. In fortunate
cases they consist only of whisperings and
grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases
little peace is allowed the woman who has borne
the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has
/342/ only one right: to name her newborn child.
She does this in a very original way, acting
entirely upon inspiration, often naming the
child after the first object she happens to
look at after the birth. As a result names
occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and
so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them
for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word
Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to
Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and
in general is circumcision inaugurated by
festivities, but does not occur until after
the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[23] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[24] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[25] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[26] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda, and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[27] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[23] Grodekov, *Kirgiz i Kara-kirgiz*, 7-8.
[24] *Idem*, 27.
[25] *Idem*, 22.
[26] *Idem*, 7-8.
[27] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazak*, 9.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. 1

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

Radlov's statement summarizes the views of my informants, who said that when the bij died he might perhaps be succeeded by his son, but this was not necessarily the case. It might be by any powerful man who "would appoint himself and say 'I am bij'." (Here the informant was using bij and aqsaqal interchangeably.) In any given group it appeared that the successor to office would probably be chosen from among themselves by the five or six wealthiest and most influential members of the aul, who would normally be relatives of one another and heads of the principal family lines of the uru predominating in the aul membership. Meyendorff[8] notes that the office tended to become hereditary but he who was not able to retain it by merit soon lost it. After the Russian occupation local officials were elected subject to government supervision and approval, which may be the source of Czaplicka's statement[9] that the Kazak "clan head" is elected.

[623] It should be noted, however, that Pallas[10] refers to a "democratic council" which chose one of its members as war leader when planning a military excursion; Levshin[11] mentions assemblies of "relatives, friends and neighbors" called to discuss local questions, which might break up in a wrangle. It is difficult to estimate the nature and scope of these councils and assemblies but I shall revert to the question presently.

Within the uru-aul group relations between the bij and aqsaqal on the one hand and the people on the other were apparently more personal than strictly political or governmental. In discussing the nature of economic social groupings we have observed the patron-client relationship between the wealthy herd owners and their poorer kinsmen and dependents. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between economic and political ties and obliga-
[554] tions. The bij and aqsaqal were usually themselves the largest herd-owners of the aul, or representatives of them as a class. The basic economic and political groups coincided.

[7] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 313–14.
[8] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 47.
[9] *Turks of Central Asia*, 49.
[10] *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.
[11] *Description des hordes*, 397.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they con- 565
tinued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use.

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending 565
from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor 554
than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked [558]
or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1)

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

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[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[168 cont.]
×648 several gentlemen from Ufa, several faithful Bashkirs, and some Russian Cossacks. Also two geodetic officers were charged with making a map of the country occupied by the Kazaks.

[169] Tevkelev's arrival at the horde revealed all of Abulkhair's ambitious scheming. The officers charged with re-
[576] ceiving the oath from the new subjects not only were not received in conformity with their rank, but were in danger of death scarcely after they had arrived. The Kazaks were incensed at the very thought of losing their rude freedom and revolted spontaneously when they saw the Russians among them, wishing to sacrifice Tevkelev instantly to their anger. The Khan saved him but could not quiet the uprising. His more daring subjects even attacked him and asked him by what right he had opened relations with foreign powers without the consent of the people, promising his obedience as well as that of the hordes. One would naturally expect a violent opposition of this kind upon learning that Abulkhair had had difficulty in obtaining the consent of a small number of Kazaks to send his deputies into Russia. This bold trick could even have cost him his life, and if at that time he did not fall under the blows of his angered compatriots, he owed his salvation more to luck than to his power, for we shall soon see how limited it was.

Tevkelev himself, whose life was threatened by the Kazaks several times, owed his survival less to the protection of the Khan than to his profession of the Moslem faith, and above all to his eloquence, by means of which he disarmed those who had come to take his life several times. The story of these events is preserved in the archives.

● [554] In his report of them in his History of Orenburg, Rychkov says that the power and captivation of Tevkelev's speech caused him to be regarded by the Kazaks as an extraordinary man. We will add that he owed his success partly to Batyr Taimas, a Bashkir elder who was then with him and who had made himself known among the Kazak hordes through his exploits and his valor.

Tevkelev's pains and troubles were not useless. No matter how strong the resistance of the people with whom he had [170] to deal was, too much effort finally tired them, and

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[287 cont.]

*648 This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali.

[554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[290 cont.]
for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon became useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader. The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences. Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

●[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
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[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/207 cont. /

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here. / Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored
554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door,
352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and
353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug,
[574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbidden by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, [648] and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet [554] life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 233 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 197 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 648 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 621 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society [181] together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[589] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum
levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell
their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an
extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a
considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when
she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression
which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their
descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but
on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls.
She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her
husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on
their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost
and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which
the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of
payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains
the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and
moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her
father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the
long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is
a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
● [554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two
Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges;
bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-
service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is
stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the
families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
[554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich
families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of
moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the
poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep
or a kid.[5]

[1]Bichurin, 1950.
[2]Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

642 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [408] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [600] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Ariatov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

[Great Horde]

613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

613 622 554 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

Kazak RQ2

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [196] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the
526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this
524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

527 554 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, K [361] adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] [272] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 291 [171] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 171 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

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[Great Horde]

177 The reason is clear: the ak sŭök or white "bone" had been
56 the political rulers in the steppe in view of their des-
565 cent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam.
While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs
it was important to maintain the quality of their estate
by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their
[556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political
meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of
endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated
with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for
social distinction: we have seen how the bii was often
chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by
birth.[2]

The ak sŭök no longer had any legal privileges;
their principal mark of social distinction was in terms
of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies,
and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a po-
litical structure embodying principles of the consan-
guineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the
kinship system upon which it was based remained in an
altered form.

621 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patri-
lineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed
to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

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[95] Idem.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 414.-- Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff.-- Analyst]

Marriage in the Great Horde

551 A Kazakh proverb runs: "A sart (agricultural Turk
595 of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house;
a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."[122] In
this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are
made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth--
notably bridewealth; the relationship between polygyny
and wealth, in addition to the explicit content of the
proverb, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring
wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

835 The rules of marriage have been already mentioned
in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and
the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy.
The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised
in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage
exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at
the end of the 19th century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-
law's mother.

2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters.
In these two rules, relationship in the maternal
line is as powerful a determinant as that in the
paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted
to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed
on brothers marrying sisters.

3. Marriage with the step-mother, step-sister
or step-daughter is strictly forbidden.

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[122] Lingelstedt, 155.

562 bridepriee. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
583 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange
of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the
payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in
a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep
the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract,
understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the
birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman
when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full
status as a woman.

683 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
684 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh sup-
plied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the
family's prestige required to be the equal of the hus-
band's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of
supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less
than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter
with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange
pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from
one community to another; her movement was in conformity
with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izrastsov, 82.

[Little Horde]

621 necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radlov's data are offered as being general for the Kazakhs; they are the result of his studies and travels in the latter third of the 19th century, presumably referring to the winter camps. Meyendorff's figure is for what he considered a large aul, nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radlov's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an even greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, in fact they tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter groupings of similar size, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an aul in the western steppe.

622 0556 The relation of such an aul to the question of kinship has already been proposed: they were in general groupings of families agnatically related to each other. Meyendorff's account further points up the relationship between the Kazakh aul and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this aul which is that of a wealthy man." Again, we are endebted to Meyendorff for the observation that the village elder or aksakal was usually a man of substance, with a large family.[183]

[183] Meyendorff, 45-47.

[Little Horde]

622 Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village
556 head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view--in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

621 Thus auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth as well as by men of rank through birth: the case of the aul of fifty tents mentioned above was the aul of a nobleman of the Little Horde. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff. These were in all likelihood family groups composed of a father, his wife or wives, who would then get separate tents, and his married sons and their children; possibly also tents of servants, or dependent kinsmen, etc. Karutz has given a schematic description of the Kazakh aul, identical with that of the Turkmen: The Turkmen and Kazakhs live in auls, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in aul formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an aul, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.[184] This is probably truer of summer camps than winter, however, because of

[184] Karutz, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 65.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the cen-
582 tury, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.[188] The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were ten or eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.[189] The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.[190]

556 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs
584 and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.[191] However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire kalym, or a major portion of it, had been paid.[192]

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[188] Karuts, op. cit., 37.

[189] Altynsarin, 101.

[190] Plotnikov, 123-124.

[191] Karuts, op. cit., 37.

[192] Plotnikov, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

583 The kalym was typically the value of forty-seven horses,
● 556a figure often encountered elsewhere in the Kazakh hordes, close to Radlov's figure of seven sevens. Alternately, the typical kalym might be fifty horses, or the equivalent in the Little Horde.[193] All these figures agree closely. On the other hand, a rich Kazakh of the Little Horde generally paid twice or even three times that amount in the kalym for a first-class marriage, while a marriage of slightly lesser éclat might involve a kalym of from 75 to 100 horses or the equivalent. Finally, a poor Kazakh might pay as little as ten horses for his kalym.[194]

583 The family of the bride undertook to give the girl a dowry on her marriage, and that property which she brought with her was called kiit.[195] On the other hand, a certain sum was given by the family of the groom to the family of the bride, "for the adornment of the daughter-in-law"--baš džaksa.[196] The value of the wealth exchanged in these various arrangements was always greater on the side of the husband's family than on the side of the wife's. The wife-receivers had to pay doubly, to the wife's family, and to the wife herself for her

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[193] Altynsarin, 104.

[194] Balliuzek, 78.

[195] Karuts, op. cit., 38.

[196] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde]

equal to that of the sons in the inče, her share taking the form of a dowry or marriage portion.[219] Unfortunately, it is nowhere corroborated that the inče was of recent date (as of the year 1872), and the equal participation of the daughter was definitely limited to wealthy Kazakhs, who made a dotal settlement equal to the kalym they received for the daughter as a matter of prestige.

It is the ideal family situation which is here described: the wealthy family could afford to realize in practice the family ideal by maintaining the extended family unity. When the son was portioned off, he remained within the family enclave or aul, which was in turn identical with the extended family of the wealthy. For in such a case, the collateral lines, including father's younger brothers, and their sons, and their sons' sons, lived together with the father, his sons, and their families and offspring in one great community. When Pater Schmidt equates the Grossfamilie with the aul of the Kirgis-Kazakh, his equation can be accepted in the light of the considerations here entertained: that it relates to the ideal family, the sought-after family, the wealthy family.[220]

In the transmission of the property from one gen-

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[219] Idem.

[220] Schmidt, Eigentum, 187.

[Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 486-488--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 The nomads in question[1] occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur,
● 556 around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh,
[101] as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the
433 poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year
round, and supported themselves by caring for their own
farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by
hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained
a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some
farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the
most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.[268]
[117.62] Hence the following account of <u>aul</u> nomadism is to be
understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and
connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy
Kazakhs.[2]

621 The <u>aul</u> in its several variations was entirely a
kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh <u>aul</u> elsewhere,
even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homo-
geneous kin group. This was not so among the northeast-
ernmost Kazakhs. The <u>auls</u> of the latter fall into two
categories: the fully nomadic <u>auls</u>, such as those of
the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach <u>aimak</u> (Oirot Autonomous
Oblast');[269] and <u>auls</u> which are entirely sedentary, such
as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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[268] Ibid., 1-3, 62.

[269] Samoilovich, 312.

[1] [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. Cat. 116, AMI Mongolia, p. 523ff.--Analyst]

[2] [For further data, cf. Cat. 116, AMI Mongolia, pp. 537-544--Analyst]

621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
433 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the auls of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of auls of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the aul was small; if the aul was large, it broke up into

[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 233 component extended family or close-kin groups for the summer movements.[274] These auls, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 [556] The auls of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All

621 614 these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sök founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. -- Analyst]

596 and valuistically oriented toward the need for sons, patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then; the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence reckoned in terms of the number of kinsmen came to play a subordinate role.[284] A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

177.55
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595 The factor of wealth determined not only the number
556 of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,[285] although the Soviet regime sought half-heartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a laissez-faire policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two; there is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his <u>aul</u> had 13 tents in it, whereas the <u>aul</u> in these parts ranged between

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[284] Ibid., 66.

[285] Ibid., 67.

three and eight tents.[286] The Kazakh of moderate means could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, and these were the very poor.[287]

The relationship between wealth and family composition was intermediated by the continued existence of the kalym.[1] But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;[288] if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, i.e., the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.[289] And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries, A.D., into the

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[286] Ibid., 54.

[287] Ibid., 67.

[288] Idem.

[289] Idem.

[1] [i.e. in the 1920's; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 244ff. -- Analyst]

themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423
which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558]
as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[55]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178
are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[55a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428
its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (encí) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[56] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[57] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[58] although according to my information it was customary

[55] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[55a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[56] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 43.

[57] *Idem*, 34.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The precise status and privileges of a White Bone as such apart from other considerations cannot be sharply defined. "One accords them respect and precedence and at feasts assigns them the most honored place and the choicest morsels."[17] Grodekov[18] says that in his time [1885] there was no distinction in law between White and Black Bones, and adds that "In the Aulie-ata district they deny any privileges to White Bones . . . and now the people say: 'The slaves are now free. Freedom is given no less to us; to rude treatment we answer rudely'." This clearly implies that formerly the situation was different. Jochelson claims,[19] again without mentioning his authority, that by Kazak law the White Bones had privileges and advantages in land owning. Such in any case would seem to have been true in practice so far as the White Bones comprised a ruling and owning class. 565

Summing up the rather unsatisfactory evidence, it may be said that the term White Bone can hardly be taken to mean a clearly defined caste, but rather to indicate generally those who enjoyed the highest prestige in Kazak society. It is not unlikely that the rigidity of distinctions between Black and White Bones had been weakened first by the inclusion of persons distinguished for religious reasons and later by the collapse of the power of the khans and their families after the Russian conquest.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS BASED ON WEALTH

Class distinctions as conditioned by economic relationships have been mentioned in a previous section but may be enlarged upon here. The poor or middle class Kazak was always in a precarious situation because the loss of his few cattle placed him in complete subjection to the wealthy owners of large herds. Radlov observed[20] that a Kazak who had lost his animals through drought or a severe winter had no recourse but to hire himself out as a worker. Ujfalvy[21] mentions the numerous impoverished people who were obliged to enter the service of the rich and adds: "Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement." Quite another picture is drawn by Grodekov, who says that agricultural workers received as wages from a fourth to a half of the harvest and ate at the table of their master, who acted as a father toward them, calling them "my sons." In return the worker was expected to advance the interests of his patron in every possible way.[22] [558]

As a contrast to this, Kargabaiev, who remembered the old days himself, said that the poor herdsman was not entitled to shelter in the master's kibitka. If he slept there at all he must stretch himself across the doorway and above all not approach the left side of the

[17] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[18] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 5.

[19] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[20] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[21] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217. Koz'min, in discussing Turco-Mongol feudalism in general writes "The relations of lord and vassal in Central Asia . . . approached the relationship of father and son . . . or of elder brother and younger brother. . . . " (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66.)

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they con- 565
tinued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use.

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending 565
from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor 554
than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked [558]
or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1)

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

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[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
619
601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally,[1A] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak süök descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177.56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Analyst]

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband.

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
593 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbíce) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kicí əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Désciption des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Désciption des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Désciption des hordes*, 353.

sole recompense for the toil of the Kazak woman was to be treated like a slave by her arrogant and severe master. Grodekov also considers the wife as legally a slave whom the husband had the right to punish by beating,[14] and Zaleskie[15] points out that although the Kazak woman had complete physical personal freedom she was less the companion of her husband than the animals of his herds. 593 562

On the other hand Karutz[16] denies specifically that the relation between husband and wife approached that of master and slave. The household was harmonious and in it the wife held a respected position. That the senior wife at least might be considered a responsible partner in her husband's affairs is indicated by Lansdell:[17]

> The head of a household will often send a portion of his herds several hundreds of miles away under the care of this [the senior] wife while he himself will either remain with his other wives about the grazing ground or go and encamp somewhere by himself.

And Ibn Battúta says:[18]

> A remarkable thing which I saw in this country was the respect shown to women by the Turks, for they hold a more dignified position than the men.

And again:[19]

> Among the Turks and Tatars their wives hold a high position; when they issue an order they say in it "By order of the Sultan and the Khatuns" [queens, wives of a khan]. Each khatun possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when they travel with the sultan they have a separate camp.

These observations of Ibn Battúta were made about 1332 and it is uncertain exactly to which Turco-Mongol group they refer, although considering the route of his journey they probably include tribes ancestral to the Kazak. They agree with other information on the status of women among the steppe nomads at the time,[20] but may be somewhat discounted as applying particularly to the highest class among whom marriages took on something of the nature of political alliances with a consequently enhanced position for the wife. His remarks are, however, interesting as applying to a period before the wide acceptance of Mohammedanism among the Turkish nomads. It seems possible that the contradictory accounts of the status of the Kazak woman may be due to her somewhat anomalous position resulting from the imposition of Mohammedan concepts upon a former culture pattern in which she occupied a more respected position.

My informants on the whole painted a rather gloomy picture of the life of the Kazak

[14] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 23; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151–52.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.
[16] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 114–15.
[17] *Russian Central Asia*, 322.
[18] *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 146–47.
[19] *Idem*, 100–101.
[20] *The Texts and Versions*, 134, 196–97.

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɨz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.
597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was 587 obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.
[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.
[83] *Description des hordes*, 364.
[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 112
[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

671 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an ex-
178 ample we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim.... In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz). " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former
562 volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

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562

as a slave (churi khisabi bulady), and 2) she is not easily beguiled by strangers since she lives on the steppe and works beside her husband, loading the camels, milking cows and nursing the children (bagane adamga kub kungul' bermeidi, bayina kyzmet kylyb tyuya artib mal saub bala chagasyna karab yuredi).

custom (minez rasm) of the Kazakhs and they enjoy great freedom (kazak keng bulady). Torgai spoke of the customary law in this way: "The customary law is really a suckling pig" /24/ (chuchkanyng bel'gi balsy). He does not subordinate himself to the customary law. As Kyul'baev, a Kazakh of the Kurama uyezd, expressed it, the customary law is the stable boy of the Shariat (adat shariatyng yilaukeri). In the Kurama uyezd a small number of sedentary Kazakhs have accepted the Shariat, but most of them hold to the customary law. However the administration is constantly receiving requests to introduce the Shariat among them. The best people are judged by the kazi, where they can soon be absolved by their personal oath, while with the bii, the oath is imposed on a kinsman in the third lineage or further removed, which makes the position of the litigant more difficult. In the Kurama uyezd the people are asked if they want to be judged by the customary law or by the Shariat, and they know that the customary law is agreeable (makul) to the Russians.

In the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd one finds the phrases: "by customary law"," by the full customary law" (toluk adat buyunsha), "by the Shariat" and "by the law. " The last, by the interpretation of several Kazakhs, is intended to give the decision greater force.

Makovetskii, in the foreword to the first part of his Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridicheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov /Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/, (Omsk, 1886), distinguishes innovations from old customs, relating primarily to precepts established under the khan Az Tauke. Khan Tauke assembled seven biis at Kul'-Tyube (in the Syr-Darya region) /old Tashkent uyezd/, among whom was the famous bii Tule Alimbekov, and these biis combined the old customs of the khans Kasym and Ishim ("Kasymkhannyng Kaska Dzhol"-The Pure Road, of khan Kasym, and "Isymkhannyng Iski Dzhol" -The Old Road, of khan Ishim) into new customs, called Dzhety Dzharga. These customs were not written down, but were given the form of short sayings and proverbs, which have been retained to a considerable degree until now, and enjoy universal respect. (1)

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

683 /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

562 [584]

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (uitirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinas shykty ma?); If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber); If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The relatives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really 683
do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but 562
sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara.

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the
fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad 586
tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she
runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand
vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant
relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your
kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay
all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not
wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30
tillias for the benefit of the husband.

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to
leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not
permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keep-
ing her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of
divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged
to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for 682
mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship 562
as it is said.

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her 842
father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to
spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga
okutady, auliya tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr
is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys,
for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and
promises a son and a daughter.

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I 586
have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according
to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's
house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered
divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband
gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she
was not guilty in the divorce.

was not guilty in the divorce.

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she
did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The 587
fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was
married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd,

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only
837 the latter is not customary. (1)

1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 573

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd) Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, [595] lan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A idow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, tc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
695 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

[684]

1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Daulietkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady).(2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride

strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to [628]
he father of these children (Perovsk uyezd).

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does
and in such cases the men call the women living with them 588
nts, as though they were working for wages. The women in

[212 cont.]

[643] This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Almost all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she [illegible] Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from [illegible] and [illegible] carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this

1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

Y 648 [213 cont.]
●[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

Y 648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

648 [644] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and pro-
K [562] [181] moted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and
K where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way [154] of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will
K [177] increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Nevertheless, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide
KN 665 assurance that the process is far from complete.

The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework
KN of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—
665 their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very
563 much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth
K only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest [154] in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty. [171]

[592] live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

[62] Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [19] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals [162] living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [583] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; [593] authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [illegible] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. 593 562 [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) [illegible]erates this analysis of the literary evidence.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[584] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum
levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell
their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an
extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a
considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when
she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression
which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their
descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but
on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls.
She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her
husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on
their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost
and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which
the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of
payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains
the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and
moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her
father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the
long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is
a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
[554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two
Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges;
bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-
service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is
stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the
families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
[554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich
families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of
moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the
poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep
or a kid.[5]

[1]Ilichzin, 1950.
[2]Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

KN 233 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[1] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas. K [31] KN [61]

In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own. K KN 463 464

Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another perspective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[2] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[3] K 562 KN [46] K [463]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[4]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of K 562

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1952.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

female backwardness has not yet been overcome. The Kazakh women are not moving in the direction of Soviet goals at a pace with the rest of society; they are as far behind the men in this matter as the Kazakh men are behind the Slavic peoples of Kazakhstan in accepting the Soviet way of life.

K 562 KN [563]

The place of Kazakh women in the economy is in the farming sector and in specific aspects of herding, primarily as milkmaids. In fact, they are the basic labor force of the collective farms. In the chapter on Kazakh social organization some of the ramifications of this division of labor were examined. The fact in the economic picture remains as one Soviet authority has put it: "The greater proportion of the 233 kolkhoz members capable of work are women. Women are now the basic labor force in the kolkhozy of Kazakhstan generally. This is accounted for first of all by the increasing role of women in kolkhoz production, and also by the greater number of men leaving the kolkhoz for industry, transport, the cities, the Soviet administration, schooling, etc."[1]

K [474] KN [474]

A broad conclusion from the survey of urbanization as a worldwide phenomenon indicates that men proceed to the cities first, and are followed by women after a time lag which may extend over years. The Soviet Union's urbanization pattern is no exception. Women are the basic labor force in rural areas in the Soviet Union generally, and there has been a flight of men from the farms. In Kazakh society there is the additional factor of the unwillingness of men to take up farming. Although the women are the basic rural labor force, they are underrepresented in farm leadership, from brigade leaders to collective farm presidents. This same pattern will emerge from study of the figures for literacy, higher education, and Party work: nonparticipation of Kazakh women, or participation at a lower rate than among men.

KN [369]

AGRICULTURE

KN 241

Agriculture in present-day Kazakhstan falls roughly into four categories:

(1) Grain
(2) Truck farming
(3) "Technical crops," including cotton, sugar beets, hemp, olives, tea, and tobacco
(4) Farming in conjunction with herding, with emphasis on livestock feed

Most of the cultivated land is in grain for human and animal consumption, as shown in Table 3.

The total area under cultivation in Kazakhstan increased in the decade 1942-52 by 4,000,000 hectares or 36 per cent. The area in grain increased by only 19 per cent, and the proportion of the total area in grain fell from 93 to 73 per cent. This drop is accounted for by the increase in area devoted to truck farming (largely a wartime development) and to a lesser degree by an increase in "technical crops." The

[1] Karbe, 1960, p. 71.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Table 8

PROPORTION OF KAZAKHS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	Population	Kazakh Proportion of Total Population (%)	Party Members and Candidates	Kazakh Proportion of Total Membership (%)
1926	6,503,000[a]	57[b]	32,000[c]	35[c]
1939	6,146,000[a]	42[b]	109,000[d]	32[d]
1949	6,650,000[e]	41[f]	229,000[g]	40[h]

[a]USSR Census.
[b]Lorimer and Goldware estimates (89).
[c]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[d]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[e]By interpolation from Goldware estimates for 1948 and 1950 (89).
[f]Based on Goldware's report on KSSR population (89).
[g]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[h]*Ibid.*, 16 Jan 51.

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Table 9

WOMEN IN THE KSSR COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	All Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)	Kazakh Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)
1927[a]	7.7	1.3
1940[b]	13.9	ND
1945[b]	32.1	ND
1949[c]	19.2	4.0

[a]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[b]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[c]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jan 51.
ND: No data available.

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[562]

criticisms by Party leaders indicate that more women would be welcomed into the ranks and that the Kazakh Communist Party has a bad recruiting record; one can therefore assume that the rather low number of women in the Party is not due to any officially stated policy of exclusion. Only during the war years were any significant gains made. Especially poor is Party recruiting performance among women of Kazakh nationality (see Table 9). A set of figures, however, cannot adequately describe the role women play in the Kazakh Communist Party. In recent times women have been placed in responsible positions in increasing numbers. In 1951, for example, 12 out of 85 members of the Central Committee were women, and every regional committee and almost 90 per cent of the districts and cities had one female secretary.[1]

[1]According to figures in Meissner's book (98) and in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47 and 26 Feb 49, women took a considerably more active part in government. From 1947 through 1952, consistently over one-third of all local Soviet delegates were women; out of 400 Supreme Soviet members, 149 were women (37%); *Sovetskaia Zhenshchina*, Sep-Oct, 1953.

KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, K [872] are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools.

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged.

K 177 Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The K [369] Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, K [569] of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime.

Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which K education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain KN 872 conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in KN 563 the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2]

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 52.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

[Great Horde]

562 bridepriceo. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
582 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract, understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full status as a woman.

583 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
584 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh supplied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the family's prestige required to be the equal of the husband's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from one community to another; her movement was in conformity with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izrastsov, 82.

[Great Horde]

583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
562 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
562 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
43 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's[1] jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

1 [on the bii or "elder", cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

671 lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and
562 legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was
43 a matter of membership in specific corporate structures,
the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

586 In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

681 We have dealt thus far with relationships of the
602 law to the system of consanguinity; but there were also important relationships to the affinal system. One such relationship has already been mentioned, the fact that a husband and his kin were obliged to pay the full kun to the family of the wife if he killed her. Now the children of the murdered mother in this case got nothing,[162] and the reason for this is clear. They were reckoned in the paternal kin group, and thus suffered doubly: from the loss of a mother, and from the burden of the wergeld which they had to bear as part of the father's line.

On the other hand, if the wife was murdered by a stranger, the kun was divided equally between the wife's father's kin and the kin of the husband. If a betrothed girl was murdered, the father of the girl and his line received the entire kun, and the family of the affianced youth was presented with a choice, either to accept a sister of the victim, or to have the kalym returned and seek elsewhere for a wife.[163] The ambiguous situation of the woman could not be expressed more sharply in Kazakh life than by the process of division of the kun[1] if her life was taken: she was regarded as belonging fully to no group, neither to the husband's nor to the father's.

[162] Izrastsov, 14.

[163] Idem.

[1] [i.e. Wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

624 596 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the aul, for the extended family, and in those cases, a fortiori, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The aul was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the kalym was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where [562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.

113, 563 Kazak RQ2

[For information on the Kazak in Sinkiang, see 1: Lattimore, AI 1 Sinkiang, pp. 128-132.]

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest. 221

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups. 221 621

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[16] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 221 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life. 565

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19] 233

[16] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 109–10.

[17] *Idem*, 110.

[18] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 110.

[19] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 314.

[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over
648 the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along
197 lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are
621 larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communi-
474 ties have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm
621 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining
[563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[1]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[2]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[1]Korbe, 1950, p. 71.
[2]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 241 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 596 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] [241] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the K 563 233 361 Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] [668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz [622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) S N 563 responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] [594] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [423] [476]

V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

S S 563 181

N S 563 181

As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992

Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361]

There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

619 kinsmen. Thus, for example, a clan of the Great Horde, the Kereit, separated from the Kazakh federation and joined an Uzbek group which bore the name of Kereit. A small portion later returned to the Kazakhs, but this time established itself in the Little Horde. Those who made the move to join the Little Horde were thereupon given a fictive genealogy tracing descent from the eponymous founder of the Karaket clan in the Little Horde.[47]

619 563 Movement in a contrary sense, that of Turkic non-Kazakhs into the Kazakh society, also is recorded, and embodies the identical features. Thus a certain group of the Karakirgiz joined the Atygai clan of the Middle Horde, gradually merged with it, and became a lineage of that clan. In order to obtain the genealogical right to membership in that clan, the newcomers now traced their ancestry back to one of the twelve sons of a certain Daut, who was the clan-founder of the Atygai.[48] The author of this record was a native Kazakh, in the Russian service in the 19th century, and set down his traditions with care. Noteworthy is the fact that the concept of the genealogical right to membership is his formulation, and no one else's.

619 The clans had either eponymous founder-names, or

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[47] Ibid., 291.

[48] Idem.

613 have been the statement, for example, of Cham, M. Chamov's father. Chamov himself would have to marry outside his ata, those who shared with him a common ancestor in the ascending paternal line in the person of Sary, the son of Sargaldak, the sŭök founder; Sary was the founder of the ata in question, he being in the seventh ascending generation from Chamov. However, it would be dangerous to infer a universal rule from these data, for we have seen that the exogamic principle has been subject to considerable variation throughout the steppe, and among the Kazakhs as well.

613 177.61 ●563 A number of marks of acculturation are to be observed in the genealogy and commentaries on it.[1] First of all, the concept of the sŭök has changed: no longer is there a distinction between ak sŭök and kara sŭök;[2] whatever social distinction there was, was made between rich and poor Kazakhs, on the basis of wealth and not of birth; Rudenko's comment that family and social life among the Kazakhs was very archaic and conservative in form[264] to the contrary notwithstanding. Again, a Russian system of patronymics was instituted, whereby the Kazakh Chamov was called thus because his father bore the name Cham, thus establishing a system of family names which had never existed before. A follow-up ethnography would probably show a considerable rigidifica-

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[264] Rudenko, op. cit., 66.

1 [Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. -- Analyst]

2 [i.e. nobles and commoners. Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 500-501 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ8

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sЬjЬrcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çЬlqЬcЬ) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

CLASS STRATIFICATION

HEREDITARY CLASS DISTINCTION

Class stratification among the Kazak may be considered as determined first by blood related groupings in the sense of an hereditary caste, and second by economic position in the community. 565

Information on class divisions of the first type is highly unsatisfactory. There was an hereditary aristocracy among the Kazak known as "White Bones" (aq syjek) in contrast to the common people who were called "Black Bones" (kara syjek).[1] The precise genealogical and functional distinction between these groups and its rigidity is difficult to determine. The chief problem involved is whether the White Bone aristocracy formed an uru in itself or whether it consisted of the leading families of each localized uru group.

Grodekov[2] says only, "The White Bone was composed of khans and their offspring," and Radlov[3] adds nothing to this. Levshin, however, is more illuminating:[4] " . . . ces sous-divisions [the uru] ne regardent que le bas peuple; la haute classe a une autre généalogie . . . Le Kost [Russian for "bone"] blanc ne se compose que des khans et de leurs descendants . . . On appelle kost noir non-seulement le bas people, mais aussi les anciens et les autres chefs qui n'ont pas de dignité héréditaire." Togzhanov[5] makes a clear distinction between the relatives of khans, who were White Bones and formed the higher aristocracy, and the chiefs of local groups who were Black Bones.

This view is, I think, correct although it does not agree with that of my informants, who said that all local chiefs and persons of influence and affluence were White Bones. The details which I was able to get were very confused and contradictory and should be heavily discounted. Kargabaiev, who came from a poor family of Black Bones, knew very little about the genealogies and uru affiliations of the upper class, and Tlenshiev, also from the former lower order, was in addition anxious to co-ordinate all his information with the concept of sharp class divisions showing complete correlation between wealth and birth. He said for instance that all rich people were White Bones and all White Bones rich. The latter part of the statement was probably in general true but the former need not necessarily have been so if White Bones were only those who could claim descent in a particular line.

[1] See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4–5; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304–05; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22; Jocheleon, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[2] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[3] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515.

[4] *Description des hordes*, 304.

[5] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 121.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:[6] "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoça in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoça Grodekov[7] mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein[8] . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoças." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.[9] My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoça might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov[10] define qoça not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov[11] mentions that the qoça lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

565 582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Kazak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs[12] were called tare.[13] The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes[14] and mentions that the term sultan was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin[15] also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,[16] without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 304.

[7] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[8] Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

[9] See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[10] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 185.

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[12] Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

[13] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 241.

[14] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[15] *Description des hordes*, 305.

[16] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The precise status and privileges of a White Bone as such apart from other considerations cannot be sharply defined. "One accords them respect and precedence and at feasts assigns them the most honored place and the choicest morsels."[17] Grodekov[18] says that in his time [1885] there was no distinction in law between White and Black Bones, and adds that "In the Aulie-ata district they deny any privileges to White Bones . . . and now the people say: 'The slaves are now free. Freedom is given no less to us; to rude treatment we answer rudely'." This clearly implies that formerly the situation was different. Jochelson claims,[19] again without mentioning his authority, that by Kazak law the White Bones had privileges and advantages in land owning. Such in any case would seem to have been true in practice so far as the White Bones comprised a ruling and owning class. 565

Summing up the rather unsatisfactory evidence, it may be said that the term White Bone can hardly be taken to mean a clearly defined caste, but rather to indicate generally those who enjoyed the highest prestige in Kazak society. It is not unlikely that the rigidity of distinctions between Black and White Bones had been weakened first by the inclusion of persons distinguished for religious reasons and later by the collapse of the power of the khans and their families after the Russian conquest.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS BASED ON WEALTH

Class distinctions as conditioned by economic relationships have been mentioned in a previous section but may be enlarged upon here. The poor or middle class Kazak was always in a precarious situation because the loss of his few cattle placed him in complete subjection to the wealthy owners of large herds. Radlov observed[20] that a Kazak who had lost his animals through drought or a severe winter had no recourse but to hire himself out as a worker. Ujfalvy[21] mentions the numerous impoverished people who were obliged to enter the service of the rich and adds: "Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement." Quite another picture is drawn by Grodekov, who says that agricultural workers received as wages from a fourth to a half of the harvest and ate at the table of their master, who acted as a father toward them, calling them "my sons." In return the worker was expected to advance the interests of his patron in every possible way.[22] [558]

As a contrast to this, Kargabaiev, who remembered the old days himself, said that the poor herdsman was not entitled to shelter in the master's kibitka. If he slept there at all he must stretch himself across the doorway and above all not approach the left side of the

[17] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[18] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 5.

[19] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[20] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[21] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217. Kos'min, in discussing Turco-Mongol feudalism in general writes "The relations of lord and vassal in Central Asia . . . approached the relationship of father and son . . . or of elder brother and younger brother. . . . " (*K Voprosy o Tureetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66.)

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

565 kibitka which was the place of honor. If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kázakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 377; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price 567
of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were 701
the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- 565

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

701 tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps
565 clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks[32] of " . . . une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans . . . " whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says[33] that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin[34] is contradictory. Asfendiarov[35] writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material[36] it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol nököd. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

[32] *Description des hordes*, 305.
[33] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.
[34] *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 30–33.
[35] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 98.
[36] See pages 91–92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 87–96.

631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 454.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [See cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers,[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section,[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçb) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house. 574 565

It may be noted here that qonaqaçb (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals. 527

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamɮr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject. 608 431

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamɮr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamɮr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamɮr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16] [171]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

4:Grodekov--4 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

773

The father of the Kirgiz sprang from a mirage (sagym). He reigned among the Kazakhs and married one of their girls, from whom he had a single daughter. The father appointed 40 female servants to her. At one time the Khan's daughter came with her 40 servants to a great river, where she noticed floating foam. As they watched the foam the girls heard words coming from it: "You are right and I am right" (antalkhak mende ak). (2) Out of curiosity the

2. The form of these words is more correct in the History of the Khanate of Kokand by V. P. Nalivkin, p. 15: ana el'khak mana el'khak (and that is the truth and this is the truth). The story is also found in Puteshestvie po Okrainam Russkoi Azii/ A Journey through the Borderlands of Russian Asia/ by M. Veniukov, St. Petersburg, 1868. p. 155.

maidens dipped their fingers in the foam and then licked them, and it soon turned out that all of them were with child. Khan Sagym expelled them to the high mountains for he did not wish to kill them. Finding food in the mountains, they gave birth to 40 sons and 40 daughters, a total offspring of 80. When they grew up, these children married among each other. The people which took form from them became called the Kyrgyz (kyrk-kyz, 40 maidens). The Kirgiz remained living in the mountains and the Kazakhs in the valley. In the course of time some of the Kirgiz became famous and left clans to follow them, others degenerated and disappeared without forming clans. The name of one clan chief was Ung /On/ (the right), the name of another Sol (the left). The first descended from the daughter of a khan, and the other from the daughter of a vizir. Kirgiz clans descended from both of them.

. . . .

565

The Kazakh nobles or white bone (ak suyek, tiuria, sultan) do not reckon themselves as belonging to one horde or to one clan. They do not divide into lineage (undivided, "tagk"). They are descendants of khans ruling in the steppes, for example, Ablai-Khan. According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd, the Tiuri are descendants of the Caliph Abbas (ibni Appas), and at the same time also descendants of Chingiz Khan. /Inserted Plate 3 Caption: The white bone.

3 [Not reproduced — Analysis]

4:Grodekov--5 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•565 Sadyk, son of Kenisary Kasimov. /

/5/ One of the local singers, by the name of Maikut, relates
565 that a certain princess whose father never let her go out, but kept
773 her shut up in a dark room, became pregnant from an accidental ray of the sun which entered. Her father threw her into the water, but a hunter named Dompol saved her from it. From the ray she bore the chief of the clan of the ruling families (Chingiz Khan), and from Dompol she bore the sons Burgeltai, Budanatai, Tabanatai and Targaitai, from whom the Tiuri among the Kazakhs are descended.

565 The present Tiuri (nagz tiuria) are considered to be those whose mothers as well as fathers were of the white bone.

Hodjas and Seids also belong to the white bone. Hodjas are considered to be the descendants of the fellow champions of the prophet, and the Seiidy, who are not numerous among the Kazakhs, are considered to be descendants of the son of Hussein, the imam of Zeinulabuddin, and therefore the best of the hodjas.

The hodjas live in tents around holy places, for example, Baba-Ata, in the Turkestan uyezd, in the northern spurs of the Kara-Tau. They are engaged in agriculture, transport and learning, and bear more resemblance to Sarts. There are also hodjas from the nomadic Kazakhs, in the Kurama uyezd, around Toi-Tyube among other places. There are no hodjas among the Kirgiz of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Fergana region.

In contrast to the white bone, the remainder of the people are called black bone, kara suyek, and also subjects, karashi, pukara.

The law at present, and the customary law as an example of it, makes no distinction between the white bone and the remainder of the people. When the aksuiaks are courteous, they are shown special respect. But when there is friction with them they are told: "We too are given freedom; when we are treated roughly we reply roughly." (Mikebai, bii of the Perovsk uyezd). In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the privileges of the white bone are absolutely denied.

Marriages are now concluded between the white and the black bone without obstacle. As before, however, the woman of the higher /6/ estate who marries one of the black bone loses her estate advantages and undergoes a curse (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

The Tulenkut were clients and riders /dzhigit/ from the poor, serving the Tiuri and being adopted by them. Formerly they served for the allotment of property (inchi), or for a bride price or in general

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they continued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use. 565

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1) 565 554 [558]

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their -kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

• • • •

587

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives. 582 [565]

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

* * * *

601

The kinship terms in Kazakh:
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
[561 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178] tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

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[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[442 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

• 565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
177 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
● 565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).
→ The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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it happened that, thus the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Burut. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

K [10]

Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

K [565]

The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic.[1] The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

[1]In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known [177] that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they [565] were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [233] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in [162] the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighbor- [167] ing republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Makanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.

[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aris-
tocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable
social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central
to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent
line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic
status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the
Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and
social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the
hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent
lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal
[622] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It
did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was
small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet
it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case
it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage
was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[583] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not
marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation;
with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted.
The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is
the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying
scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital pur-
poses comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an
individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
[614] branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
[691] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader
might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of
cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested
ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor,
but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was
not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he
[622] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[692] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alityasaria, 1870, p. 104.

1 [for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Punkratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1]Izrastsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [608] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [408] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [602] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Ariatov, 1894, pp. 394-395.

177 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen. [621]

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1] [565] [182]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them. [648]

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance. [182]

[1] Krader (77), 1963.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of con- [565] tact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. 199 Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 241 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the ●565 marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

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The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭ̈k (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

619 the Kalmuk, and other nomadic peoples of the Asiatic
●565 steppe.

The Great Horde preserved this division by estates within the clan for several decades after the Russian. The Khan (i.e., the ruler of a clan confederation) and his kinsmen, according to Radlov, occupied a special position, forming a nobility. The nobles were called ak sŭk, the white bone, and the commoners kara sŭk, the black bone.[71] Grodekov, writing of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde during the same period, adds further details: the Kazakh nobles or white "bone" did not belong to one horde, nor to any one clan; they were not divided by lineages; they were essentially the descendants of Khans who ruled in the steppe: they formed a clan or series of clans by themselves; the nobility were those whose maternal line as well as paternal line were of the white "bone."[72] The estates were endogamous until the Russian conquest.

565 If this were the entire picture, there would be no problem; however, a certain difficulty has been touched on by Dingelstedt, a young aide on General Grodekov's staff in Turkestan. On social distinctions Dingelstedt writes, the Kazakhs have no classes; they all recognize each other as noble in origin. Their aristocratic price is great, because each must know the names of his ancestors;

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[71] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 515.

[72] Grodekov, 4-5.

[Great Horde]

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.[73] Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 400-403 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an aul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

177 56 565 The reason is clear: the ak sŭŏk or white "bone" had been the political rulers in the steppe in view of their descent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam. While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs it was important to maintain the quality of their estate by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their [556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for social distinction: we have seen how the oli was often chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by birth.[2]

The ak sŭŏk no longer had any legal privileges; their principal mark of social distinction was in terms of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies, and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a political structure embodying principles of the consanguineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the kinship system upon which it was based remained in an altered form.

621 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patrilineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

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[95] Idem.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 414 -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

619 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little
●565 Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hair, the last great Khan whose fame was recognized by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hair, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later,
619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner
167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadisation--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levchine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

[1] [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. Cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 491.--Analyst]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
● 625 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Hair. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭŏk, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭŏk, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karuts on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

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[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
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601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally,[1A] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭŭk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177. 56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Analyst]

615 These descent lines formed the aristocracy, while the commoners were the estate of the kara sōk. The distinction maintained by the end of the 19th century was no longer that of purity of descent in a particular line, but rather by wealth, between rich and poor Kazakhs.[243]

621 576 Aul and Family; Aul-Family in the Inner Horde

The lineage was composed of a number of auls whose members were agnatically related to each other more closely than to other members of the lineage. Where possible, a single extended family might form an entire aul of five to ten tents. Such an aul would be composed of a father, his married sons, their children, sometimes close collateral kin of the father, and if possible, four generations of patrilineal descent. This, however, was more often the case in the past than it was at the end of the 19th century, when sons had a greater tendency to break away on marriage--i.e., on being apportioned by the father. Authority in the aul passed to the eldest son on the death of the father. Authority was patriarchal except when, on the death of the father while the sons were still minor, the senior widow held the authority in trust, together with the entire estate, until the sons came of age.[244]

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[243] Ibid., 47, 52.

[244] Ibid., 110.

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dsuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

61 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line
565 of common descent through the father is sŭök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

61 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
545 tical cleavage. A gōbk might be identical with a byr
top in any given instance, but the principle upon which
it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was
derived from the superposition of one layer of society
upon another, and was a means of building the social hier-
archy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a
social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a
supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the
latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage forma-
tion without aristocratic and commoner estates is found
in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 Two expeditions to the Niaman division of the Kazakhs
127 of the Middle Horde were undertaken by a number of Turkic
177 specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concen-
trated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakh-
stan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and
were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan,
Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilo-
vich because here the degree of acculturation (such was
not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh
world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separ-
ated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put
into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1)
why the following data are incorporated at all, and

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sdök, of the byr top.[265]

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dzien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff. --Analyst]

Kazak RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳīrghīz" or Ḳīrghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Ōzbeg, cf. the Ka 175 articles ABU 'L-ḲHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Ḳhān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Ḳhān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Ōzbegs in the xvi^th^ century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Ḳhān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Ḳhān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th^ century the power of the Ḳhāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ka Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of [631] the suzerainty of the Ḳhāns of the Ōzbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th^ century this division was already an accomplished fact. Ḳhān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Ḳhān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Ḳhair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th^ century; but it was not till the xix^th^ century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; re- [565] gulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Ḳhān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Ḳhān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
177 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situation (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year, and especially in the years of "dzhuta" (hunger).

[566]
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The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

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[614]

The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy" (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567] property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

565 kibitka which was the place of honor, If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kázakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 357; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price 567 of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were 701! the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- 565

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group

permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes:

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbe, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they con- 565
tinued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use.

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending 565
from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor 554
than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked [558]
or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1)

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din). /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost. 567

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

• • • •

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567] 1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[595] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[583] 582 Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

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For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd./ /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765 according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[Not reproduced--A.]

x648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

x648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584 583] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662 584] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[219 cont.] In
1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his
envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these
sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her
native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power,
expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[274 cont.]

course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
●567
[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
• 567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds him- [434] self and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [833] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [566] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

[567] The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- 648 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 [161] amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

603 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It
[633] did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[582] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
[614] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader
[592] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[622] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[592] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altynsarin, 1870, p. 104.

[2] [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

607 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more
597 complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the
[569] guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants
[592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharuzin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Izmaylov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, [567] the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69] [795]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 would also be known by the name of the Karatai sŭŏk with which they have been fused. These Argun sub-lineage members form an exogamic unit, offering daughters as wives to other sŭŏk of the Karatai byr top and receiving wives in turn. Again, sub-lineages were formed by des-
¶[567] cendants of slaves taken from the Torguts, the Kalmuk, the Uriankhai, the Teleut, now fully incorporated. Thus, another sŭŏk of the Karatai was the Sunar sŭŏk, descended from a slave named Sunar captured from the Kalmuk.[267] Lineages may extend their membership, incorporate members of other corporate entities, whether Kazakh lineages, hordes, or non-Kazakh nomadic groups such as the Kalmuk, including the admission to lineage membership of the line of freed slaves; the numerical significance of this principle is not to be underestimated because of the large proportion of people taken in war, raid, etc., and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

The Aul of the Altai Kazakhs

621 Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads

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[267] Rudenko, op. cit., 59-60.

8:Kostenko -34-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

628 At the present time these internal quarrels have almost all been ended, or, to be more precise, they cannot break out in the old form because the Russian forts and the Russian authorities prevent it. So the word baranta has gradually received a somewhat different meaning. Now it means either simply robbery, or else banditry, which is prosecuted very severely by the Russian authorities.

567 In earlier times the Kazakhs had slaves from all the surrounding nations of different religious faith. Even Moslems, - Shiites, e.g. Persians, who were considered heretics, were taken as slaves. Finally, since the religious principle is very weak among the Kazakhs, they took practically everyone who fell into their hands as slaves, without making a refined analysis of their trend of thinking. Now with the installation of Russian authority slavery on the steppe has gradually disappeared.

771 Religious instruction. The Kazakhs, as we know, are Moslems, and are usually considered Sunnites, although this is absolutely without foundation since, broadly speaking, these people are very undeveloped at the present time in regard to religion, and do not know themselves exactly to what religious sect they belong. Most Kazakhs have only a vague idea of the existence of two Moslem sects, Sunnite and Shiite. Not only that, the actual essence of the religion is completely unknown to them. This is probably explained partly by their nomadic form of life, and partly by the fact that they have lived and live still surrounded by peoples of various religions: Christian, Moslem and pagan, who are all equally antagonisti

/214 cont./

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

429 degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"
[582] /rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

settled by embracing with bared breast - kushaktaskan. I. Ibragimov states that they embrace each other across an unsheathed sword or across the Koran, which they kiss afterwards.

The children of tamyrs who continue the friendship are called ata tamyr. Spouses are called syuyak tamyr (hereditary friends). Other tamyrs are called "verbal" auz tamyr, as distinguished from the forms of strong friendship described above. Also they do not embrace. Torgai also ascribes to verbal friendship or simple acquaintanceship the friendship which is confirmed by squeezing the palm of the hand, barmak ustaskan. The proverb - friends always argue, people of the the same age are always hostile - (tamyr tube dau kurdas tube dzhau) - bears witness to the instability of the verbal friendship.

According to Torgai, this friendship / takyrstvo/ resembles the [608] custom of being considered as the representative /posazhennyi/ of the bride's father or groom's father (ukul ata) and the titular son or son-in-law (ukul kuyau, ukul bala). (1) One of these offers himself in

1. Ukul is a corrupted form of Arabic vakil.

this relation in order to receive a gift. After this they visit each other to receive gifts. When the titular son-in-law appears before the representative of the bride's father, the latter /42/ serves him breast meat (tus) just as he would his real son-in-law. But a good son-in-law, remembering that he is only titular, should not sit down in the place of honor /tur/.

According to bii Sultan, the ukul kuyau like a verbal friend, is only called son-in-law, but does not take a bride from the titular father-in-law. The latter may also be unmarried. The titular (tutingen) son-in-law lives with the titular father-in-law until his wedding, and then usually departs to his relatives. He also receives inchi, but less than the others who receive allotments. However before the allotment the father-in-law asks him if he and his wife will remain living with him. In case of a refusal, the former gives him a horse and a tent packed on a camel, and if there is no tent, then only blankets (tu sek orny).

Most young men usually have confidantes, "arifdas." It is permitted to take pleasing objects between them without asking permission. They give each other various trifles. Confidantes usually give bands for coats, and belts which they have made by hand. When young men meet their confidantes in private they touch their

572 breast. They visit the tent of their confidante under the pretext of wanting to know if there is any buza. If there is buza in the neighboring tents and they cannot drink together, then the girl is sent a cup of buza (1) secretly by children. She replies by sending a gift. They

1. Buza is an intoxicating drink, made from rice, millet or sorghum.

send each other greetings (salem) and verses (ulen). The young man sometimes even accompanies his confidante in the wedding procession to the village of her father-in-law, where she gives him a farewell gift. Her husband is not offended, since he has also had a confidante himself (Tashkent Kazakhs).

Among the Kirgiz, friends (tamyr, bilish) also give each other gifts. The doslyk is friendship which is unbreakable in this world or the next. Friends /dos/ embrace each other sometimes across a saber or across a knife. After the embrace they eat bread (nan toraydy). Among the Kirgiz youth there is also an "arifdash," but of course it is in secret, as the bii added when he reported this.

/43/ CHAPTER IV

428

The allotment to the sons. - Inchi. - Succession.

On the father lies the care of providing each son with kalym and an allotment, inchi. (1)

1. Inchi or enchi comes from the word en, the notches made on the livestock being divided, for differentiation.

Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the allotment to the sons, which depends entirely on the father, takes place in order of seniority and after their marriage.

An inducement to allotment is usually the crowdedness of the dwelling and the intractability of some individual.

The time for the allotment to each son also depends on the situation of the father's affairs, and is determined in the circle of the family, but not before the son is 15 years old, by the proverb: "at the age of 15, the master of the tent" (onbesh dzhil otau iese). Among the Kirgiz it is not before the age of 13 years, when majority is considered to be reached.

If the son requests it and the father does not wish to give him

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions. [576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 61 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups;[1] thus at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analysis]

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaoqaçb) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.

also by Grodekov[13] and Dingelstedt,[14] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[15] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house. 574 565

It may be noted here that qonaqaçb (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals. 527

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamır or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject. 608 431

Grodekov[16] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamır and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamır to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[17]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamır and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[18] [171]

[13] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.
[14] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[16] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[17] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[18] See pages 82–83.

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 576 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 561 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eh yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a [423] certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[476] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

574 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

herding and because of your estrangement from sedentary life with 574
its commerce and bazaars where every traveler, no matter where he comes from, can find shelter and means of life for pay, it will be difficult for you, especially when your descendants are multiplying, to travel from one to another with your own food supplies. You do not carry your own sheep with you on a day's journey, much less carrying a beast on a long journey, especially with your manner of riding a-stride. And therefore here is ny eternal testament to you. Do not take pay for food on your mutual visits to each other. Always be with each other like invited guests. In this way you should have the right of kunakasy or shelter and food as a gift without pay each from the the other. Take one quarter of the property remaining with me for this, and consider this no longer as hour own property but as common property and as an inchi which is never divided among you until the end of eternity." May it be so. We will not forget your /113/ testament was the humble answer of the children of the noble Alasha, founder of the clan.

According to the report of bii Mikebai (of the Perovsk uyezd) the master of a tent pays wergeld for a guest who dies of hunger, and for his horse which dies of hunger, he pays another horse. This does not happen now (according to Kunakbai, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). At least in the year of the rabbit, many died of hunger, but there were no suits for not having given kunakasy. Among the Kirgiz they also do not pay wergeld and do not pay for a horse which has died of hunger.

When they hear of the coming of a guest, those closest to 574
the tent bring their mite on their own initiative for the kunakasy. 576
Urban Kazakhs (of Auliye-Ata and Tashkent) give their guests only shelter, and for food the guests go to the bazaar themselves. The Kirgiz leave the welcome guest alone with the feast. It is the business of the guest to invite the host in or to give him the leftovers (sarkyt)

The attitude of the Kazakhs to hospitality is indicated by the proverb: "If a guest stops once, this is happiness, if he stops twice it is misfortune." (kunak br konsa kutteki konsa dzhut).

The host only answers for the safety of the guest and the protection of his property if they are not at war, or in a feud or in personal enmity. Nevertheless there are cases (according to Torgai) where a plaintiff appears in his adversary's tent, and people there exhort the master of the tent to forgive the offense, since they say, the appearance in the tent is a sign of submission and honor is now satisfied (aldynga kel'geni namusyngnyng bitkeni). They advise him to forgive the adversary, recalling the proverb: "If someone comes in to you, forgive him even the wergeld for your father" (aldynga kelgende

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).
576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, *and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in* order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[191 cont.]

*648 Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to [728] make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince [654] Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul [574] Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

*648 After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter, 641 Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

[241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires, sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

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221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
171 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

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533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
[594] sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

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342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [177] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored 554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, 352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and 353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

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583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryukbaur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in [158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them- [147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

8:Kostenko -40-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ
Sart RN4

K 203 574 khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

K 177 Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable K [811] rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand K [809] especially easily an analytic type of exposition. They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101 The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess

61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions. [576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups; thus
61 at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analysis]

4:Grodekov--7 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

576 The order of seniority is observed: 1) at the division of military booty (oldzha). Even though the man who first captured the booty may wish to take the lion's share of it for himself, those who are senior by birth usually take their share first; 2) in entering the house (nukhtagasyb kiredi, they enter in order) and in sitting down in their places. The most honorable place is opposite the entrance; 3) at the opening of a festivity (tui bystagan), they argue as to who, as senior in the clan, will begin the singing (ulen), for this one customarily receives a gift; 4) in the quality of the food served.

618 576 The seniority among the hordes, clans and lineages goes by direct line. The last clan of the Great horde has precedence over the most senior clan of the Middle horde, etc. This is justified by the fact that the ancestor was senior (atasy ulkun). (2)

2. Among the Mogols the khans are succeeded by their youngest sons, i. e., those who have not received allotment. Even now the youngest sons, as inheritors of the father's tent (ulkun ui), acquire greater fame from the fact that they arrange the funeral and the wake. Guests and petitioners for the usual gifts and sacrifices come to them. Finally, they enjoy great respect already during their father's lifetime. They are only obliged to honor their elder brothers. After the death of the father the guests appear first in the home of the youngest son in order to honor the memory of the father (arvakh siileimiz, we honor the soul), but for counsel they turn to his elder brother.

The Dzhalair clan is now considerd the senior clan of the Great horde. At feasts when the food is served they ask if there is someone there from the senior clan Dzhalair (nukhtagasy Dzhalair barma?), in order to serve him first. At weddings the Dzhalairs begin the singing, and if none of them are present the Oshakty begin it.

618 /8/ There are indications, however, that at the beginning this clan was not the oldest in origin. Umurbek, bii of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, transmits the following story: Once Dzhalair rode out with orders to take horses from adversaries. Having stored up a large number of halters, (nukhta), he succeeded in driving in far more horses than his comrades. As a result of this, he received the nick name of nukhtagasy, which from that time on began to be used in the sense of elder in the clan. Nukhta-agasy means master or chief of the halters. /The informant/ Torgai, who admits that Dzhalair might have been younger and became senior as heir of his father's changarak /tent ring, i. e. tent/, repudiates

this story, however, on the basis that nukhtagasy does not come from 618
the word nukhta. The Kazakhs of the Oshakhty clan maintain that Oshakty is older than Dzhalair, although the latter has precedence as the lawful (nikeli) son. Yupar Baibishe, the mother of all the clans of the Great horde, from the lust which she conceived for a man who was walking beside her husband, bore a son without relations with him. She thrust the baby into the hearth (oshak), for which reason the people who found him gave him the name Oshakty. After him she bore a lawful son Dzhalair.

It is customary to give certain food to the honored person, i. e. 576
of the senior clan (nukhtagasy), the eldest in the clan or lineage (aksakal), finally the khodja, mullah, etc. If there is some to give, the honored person receives tea, millcakes, fruit (1) and the following

1. Cf. supplement No. 3. 1

pieces of meat: to the first, the head of the animal (2) or, according

2. The tastiest part of the head is considered to be the nose.

to other people, the head with a flank (ianbas) and a haunch (mykyn), or the head with a flank and hooves; to the second person the flank (ianbas); to the third the thigh-bone (ortan yilik, ortai ilik); to the fourth a leg from knee to shinbone (asyk yilik); (3) to the last the

3. Asyk is the knee pan.

shoulder (dzhaurin). The fat under the horse's mane is considered to be one of the very honorable pieces.

According to data from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, pieces of mutton have the following sequence in degree of honor: the orta yilik /9/ (the thigh bone of a front leg) goes to the young men; the asyk yilik (the leg, knee to shinbone, of a back leg) to women; ker yilik or kari yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg) to the mistress of the house (baibishe); tus (breast) to the groom; iaurin (the shoulder and thighbone of a front leg) to the old men; tokpa (the thighbone of a back leg) to the grown girls (bui yitken kyzdarga); kiuimshak (the tail) to the women and girls.

According to data from the Kurama uyezd, the men receive: bas (the head), kabyrga (rib), umurtka (the vertebrae), bakai (the hoof and the bones over the hooves of all four feet), and the yilinchik (a little

1 [not translated -- A]

576 above the bakai). (1) The women receive the yanbas (flank), ortan

1. They give the sheep herder the neck (muyun) and the large intestine (kuten).

yilik (the thighbone) and ker yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg).

Sultans, according to the opinion of Sultan Daulet Bushaev are not given heads, even though they are the most honored personages at a feast. It is customary to give them the asyk yilik (the leg from knee to shinbone).

According to bii Khalmakhammed of the Chimkent uyezd, rich men often regale their guests with the three lower pairs of ribs of a sheep, which are called sube kabyrga. They also give their guests kuirukbaur (2) even if they are not matchmakers (cf. chapter on match-

2. A small liver with fat from the fat tail.

making).[1]

The food, which is brought in on platters, (tabak) is given first to the most honored persons, who say a prayer (pata) such as: auveli kudanyng irzalygina, ikinshi tubanyng kabyllygna (or else murattyng asyyalygyna) mal bastyng bekeretine (for the grace of God, for the attainment of desires, for the thriving of the livestock and the people). When they themselves have eaten, they give what is left to the persons sitting below them. The guest gives (asatady) food from his platter to the host, putting the piece straight into his mouth or into his hand. The The leavings (sarkyt) are left by the guest to the daughter or bride of the host, and if there are none, then to the mistress of the household.

Among the Kirgiz the pieces of the animal are divided into samycha and kolmycha. These go in the following order of honor:

/10/ 1) The head with one flank goes to the aksakal.

2) The fat tail fat with the other flank goes to the biis, manaps, rich men, respected hodjas, etc.

3) Kashka yilik (dzhaurin among the Kazakhs).

4) Yuta yilik (asyk yilik among the Kazakhs).

5) Shivilchak or the shirak (bakai among the Kazakhs).

6) Both shoulders (taly).

7) Kung yilik (the armpits).

8) Kar yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg).

[1] [i.e. - Chapter V -- A]

9) Tush (the breast).

10) Muyun (the neck).

11) Ichay karyn (the intestines) are given to children and women, who usually get nothing of the best pieces.

Seniority is not ranked by direct line, i. e., the brother of someone, older or younger, has precedence (ulkun yol) over the son of the same person. Uncles are met with greater honor than nephews. (1)

1. The Khan is succeeded by his brothers, then his sons, then the sons of the brothers.

Before old men (aksakals), i. e., elders, mullahs and influential persons, even of strange clans, they sit properly, do not contradict, and fulfill requests. It is customary to exact an apology and a fine for reviling them or scuffling with them.

If a low person should chance to sit between high ones, he can be ousted or allowed to remain, in view of whether he and his father are good persons or not.

If a high person unjustly abuses an inferior, then a bii may say [683] to him: "Look here. If you do that again, not he but you will be fined."

When a high person beats an inferior, he is not punished for three blows, inclusively. And if the inferior responds with a blow during one of the first three blows, then he must pay a fine. /11/ Envoys are not [648] abused and not killed, according to the proverb: il'chige ulum kharam, death is forbidden to an envoy.

Inferiors, for example, young women, do not walk in front of elders, but go around behind them. If they pass in front of them by necessity, walking or riding, they show them honor (tazim) by greeting them or by some other sign of respect. If a woman bars a road to men, they stop her and force her to ride across behind them (the Perovsk uyezd).

The Tiuri are greeted after the usual salaam by the additional word aldiiar. (1) Of proud Tiuri it is said: it is a bad Tiur who prides

1. Apparently instead of "alla iar", they say "May God be a protector."

himself on an aldiiar (aldiiarga mas bulgan yaman tiure).

To ride up to a person or to a tent at a gallop is considered blameworthy. Such a person is asked reproachfully: "What happened?

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

[695] the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by
[628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer,
[581] but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a
[429] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

4:Grodekov--68 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

1. Cf. Supplement No. 5.

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The groom's father regales the guests and distributes to them something from the dowry, tyubetyeikas /skull caps/, etc., and arranges kukbure racing. After /75/ the departure of the guests, the girls of the village bring food and again each one begs something, a chest, a cushion, an amulet (umar). This ritual is called congratulation (kuttuk), and people ride in to it from far away. Animals are given to those from a long distance. In the evening the bride melts fat-tail fat and smears her face with it, and brings the grooms father and mother respect (tazim) and a bow (salem).(1).

1. Communicated by Torgai.

In the Turkestan uyezd it is denied that the bride smears her face. There she only throws fat into the fire, in remembrance of the dead.

When the bride throws fat into the fire, the elders say: be of one accord, like fat (maydoy opatu bul). (Tashkent uyezd).

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As long as the groom's father is alive, his daughter-in-law cannot be in or enter the honored corner (tur). Otherwise her legs will hurt. After the death of the groom's father, the daughter-in-law throws fat in the fire, and then she can be in the tur. (Tashkent uyezd).

The young groom does not avoid the wife's relatives, but visits them without restraint, for all the relatives of the bride, even those the same age, became acquainted with him at the wedding.

For one year the young bride does not go to her relatives "from shame" (uyalib), since now she is wearing not the girl's kerchief but the headdress of married women (yaulyk). She receives news of the health of her relatives and bits of news from her husband. Only in the case of the death of one of her relatives does she go to them to express her condolences (aza tutib).

A good bride both from shame and from respect (uyaladi, izzet klady) avoids the groom's father and all the kinsmen springing from him all her life, according to the proverb: the husband is not respected whose body is seen, the kinswoman is not respected whose face is seen (erding kadryn bil'meydi, etin kuredii, againdyng kadryn bil'meydi betin kuredi).

According to data reported from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the young wife does not show herself to the older kinsmen of her husband in the third degree of kinship, all the way to the most remote clan affiliation.

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 576 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 551 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eb yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

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/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

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423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where saxaul, shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1 [Not reproduced --A]

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herding and because of your estrangement from sedentary life with its commerce and bazaars where every traveler, no matter where he comes from, can find shelter and means of life for pay, it will be difficult for you, especially when your descendants are multiplying, to travel from one to another with your own food supplies. You do not carry your own sheep with you on a day's journey, much less carrying a beast on a long journey, especially with your manner of riding a-stride. And therefore here is ny eternal testament to you. Do not take pay for food on your mutual visits to each other. Always be with each other like invited guests. In this way you should have the right of kunakasy or shelter and food as a gift without pay each from the the other. Take one quarter of the property remaining with me for this, and consider this no longer as hour own property but as common property and as an inchi which is never divided among you until the end of eternity." May it be so. We will not forget your /113/ testament was the humble answer of the children of the noble Alasha, founder of the clan.

According to the report of bii Mikebai (of the Perovsk uyezd) the master of a tent pays wergeld for a guest who dies of hunger, and for his horse which dies of hunger, he pays another horse. This does not happen now (according to Kunakbai, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). At least in the year of the rabbit, many died of hunger, but there were no suits for not having given kunakasy. Among the Kirgiz they also do not pay wergeld and do not pay for a horse which has died of hunger.

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When they hear of the coming of a guest, those closest to the tent bring their mite on their own initiative for the kunakasy. Urban Kazakhs (of Auliye-Ata and Tashkent) give their guests only shelter, and for food the guests go to the bazaar themselves. The Kirgiz leave the welcome guest alone with the feast. It is the business of the guest to invite the host in or to give him the leftovers (sarkyt)

The attitude of the Kazakhs to hospitality is indicated by the proverb: "If a guest stops once, this is happiness, if he stops twice it is misfortune. " (kunak br konsa kutteki konsa dzhut).

The host only answers for the safety of the guest and the protection of his property if they are not at war, or in a feud or in personal enmity. Nevertheless there are cases (according to Torgai) where a plaintiff appears in his adversary's tent, and people there exhort the master of the tent to forgive the offense, since they say, the appearance in the tent is a sign of submission and honor is now satisfied (aldynga kel'geni namusyngnyng bitkeni). They advise him to forgive the adversary, recalling the proverb: "If someone comes in to you, forgive him even the wergeld for your father" (aldynga kelgende

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).

576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

self.

If the youngest among the travellers finds a coat, cap /tyubeteyka/ or other parts of clothing, he gives what he has found to the eldest, on the demand of the others. If all are of the same age, the thing found is given to the person of the white bone. If there is no one belonging to the white bone among them, it is given to the guest, i. e., the person of a strange clan. If there is no guest, it is given to the mullah. If there is no mullah, it is given to the married man, because married men are in general senior to bachelors. If all are married, it is given to him who married earliest. This giving out of clothing is called baylagan. 425 576

If a fox is seen in a strange trap (kakpan), the finder takes it for himself and leaves the trap. To take the trap is to steal, but taking the fox is not stealing. (1) Even in /122/ court when the 425 224

1. If an owner of a trap or a hunter with a dog catches a first fox, and if a Kazakh who rides by by chance, even a stranger, announces that he needs it /122/ for a gift or for the success of his future hunting, the hunter gives it to him. In case he refuses he pays a fine.

trap is required to be given up, it is never demanded that the fox taken at the same time be given back.

If a hunter (mirgen) kills a wild ass before others, he gives its back (sauri) to the oldest of these, or to the mullah, and in general as was related above. The giving up of the animal which has been shot is called syralyga. (All the above information from Torgai). 224

In the Perovsk uyezd, money, clothing, strange livestock joining the herd, etc., which are found, remain with the finder, and it is brought to the knowledge either of the supposed owners or of the authorities. Then the find is given back to the owners for syuyunchi, which is equal to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its value, i. e., approximately four times less than when it is taken from a thief. They are given back to kinsmen without pay. If the owner of the object does not declare himself in one or two years, the object found becomes the property of the finder. If the find was not announced to the public (dzhau kege shygarmak) with the purpose of appropriation, and then the owner of it appears, then the object, or if it no longer exists the value of it is returned to the owner, with all his court expenses, but without a fine. The concealment of a find from the investigation of an owner is considered thievery. 425 [685]

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

* * *

Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

4:Grodekov--222 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The withdrawal of trust (isenimsizdik) is not imposed by the 681
court but is a natural consequence of a crime. Every blameworthy misdemeanor is accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by a forfeiture of trust.

The Kazakhs, like the Kirgiz, did not betray criminals in their midst, for specific fines exist for crimes. But the Kirgiz sold criminals to the Kazakhs and vice versa, and also the Sarts sold them to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz for a ransom, i. e., a fine, the sum of which was not determined by custom but was designated arbitrarily. If the kinsmen could not pay the sum demanded, because of poverty, or did not wish to because of repeated stealing, this gave the right to kill the criminal.

* * *

/249/ Entering a tent.

To ride past the doors of a tent (aldynan yuru) and not behind 596.
it, is considered impolite. If a newcomer stops only at the very doors, having already passed two panels / reshetki / of the tent (yeki kanat kerege), they say to him scornfully: What do you think you are, a chief?

It is necessary to stop and tie the horse behind the tent, and then to call the masters with the words: Syuyles! Adam barma? (I wish to begin a conversation; is the master here?). But this custom is now observed less strictly.

If a horse tied up in front of a tent kicks a child, a fine is paid [672]
of 1/4 the value of the horse, i. e., 5 rubles (because the leg is one of four extremities), while if the child is killed, a full wergeld is paid. But if the horse kicked it behind the tent, the fault is laid to the child which went back there. Even if the horse kicked it to death, only the value of the horse would be exacted, or if there were aggravating circumstances which were the fault of the horse's owner - 1/2 a wergeld.

Entering a tent in the absence of the owners (otagasy) by one who is not a relative, is not regarded as nice. He is reminded of the fact that in case of loss the suspicion will fall on the person who has entered.

Unfastening the doors (of reeds - esik, of wooden folds - ergenek) in the absence of the owners is regarded as an act which

572 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

• • • •

The support of the poor.

735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold,
732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

• • • •

Clergy and schools.

344 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[199 cont.]

*648 662 of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

[644 431] Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

● [574] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

• • • •

422 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping
577 (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

422 Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner
685 on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraud-
672 ulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or
422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

8:Kostenko -32-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak KQ2

674 Stealing among the Kazakhs is a rather
685 widespread crime. They steal horses, primarily. If the thief is caught there is the custom of taking the stolen animal away from him and adding to this a fine of twice its value. As the Kazakhs say - in such cases it is almost always a question of horses - ' on the neck an addition, to the tail a support ' (in Kazakh: muinena kossau, kutenia-terkiau). This punishment is
695 called 'aip' or 'aibana'. In case there are no witnesses, the oath of some outside person is needed /346/ who is known for his honesty and who knows the accused. If such a person is found and wishes to give his oath on the innocence of the accused, then the latter is definitely released from the charge. It must be said that this is a very reliable way in
[577] general of learning the truth. It costs the Kazakh nothing to lie himself, but for some reason he will not consent to take someone else's lie upon himself.

In general, the oath, as soon as it happen between Kazakhs and not to aid an infidel, that is, a Russian, has a very serious significance and is considered sacred. At the present time it is usually given with the kissing of the Koran in the presence of an honored person or mullah, but earlier, various rites were observed. For example, it was necessary to lick the fingernail, looking at the sun, or to say the oath with the muzzle of a loaded gun in the mouth. This has already gone out of use
[778] today. In important cases, however, even now, those who are to swear are invited to some holy sepulchre and it is suggested that as they say the oath they cut off the branch of a holy tree there. It is a rare Kazakh who will consent to this sacrilege if it is a false oath.

695 The latter only inform as to who did the crime and under what circumstances, but do not wish to be witnesses in the examination of the case. They say: "We speak behind the back, we cannot speak eye to eye" (sirtinen aytamyz, betinen aytalmaymiz), according to bii Sultan. According to Aleksandrov, custom does not approve of de-
[577] nunciations concerning crimes, and informers are always under suspicion in their communities, according to the proverb: "a thief has one cheek black, but an informer has two."

/191/ The testimony of witnesses is confirmed by oath, not by them but by their sides, i. e., the clan or community (Perovsk uyezd).

If there is no information and no trace of stealing and a man appears who declares that he knows the thief and takes syuyunchi from the victims, and the thief, who has not confessed, begins to be tried, the man who has received syuyunchi is obliged to furnish an oath from his relatives for the amount of the stolen property. If he does this and thereby proves the theft and forces the guilty ones to pay, the victim of the theft receives only the property stolen from him and the syuyunchi given the accuser. The fine exacted (ayb) goes to the accuser. (Bii Sagyndykov, Chimkent uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the witness himself does not swear an oath. His close kinsman (yanasha) takes the oath for him, even though he be a bii or a volost administrator.

If the veracity of the witness is unquestionable, i. e., if the thief was caught in the act, if they took a coat and horse from the thief, and if the witnesses are very respected persons or those who have power, then their words are believed without oath. The imposition of an oath from them is generally avoided, out of respect to persons who enjoy position in the community. When there is, nevertheless, a basis for not believing their words, an oath is required from the side of one of the litigants, as the custom is in trials without witnesses.

If the guilty parties do not confess, even when the testimony of the plaintiffs are confirmed by witnesses, an oath is imposed on them.

If a witness compromises himself by his testimony, for example, saying that he permitted the defendant to tether the stolen camels, when at the same time the defendant is denying this, the biis still do not see their partnership in stealing as proven. In such a case they either leave the defendant to swear a purificatory oath,

[156 cont.]
x648 a power over the Great Horde which he did not possess, to make
[663] himself important in the eyes of the Russian court and thus to acquire influence over the entire Kazak nation.

Empress Anna's letter patent of July 10, 1734 proves Abulkhair's deceit. First of all, this letter is presented in the name of various beys and elders and not in the name of Djulbars, who was then commander of the entire Great Horde, as is known from several documents and Rychkov's History of Orenburg. Furthermore, in the letter patent it says: "Our subject Abulkhair Khan has reported to us as a faithful subject that he has already accepted you among the ranks of our subjects, and for this purpose he has sent your deputies Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr to our court." These words are founded upon Abulkhair's writings and the oral declarations made by his son, but neither the one nor the other promoted anything but falsehoods. On the one hand, it is recognized that Abulkhair, who lived a long distance from the Great Horde, could never have any influence upon it. On
[636] the other hand, we see that this horde never took an oath of loyalty to Russia and was not counted among her subjects. In the third place, it must be noted that the head of the Orenburg expedition, Kirilov, who received this letter patent at the moment of his departure from Petersburg, did not even send it to its destination. It is probable that he felt this move to be
● [577] indecorous when he arrived at the border and was able to appreciate the truth of the circumstances mentioned in this document.

x648 The second proposal to admit the Kazaks of the Great
439 Horde as Russian subjects is much more probable than the first, though little more sincere. This was made in 1738, not by a man claiming to be chief of the Great Horde but by Djulbars, the true and legitimate chief of this horde. Having learned of the founding of a Russian city at the mouth of the Ori River and the opening of trade with the Kazaks of the Middle and the Little Hordes, he sent to ask for the same benefits, and to help [157] attain his end, he proposed making not only his own people Russian subjects, but also the neighboring nations, if it was

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

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for other aims.

Accomplices (sirek) of a crime are subjected to punishment, usually in equal amount, although differences are allowed according to the extent of blame (Kunakbai). The plaintiff can, however, in the absence of the accomplices of the crime, exact a penalty from the person present, obligating himself not to make any further suit (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). (2) 672

2. It has now come into custom in the Perovsk uyezd to revenge oneself on one's personal enemies in the following fashion. If strong evidence exists against the defendant, the plaintiff names one of his personal enemies as an accomplice of the defendant, causing him unpleasantness and trouble about his oath. [578]

For the ringleaders (bashi or urybasy (3), i. e., those who first

3. According to bii Sultan, the word dzhortuulbasy, head of a gang, has not been used since the time the wars (yaugerchilik) stopped.

began to carry out the idea, punishment is not increased. (4)

4. It is said that the person who first committed robbery, giving rise to a long baranta, pays toguzy, while the others, who are guilty of taking strange property are sentenced to muynyna kosak kutine terkeu (cf. Chapter XII). 1/n

According to another opinion, the ringleader is usually called into court. He pays the entire penalty, and can then /145/ split it up among his accomplices. Now they interrogate the ringleader who is called into court about his accomplices as well, in order to call in all of them. If they do not find all of them, they penalize those who are found, requiring them to split it up with the rest and recording this obligation into the report of the judgment. The distribution of the fine among the defendants is left to them. If they cannot come to an agreement, the bii apportions the payment of the value of what has been stolen, in accordance with how much each person took for himself, and the fine is divided equally.

1/n [Cf cat. 116, pp. 200-207 -- A.]

[145 cont.]

175 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was
721 always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is re-
[114] ferred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years
[662 later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed
● 578 Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

175 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his
721 disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidii of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[168 cont.]
*648 several gentlemen from Ufa, several faithful Bashkirs, and some Russian Cossacks. Also two geodetic officers were charged with making a map of the country occupied by the Kazaks.

[169] Tevkelev's arrival at the horde revealed all of Abulkhair's ambitious scheming. The officers charged with re-
[576] ceiving the oath from the new subjects not only were not received in conformity with their rank, but were in danger of death scarcely after they had arrived. The Kazaks were incensed at the very thought of losing their rude freedom and revolted spontaneously when they saw the Russians among them, wishing to sacrifice Tevkelev instantly to their anger. The Khan saved him but could not quiet the uprising. His more daring subjects even attacked him and asked him by what right he had opened relations with foreign powers without the consent of the people, promising his obedience as well as that of the hordes. One would naturally expect a violent opposition of this kind upon learning that Abulkhair had had difficulty in obtaining the consent of a small number of Kazaks to send his deputies into Russia. This bold trick could even have cost him his life, and if at that time he did not fall under the blows of his angered compatriots, he owed his salvation more to luck than to his power, for we shall soon see how limited it was.

Tevkelev himself, whose life was threatened by the Kazaks several times, owed his survival less to the protection of the Khan than to his profession of the Moslem faith, and above all to his eloquence, by means of which he disarmed those who had come to take his life several times. The story of these events is preserved in the archives.

[554] In his report of them in his History of Orenburg, Rychkov says that the power and captivation of Tevkelev's speech caused him to be regarded by the Kazaks as an extraordinary man. We will add that he owed his success partly to Batyr Taimas, a Bashkir elder who was then with him and who had made himself known among the Kazak hordes through his exploits and his valor.

Tevkelev's pains and troubles were not useless. No matter how strong the resistance of the people with whom he had [170] to deal was, too much effort finally tired them, and

[224 cont.]

×648 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
[661] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[361] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had
578 been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, Ilion, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
[643 661 651] that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

[228 cont.]
×648 became unnecessary (2) because by then the Dzungars, the most

2. Ukase of the Senate of October 24, 1756.

terrible enemies of the Kazaks, had been almost destroyed. These were those same Dzungars who, under the reign of their kungtaidjis, Batur and Galdan Tsyren, had not only been seen to spread terror through the weak principalities of Central Asia, but also to arouse justifiable alarm in the emperors of Russia and China.

With an astonishing speed this people passed from the zenith of its power to absolute ruin. In 1745 under the commands of Galdan Tsyren it was still able to cause an important revolution in all of Central Asia. Under Galdan's sons, whose genius did not approach that of their father, this people imperceptibly lost all its energy, but its neighbors continued to fear it. In 1756 it had already been vanquished and dispersed, and so many had been annihilated that its lands became almost completely deserted.

×648 578 669 The principal causes of the fall of the Dzungarian empire were, as is known, the discord which took place among its last chiefs and the civil wars provoked by Amursan's ambition, which caused the ruin of the entire nation. Having quarreled with Davatsi, who disputed his authority, in 1754 he acknowledged himself a subject of China and begged this empire for auxiliary troops against Davatsi. Emperor Ch'ien Lung received him most graciously and [229] gave him a large army, which was given secret orders to accompany him not to assure him supreme power but to overthrow the Dzungars, who had so often disquieted the Chinese government. The intentions of the Emperor were realized, and in 1756 the ravaged lands of Dzungaria were annexed to China (1).

1. See the extracts from the Chinese work entitled Hsi Yu Wen Chien Lu, in /E.F./ Timkovskii's Journey to China [Puteshestvie v Kitai chrez Mongoliiu v 1820 i 21 gg. (Journey to China through Mongolia in 1820 and 1821)], Vol. I, p. 155.

[234 cont.]
X648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years.
[431 661] These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.

[721 726] The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
Y648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[235 cont.]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

[249 cont.]
x648 662 643 father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

x648 While studies were being made on this subject and the [167] correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

[152] He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the [152 578] authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by the marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by using them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

K [250 cont.]
x648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578 act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[66] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.

K The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the
[721] Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

x K
648
167 upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate
enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks,
EK which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destina-
KO tion to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks
648 and now became their allies. We will now give the history of
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[279 cont.]

×648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their in- [578] activity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 These internal circumstances were joined by others which 662] acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him ×648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg government. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia [721 578] as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

[290 cont.]
for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon became useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader. The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences. Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[296 cont.]

[648] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his [578] death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[43] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[297 cont.]

x648 After his death the Little Horde was without a khan for more
[643] than two years. In 1812 his brother Shirgazy, who is still alive
[1832], was elevated to that position, but he no longer rules the
horde, because it too has been divided by the government into
[631] three districts, whose chiefs are independent of the khan.

[643] At the same time as the elevation of Shirgazy, that is, in 1812, Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, was appointed the khan of the Kazaks who had come with him from the left bank of the Ural into the government of Astrakhan and had since then been given the name of the Bukei Horde.

Bukei died in 1815, leaving several sons, of whom the eldest, Dhangir, was appointed khan in 1824. He is still governing the Kazaks who live in the government of Astrakhan.

This is the end of the list of the Kazak khans who have been recognized and confirmed by the Russian government. We do not include among them Barak, or Batyr, or Kaip, or his son Abulgazy, for, as we have said previously, they were not elected except by a small number of their partisans. The last, in spite of his title, was according to eyewitnesses (1), almost reduced

1. See the memoirs of Dr. Bolshoi, who was taken prisoner by the Kazaks in 1803.

[298] to a state of mendicancy. His power and influence over the people was so weak after Batyr Syrym, that we would not even have mentioned him if he himself, his brothers and his children, among whom Sultan Arungazi must be particularly distinguished, did not continue to stand out for their hereditary hatred of Abulkhair's descent
● 578 line. We have followed the constant progress of this mutual hatred between the two families for a whole century. Our readers know that it already existed between Abulkhair and Kaip at the beginning of the last century.

It passed from them to their children, and [illegible]-children, and great-grandchildren, among whom it still continues today and who will carefully transmit it to their descendants, perhaps for another century or even more.

[298 cont.]

578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

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Part III. Statistical Information on the Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. 'If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who [578] governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

[166] A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most favorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed the Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them that it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in fixed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast expanse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 619 611 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which, during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

361 181 636 177

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require [166] hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 116 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the

ussian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
e nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
ermanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
only several days. Meanwhile, however, it
[423] should be noted that according to a custom a-
dopted once and for all, auls are not allowed
to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it
leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in
the past it led to cattle rustling because the
offended parties in such a case had difficulty
in feeding their herds in winter and attempted
to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as
follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing
and loading of the tents and property falls
upon the women. The head of the household only
supervises the arrangements, and the other men
round up the cattle, and form herds from them,
each family separately. The departure is after
dark, and when everything is ready, the whole
caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The
housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and
the other women ride after her on camels or
horses, carrying the property. At this time
the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes.
They place their most precious and costly things
(carpets, samovars, and so on) on the top, and
in general the whole procession has a festive
air. Since the cattle do not all move at the
same pace, the herd soon begins to separate.
As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over
several versts. The head of the household is
usually not with the moving aul; slow movement
is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the
side or hunts along the way. The march is
usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and
then there is a halt and rest, which in summer
is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.

1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

101 **ḲAZAḲ** (T.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xv^th^) century. During the civil turmoils under the Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *ḳazaḳ*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *ḳazaḳ* years (*ḳazaḳlīḳ*) of Sulṭān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *ḳazaḳ* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Tārīḫ-i Raṣḥidī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbeg, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Özbeg-Ḳazaḳ or simply Ḳazaḳ; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *ḳazaḳ* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xv^th^ century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *ḳazaḳ* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Ḳazaḳ, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian. (W. BARTHOLD)

[57]

P. 836 b

631 618 178 [672] kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to [672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of [579] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few. [696] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 618 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist, although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [654] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev 439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned 579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[192 cont.]
648 641 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this [639 meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should 728] escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to [721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] [662 and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. 152] But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[200 cont.]

×648 662 No matter how insincere the Kazaks' protestations of obedience were and how vain their promises to return the prisoners, protect the caravans, etc., at least from the moment they had declared themselves vassals until the year 1743, neither they nor their subjects had dared to make raids openly on the Russian borders or against their fortresses. But in the course of this year, they gave evidence of extraordinary daring, secretly incited by the same Abulkhair, who never ceased to assure the Russian government of his good faith and of his carrying out of all the duties of a faithful subject. Having been met with a formal refusal to accept his illegitimate son Chingis in place of his son Khodja Akhmet, he was [152] so angry that he began to incite the Kazaks to attack the border villages. One can imagine that his subjects were not slow to profit by counsel which was both advantageous to them and in accord [579] with their customs. At once pillaging, murder, and the carrying off of men and beasts began. Groups made up of from 1,000 to 2,000 bandits threw themselves upon sparsely settled villages, which had only just been founded, and carried away across the Ural River everything which could not escape them or which they could not destroy. Even the fortresses and fortified posts were exposed to their attacks. In one day, [201] 82 men were carried off from the small town of Iletsk. We will not enumerate the other robberies and violences which were committed (1), but limit

1. See the reports of Nepluev to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ourselves only to saying that the leader of these furious bands was Derbeshali, a sultan and kinsman of Abulkhair, and that his aim was to go to the fortress of Sarachinsk where Khodja Akhmet was and carry him off, after he grew tired of brigandage. Russian troops prevented him from carrying this plan out, but being busy building forts, they could not stop the other raids. Part of their horses were worn out by labor and part ran away into the country, and this made them a prey to plunderers.

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[579 643] the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

[239 cont.]
x648 died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[661] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local
[343] authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[571] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[242 cont.]

×648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

×648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent letters with this information without demanding a new oath from [662] them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[246 cont.]

×648 [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and 579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[262 cont.]
x648 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
[644] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
x648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
643 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobi in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[274 cont.]

course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[276 cont.]
he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

×648 [277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to
668 this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to
643 recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

×648 The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head,
177 and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge
643 themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

×648 Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas.

● [579] First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva,
[177 [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open
643] hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[290 cont.]
x648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a
council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.
x648 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim.
Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali,
but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of
Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council,
inspired much more confidence in the government and had much
more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled
near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year
Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little
Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little
Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by
Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.
x648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643 often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554] but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled
by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to
promise various advantages. However, what followed did not
justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not
● [579 act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
[578 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
721] raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde.
The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples,
which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to
dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish
the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy
which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks in-
creased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread
everywhere.
[669 These circumstances produced very important consequences.
166] Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River
withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the
descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require [166] hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[Great Horde]

595 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practised only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's [597] version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of 652 the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izraitsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

[Great Horde]

49 lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place
•58 between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering
the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs
[587] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the
death of a man, the brother who survived him had the
right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In
these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the
levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation
which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

583 The marriage arrangements were centered around the
payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the
groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the
bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the
father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this,
even with the worst of wills on the part of the father.
It is the family of the groom which contributes to the
kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word,
it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin
alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his
brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--
and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange
of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the
groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

[Middle Horde]

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[W6]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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[77]

The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Soviet Era]

583 Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenissei Turks of that early
422 time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

58 Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before
553 puberty.[290] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa gul underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

428 The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

• 581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [606] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 642 171

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

562 bridepriceo. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
578 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange
of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the
payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in
a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep
the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract,
understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the
birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman
when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full
status as a woman.

683 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
556 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh sup-
plied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the
family's prestige required to be the equal of the hus-
band's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of
supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less
than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter
with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange
pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from
one community to another; her movement was in conformity
with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Krastsov, 82.

587 The marriage contract was made between the husband's
581 family and the family of the wife; it is only in this way that we can understand the kalym on the one hand, since it was made over to the wife's family, and the levirate on the other. For the contract was to supply male issue not merely to the husband, but to the husband's line, thus involving the husband's brother and those sons of her husband who were not her own. Sociologically, the husband of the mother was the father of the child, but the wife of the father was not necessarily the mother of the child. Moreover, the sororate, or marriage with the deceased wife's sister, which was required if the latter was not yet betrothed, was part of an undertaking on the part of the bride's family to supply a genetrix to the husband's family, whether it was the woman originally stipulated or a substitute. If a widow broke the contract by seeking to marry outside her late husband's kin group, the second husband of the widow had to pay the kalym to the family of the first husband, or offer a girl in exchange from his own family; the girl's natal family enjoyed no role in her remarriage.[141]

587 In full accord with this interpretation, Radlov has observed that the wife belonged not to the husband, but to his family. Now Radlov had conceived that the levirate was an obligatory practice, while Israstsov,

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[141] Dingelstedt, 155.

Little Horde]

513 adornment, but the girl left her natal aul and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 583 584 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her 581 economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the kalym or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the kalym which they had already

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[197] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

1 [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478--Analyst]

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584 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially
581 the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when
still very young, that is, not asking their
consent, and for the most part they have in
view equality of wealth and not equal age. In
585 general, Kazakh marriage has much in common
581 with a civil contract, of course within the
crude concepts of this people; the religious
element here is only very weakly developed.
584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were
betrothed earlier or not, the match-making
begins with gifts from the groom's side to the
bride's father, and the latter on his part is
obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's
kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts
are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has
been no earlier agreement, the father of the
bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by
general council the amount to be paid for the
bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its
payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep,
depending on the wealth of the families. In
addition to the kalym, however, the groom must
give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head
and a good foot). These two gifts, depending
on the amount of property owned, are usually
9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a
horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi.
Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or
two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the
bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses,
and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and
khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a
horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi
is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father
sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and
receives it according to the following reckoning:
for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40,
for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted
as future offspring. The groom first pays the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [601] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Očerk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

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children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his 597
own offspring. Grodekov, however, remarks[26] that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme cir- 593
cumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."[27]

EXOGAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining 582
the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenshiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekov writes:[28]

> Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

> . . . among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating zaŋ" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekov's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law] . . . ."

[26] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[27] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 33.
[28] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.

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582 This tendency to reduce the prohibited degrees of relationship was also apparent, according to my informants, among the Kazak, where cases of marriage within four or five generations of descent from the common ancestor were not unusual. The influence of Mohammedan law, whose incest prohibitions[19] are generally similar to those laid down in the book of Leviticus,[20] is, as indicated by Grodekov's informant quoted above, probably responsible for this tendency.

Dingelstedt[21] says that marriage was ordinarily forbidden within six generations of relationship, while Karutz[22] states that the prohibition extended as far as ten generations. Rudenko[23] describes the sök as defined by blood relationship "as far as seven fathers" but does not assign any functions, exogamic or otherwise, to such a group.

No mention of the generation principle of exogamy is made by Samoflovich.[24] His informant is described as belonging to the Kipchak tribe;[25] Toru-aingyr[26] clan; Shashty sub-clan; Boshai branch; Zhanai sub-branch. Samoflovich writes: "At the present time the limits within which it is forbidden for Chokaev's [the informant's] family to marry are defined as all those belonging to the sub-clan Shashty."

Such a condition makes exogamy a function of the uru groups in the genealogical sense of the term but does not make it clear which strata of uru subdivisions are involved where, as in the case of the Naiman groups[27] there may be a dozen or more gradations.

A solution of the contradictions in principle between exogamy as determined by generations and as determined by membership in an uru group is suggested in an incidental remark by Grodekov.[28] After stating that marriage is permitted only between those separated by seven generations of ancestors he writes significantly:

> In connection with each courtship they do not reckon how many generations have come after the common ancestor of both parties, but what sub-tribes can conclude marriages among themselves *since they represent seven or more generations from the common ancestor.* [Italics mine.]

This observation is supported by the fact that none of my informants could give the names of his seven actual ancestors. Beyond the grandfather or great-grandfather personal genealogies were merged with uru genealogies. Such a concept, it may be noted, is in accordance

[19] *Holy Quran*, 4.4.23.

[20] *The Bible*: Leviticus 18.2–18.

[21] *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.

[22] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 99.

[23] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59.

[24] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–63.

[25] The designations as "tribe," "clan," etc., are my translations for the Russian terms used by Samoflovich. He himself states, as quoted above, that the application of such terminology to Kazak subdivisions is misleading.

[26] In citing this case Czaplicka (*Turks of Central Asia*, 42) has made an error in transcription, writing "Toru-aibgyr" for "Toru-aingyr" and "Shashli" for "Shashty."

[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, chart facing 334.

[28] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 28.

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with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent uru in the next higher stratum. 582

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 531

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.[39] Il'minskiĭ, who apparently first reported the fact, states:[40]

> A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband . . . . If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov[41] describes a similar prohibition as applying to " . . . the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place . . . ." Radlov[42] reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " . . . eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko[43] says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " . . . all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children . . . " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samoĭlovich.[44] As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Boshai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Boshai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

[39] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81; Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 85.

[40] Il'minskiĭ, *Materialy k Izucheniiu Kirgizskogo Narechiia*, 191.

[41] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81.

[43] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59, note 2.

[44] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–65.

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition: My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoïlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoïlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kirgabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 251.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it 584
occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[62]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very 582
early age. Rudenko[63] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[64] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[65] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[66] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[67]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[68] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride 583
price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[69] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[70] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

[62] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358.
[63] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 48.
[64] Lattimore (E.), *Turkistan Reunion*, 268.
[65] See below, pages 53–54.
[66] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 54.
[67] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[68] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98–99.
[69] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.
[70] *Description des hordes*, 358.

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565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:[6] "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoça in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoça Grodekov[7] mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein[8] . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoças." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.[9] My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoça might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov[10] define qoça not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov[11] mentions that the qoça lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

565 582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Kazak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs[12] were called tare.[13] The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes[14] and mentions that the term sultan was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin[15] also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,[16] without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 304.

[7] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[8] Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

[9] See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[10] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 185.

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[12] Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

[13] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 241.

[14] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[15] *Description des hordes*, 305.

[16] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

/27/ CHAPTER III.

602 Degrees of kinship. -The authority of the parents. -Age of majority. -The clan of the mother. -Adoption. -Guardianship. -Blood brotherhood.

An unknown person receives questions first of all about his clan (Ne el sen? Syuyaging ne?). If the inquirer is of the same clan, then he asks about the lineage, then the sublineage, etc., down to the group, after which the direct descending list of the ancestors begins. Each is supposed to know his ancestors. "He who does not know seven ancestors is a backslider," says the proverb (yete atasyn bil'megen murted). (1)These inquiries serve as a testimonial of the

1. We were able to ascertain more than once that even children aged 10-11 knew their seven ancestors exactly.

individual. Guests are received graciously or rudely on the basis of the recognized degree of kinship. Kinship is reckoned, as they say, to the fortieth degree.

618 Transfer from one clan to another is impossible, but living and nomadizing with a strange clan is permitted.

582 Marriages are concluded between hordes, clans, lineages, etc. to the seventh "ancestor", i.e., the seventh degree of kinship inclusively, by the male line (2), and in the opinion of several people, to

2. Matchmaking takes place when seven ancestors have passed (yete ata utkensong). If anyone has a love relationship with a person more closely related than this degree of kinship, he is banished from the society (yurttan chygarady). Communication of bii Khalmakhammed, Chimkent uyezd.

the fourth and even the third degree. Among the Kirgiz, according to the statement of bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, marriages are concluded to the fifth generation. At the present time, closer relatives marry, even from the second generation, for which they are reproached by the words: "You are spoiling the customary law." But they do not dissolve the marriage and do not impose a penalty. (3) Mullah Asan

3. In the Svanetiya "Even those whose kinship is reckoned at the twelfth degree cannot enter into marriage." (Vestnik Evropy, August, 1886).

confirms this: "Earlier, among the Kirgiz as well as /28/ the Kazakhs, brides were taken from the seventh genaration; now they choose from the third degree, and are even beginning to choose them from the second degree, in accordance with the Shariat. Manaps and the simple people do not differ in this."

They do not calculate at every matchmaking how many generations (ata) have passed since the common ancestor of both parties, for it is always known which lineages can conclude marriages between each other (kyz alysady), since they represent the seventh or further generations of a common ancestor. It is equally well known which lineages and sublineages cannot conclude marriages, (kyz alyspaidy), because fewer than seven generations have passed since their division. Between lineages which cannot intermarry, it is not acceptable to answer each other in singing at a wedding.

The reason why the Kazakhs do not take brides from a closer degree of kinship is, first of all, that with close marriages there would be embarrassment between the boys and girls of one village, and there would be no restraint against their having intimate relations (oy nasady), and secondly, in such marriages there are few children (tukhmi usmeidi, "their family does not grow") (1), and also the husband does not love

1. The same motives restrain the Kanak in New Caledonia from choosing a bride from their village: Jamais un Canaque n'épousera une femme de son village. Ils disent qu'en se mariant entre eux, ce sang s'appauvrit, tandis qu'en prenant une femme d'un autre village ou même d'une autre tribu, il s'améliore; et puis, de cette manière on se fait des alliés en cas de guerre ou de querelles. (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 3. trimestre 1886. Aperçu général sur la Nouvelle Calédonie, par Octave Opigez, p. 437).

the wife (syuimeidi), and it is reported (nakl bar) that he is usually weak in the sexual relation (urgachiga kemkuvat bulady). Bii Sultan Kanaev adds that this is why the biis established (tokhtatkan) the present order of more distant matchmaking, in conference with each other (akyldaskan) and not breaking the Shariat (shariatka kabyl).

Kinship in the female line does not obstruct marriage, with certain exceptions.

It is impossible for a father to marry a mother, when a son has married her daughter, and vice versa.

Two sisters are not married to two brothers. Brides /Inserted

582 page. Picture. Caption: The Kirgiz manap mullah Asan Dzhangel'din, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. / /29/ of two brothers must be no more closely related than the third degree of kinship.

Sisters may marry two first cousins, but even this is not done eagerly, and they say it would be better to establish a bond in two places rather than in one (eki tamyrdi br tamyr kylmaimyz).

It is impossible to marry your step-sister (not your own-ugei), from the same father but another mother, and vice versa. It is impossible to marry a step-daughter, whether a maiden or a widow. (1)

1. "Anyone who did that would become an infidel /Kafir/" cried bii Khamahammed.

[Picture not reproduced—A]

582 587 A widow may marry a step-son, born by another wife of her late husband. A widow does not marry her father-in-law, but she does marry his brother. A daughter cannot marry the brother of her father's wife, but she can marry his son.

It is impossible to marry one's step-mother (ugei sheshe). If a widow with her son goes over to the older or younger brother of her husband, who was already married earlier, and if he also dies, then a son can marry his widow, i.e., his own step-mother, as Torgai expresses it, by the Shariat, but not by customary law. If the wife of the uncle does not become one's step-mother, then one can marry her also according to customary law (Torgai).

According to Khamahammed, Chimkent uyezd, it is impossible to marry the son's widow /or/ the wife's mother. The son of one wife can marry the step-daughter of his father by another wife.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, Pt. 1, p. 2, this bii finds that two brothers can marry two sisters, or one can marry the mother, and the other the daughter. Sultan Abulfaiz, of the Chimkent uyezd, says the same thing, stating that he has encountered examples of it.

To marry the sister of one's step-mother is considered reprehensible, although this does happen for love. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that such a marriage is illicit.

/30/ The sister-in-law, the sister of the brother's wife, is considered the blood sister until the death of the brother. Therefore it is impossible to marry her until this time.

587 It is impossible to marry the wife's sister (baldyz), as long as the wife is living.

After the death of a wife, the husband demands her sister for himself in marriage, if she is still unspoken for, or her kinswoman, with the payment of a bride price minus 6 head of livestock from

587

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

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601

The kinship terms in Kazakh.
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her
608 child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe" like the real mother.

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884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was
582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

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lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

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Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, let us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

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No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

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Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

597 Touching the breast of the adoptive mother is a symbol that she considers the adopted one on an equal with her own children, whom she nursed, although she did not nurse him.

The adopted one is usually not considered as close as the true child, although he may gain more affection than the true children by his spiritual qualities and his services. The same can be said of adopted slaves.

When they wish to reject the adopted one, they give him an allotment only of inchi or only of kalym. In extreme cases it is enough to give him a horse for his departure. On the request of the adopted one, the aksakas may request the father not to reject his foster child without a serious offense (Perovsk uyezd). The adopted one, on his part, can always go away to his clan at any time.

The clan does not change through adoption, at any rate not now.

[582] According to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov, the adopted child (inchiles bala), coming from a clan and lineage with which marriage is permissible, can under no circumstances enter into marriage with those who have adopted him. This includes not only the family, but also the close relatives of this family. He is considered as a true son of the adopter and has a right to the name and the inheritance on an equal with the lawful children.

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429 After the death of the father, even though the mother is living, one of the close kinsmen takes the place of the father for the protection of the orphans (yetim), and the wards nomadize together with him.

This guardianship is not juridical but patriarchal, for which reason also there are rarely used words signifying the guardian: miraskhur, miras, mira(1), and according to Daulet Bushaev - vasy.

1. On hearing the word "mirasy" meaning "his guardian" they took the sy for a suffix and began to use "mira". Actually, the Arabic miras means inheritance, and miraskhur, the receiver of the inheritance. Among the Kazakhs these same words have received the meaning of guardian.

/39/ If no one remains alive in the tent but the successor, who is not of age, then he moves with all his property to the nearest kinsman (Perovsk uyezd). To this last kinsman other kinsmen come

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and take what they need of the orphan's property, saying "when you eat (1) why shouldn't I eat?" (sen yegende men yemeyminbe?)(Torgai).

1. To eat is the equivalent of to use.

Only when the closest kinsman is completely unsuitable to be a guardian, then by demand of the remaining relatives, a bii or aksakal appoints another, if possible a close kinsman, or to speak more precisely, they do not appoint but give the minor into his hands.

In the absence of men, a woman is invited to be the guardian, the mother or a close kinswoman, for although women are bought by a kalym, in likeness to property, and although oaths are not sworn from the woman's side, it is not denied that they have a mind (akl), or otherwise they would not be allowed to give testimony in court. When male relatives are not to be found, women are themselves considered guardians. Outside aksakals are invited to be guardians only in the most extreme cases. In general, the guardian is usually of a relationship no further than the seventh degree.

Also the very close kinsman of the killed man, who presents the claim for the wergeld, or he who defends the rights of the deceased when there is no very close kinsman, and takes his place, is designated as guardian.

When the mother marries a kinsman of her dead husband, the children remain with her. But when the mother goes to a new husband of a strange clan, then the children remain under the guardianship of the former relatives.

The insane, cripples, etc., are not deprived of their property. Their closest kinsmen are considered their guardians. Even though they cannot earn their own subsistence, they are given wives without breaking the rule that the sons are married in order of seniority.

/40/ For minor sons (up to 15 years approximately), their guardians intercede on their behalf.

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A girl must have the consent of her guardian to marry, if he is a kinsman. If he is not, she must have the consent of her closest kinsman. The guardian who is not a kinsman can only advise his ward, the groom or the bride, to defer the payment of the kalym until the spring when the number of livestock is doubled. The nearest relative can refuse his consent to a marriage which is desired by the guardian and the children themselves. The guardian is not forbidden to marry his female ward, with the observation of the usual rules. For example, when he is a close kinsman, he cannot marry within the forbidden

429 degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"
[582] /rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567] 1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[575] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[583] Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

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1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586 836
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 587
brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are [567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

603 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From 602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan [565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal [622] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing [582] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or [614] branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. [692] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he [622] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the [692] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altynsarin, 1870, p. 104.

[2] [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1]Izmaytsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the
[119] family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were
[560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with
[554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals
162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture.
[582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this
[595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character;
593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions
[562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this
[181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father
[171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [627]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 582 613 [621] [474]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [627] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1]Ibid., p. 86.

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulating marriage settlements, although he had little authority over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izraztsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

[92] Izraztsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

582 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's.[179] Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

582 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the
613 eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[179] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

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exogamy around the turn of the century. It was forbidden to take a wife from one's own kin group. According to Karutz, all the Kazakhs on Mangyshlak peninsula at this time were descended from a certain Adai who migrated to Mangyshlak from the northern part of the territory of the Little Horde. Adai had two sons, Kudaike and Kelembede, who were the founders respectively of two exogamous lineages, of which Kudaike's was the senior in rank. Karutz's informant was descended in the tenth generation from Kelembede, and hence was in the cadet lineage and had to seek a wife among the women descended from Kudaike.[180] A case might be made out for the analysis of this kin structure as a sib; indeed the Adai descent-group is typologically transitional between lineage and sib; but the sub-lineages are ranked, exogamous, and the basis for both ranking and exogamy is a detailed genealogy. Exogamy here is not on the basis of name alone; hence the classification as lineage and the implied clan structure.

The requirement to take a wife removed in the tenth degree from oneself is the most extreme rule of exogamy found among the Kazakhs. It can only be regarded as the result of special conditions operating: a group of people who had migrated to a new locality had preserved the unity of the group intact over eleven generations, re-

[180] Karutz, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[Little Horde-Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history
582 of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic
[101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal line-
[616] age and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukei Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the cen-
582 tury, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.[188] The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were ten or eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.[189] The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.[190]

556 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs
584 and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.[191] However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire kalym, or a major portion of it, had been paid.[192]

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188 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

189 Altynsarin, 101.

190 Plotnikov, 123-124.

191 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

192 Plotnikov, loc. cit.

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for [587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined [587] by the aqsaqal[1] A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1 [leader of uru -- Analyst]

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it 584
occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[62]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very 582
early age. Rudenko[63] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[64] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[65] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[66] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[67]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[68] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride 583
price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[69] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[70] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

[62] See also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 358.
[63] *Očerk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 46.
[64] Lattimore (E.), *Turkestan Reunion*, 268.
[65] See below, pages 53-54.
[66] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 54.
[67] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 250.
[68] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98-99.
[69] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 40.
[70] *Déscription des hordes*, 358.

583 considered a fairly good sized kalym to be around two hundred sheep and fifty horses, and a medium one perhaps forty sheep and ten horses. It might, however, amount among the rich to a great deal more and among the poor to considerably less.[71] A very poor man might have to go without a wife through inability to pay kalym but could usually find a girl without many prospects from an equally poverty stricken family whose parents were glad to be relieved of the necessity of supporting her.

The kalym was usually paid in installments over a period of several years. The first payment, according to my informants, sealed the marriage contract and no other man might thereafter marry the girl even though he were in a position to pay the full kalym at once. Tlenshiev said that in former times it had been customary to pay the entire amount in one sum but that in later days it was paid by degrees. The existence, however, of a complete terminology to describe the various stages in the payment of kalym indicates that the practice of payment by installments is probably of considerable antiquity.[72] It sometimes happened that the prospective bride grew old before her fiancé was able to complete the transaction. She was, however, according to Grodekov's material, not obliged to wait indefinitely. If by the time she had reached the age of twenty the youth were still entangled in his obligations, she might break the engagement. He could then apply the payments already made toward acquiring her younger sister or else admit his inability to cope with the situation and receive back a portion of what he had paid.[73]

836 As mentioned above, it appears to have been generally permitted for the fiancé to
583 visit his betrothed after the payment of the first installment of kalym. Levshin notes, however,[74] that in some places the bridegroom must remain at home and not visit the girl until the kalym had been paid in full. Where such visits were permitted there is considerable discrepancy in regard to the extent of intimacy between the two.[75] My informants said that sexual relations were in theory forbidden until the kalym had been paid in full but that they frequently occurred. The same may be inferred from Levshin's remark[76] that if the bride became pregnant the marriage was quickly completed even though the kalym had not been fully paid.

583 It is important to note here a possible change in the concept of the bride price and in the relationships of the individuals involved. Asfendiarov indicates, in a personal communication, that the character of kalym altered concommitantly with the development of feudal institutions in Kazak culture. Formerly, in his opinion, it had been part of a mutual exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom but later became an almost exclusively

[71] See also Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 323–24; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358, note.

[72] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 324–25.

[73] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149.

[74] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[75] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149–50; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360.

[76] *Description des hordes*, 360.

1/2 [See cat. 116, p 47 -- Analyst]

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves. The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Dinnev, *O Semibratnem Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567] 1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[575] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld (khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[587] 582 Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

584 The matchmaking can be from both sides (karsyma karsy kuda bulmyk, atastyrmak), in which case neither side pays a kalym.

/61/ The brothers of the father refuse to support their nephews in paying the kalyms of the latter (kalynmalga kosady). For the son of a poor but respected man the group of fifty or the village arranges a collection for the kalym (yurttyk kylyb yardam tigizedi). Here everyone gives as much as he wishes.

583 The choice of the groom by the bride does happen, but without the payment of a kalym (Perovsk uyezd). Earlier this did not happen, according to the report of bii Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. Now there are cases where the girl flees to the choice of her heart against the will of the father (erksiz). After this her chosen husband can be compelled to pay the kalym and a fine.

The man guilty of carrying away the bride appears before her father with gifts (tartu tartib), asking forgiveness by saying: "Forgive me. I too am your son (menen utingiz, mende balangiz). These gifts do not oblige the girl's father to refuse the kalym. According to Absaiyamov of the Chimkent uyezd, the groom must pay a double kalym as a punishment.

584 The story of Karabai and Sarybai, who entered into matchmaking before the birth of their children, is confirmation of the sacredness of the betrothal. Sarybai died. Karabai did not wish to marry his daughter Bayan-Sulu to an orphan, and he travelled away with his herds and married her to Kodarkul. The son of Sarybai, Kazykurpish, came to Bayan-Sulu, and hid with her in a trunk, but his long hair(1)

1. Long hair for men is referred to in magic tales.

which hung outside betrayed him. Karabai's family spared his life, but Kodarkul killed him. Later on he himself was killed by the hand of Bayan-Sulu.

The Kirgiz do not determine the amount of the kalym at the betrothal. At the beginning they give 2-3 animals, and thereafter 1-2 animals annually. Only on the "ui dzhany kylgan" visit does the girl's father ask the groom for the first time: "How much more will you pay? You specify it. What went before does not count" (burungy mal isebsiz, inde kancha beresin? uzing bil'). Then the amount of the bride price is determined. If it is difficult to pay the designated sum after this, the parents of the groom, with /62/ other relatives, take a slaughtered animal to the tent of the girl's father. On the question of those who encounter them: "Where are you going?"

000 affiliation.

585 /76/ Among the Kirgiz, the bride is seated behind the curtain at the groom's father's. The yenge says: "pay for a look" (kurumdigin ber). Those who like her give her something. The bride in the "large house" (chung uide), that is, in the house of the groom's father, greets the groom's father and mother and throws fat in the fire with the words: "May God have mercy on you. May the animal join you from behind. May children join you from in front. May the years of your life be long, both yours and the groom's". (1) In answer to this the groom's father

1. Ak yalgasyn! Artingdy mal bassyn, aldyngdy bala bassyn! Kuyauing ukeauing umri yashi bulsyn!

and mother pronounce a blessing (bata).

/77/ CHAPTER VI.

Kalym. - Number of wives. - The marriage of a widow. - Divorce. - Akymar. - The children of widows and divorced people. - The position of women. - The illegitimate children. - Birth and designation of names.

583 The payment for the bride or kalym (kalyn, kalyn mal) goes to the use of the person who reared her and married her, i. e., her father, kinsman, guardian, etc. The extent of the kalym differs greatly between rich and poor, and between beautiful and unattractive brides. (1) A larger kalym is demanded for a girl from widowers, than

1. They offered a deaf and dumb girl in Tashkent for 5 cows.

from men entering their first marriage. After the payment of the kalym, the groom still provides the toymal and the elyu before the day of the wedding. The bride's father adds the same amount himself to the toymal he receives, and from this he arranges the wedding feast and buys the wedding couple a tent, rugs, blankets, a fur coat, the bridal headdress, utensils, clothing and other parts of the dowry.

The elyu is an animal to carry the tent and the entire dowry.

The kalyms of the Perovsk uyezd, according to bii Mikebai Sultanaev, consist of the following divisions:

/78/ Names of divisions	Kalym of the rich "forty-seven"(1) (kyrk yete)	Kalym of prosperous, with the same name (ekinchi kyrk yete).	Kalym of poor "thirty-seven (otuz yete).

1. This means 47 three year old mares, cf. Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 5. In the Semipalatinsk oblast kalyms of 47, 37, 27, and 17 are used. Although the Kazakhs in the Turkestan area also remember kyrk yete in the sense of 47, the grammar permits another translation: "forty sevens".

Karamal	60 saulyk, 60 tokty } 500 rubles	40 saulyk 40 tokty	30 saulyk (pregnant ewe) 30 tokty (year old sheep).
Bash yakhaysy	60 tusak (barren ewe)	40 tusak	1 camel 1 horse
Yanama yakhsysy	1 camel 1 horse	1 camel	1 horse
Yeketu biye	1 mare in foal	1 mare in foal	1 kunan (three year old animal).
Tusat	1 horse	1 colt (tai)	1 tokty
Kalyntyuya	1 camel	1 camel	1 tailak (two year old [illegible] camel)
Sutakky (2)	1 camel	1 camel	1 horse, 1 coat.

2. Sutakky have already been mentioned among the voluntary gifts of the groom to the women.

/79/ Elyu	Toymal	100 sheep 10 camels for a new tent 20-30 horses for the furnishings, etc.	In the same proportion but less	Very little, or not at all.

Not all these divisions exist now. If they do exist in some places, the bride's father gives them out, especially the bash yakhsysy, in the form of gifts after the matchmaking (kiit), together with other gifts, consisting of clothing and food.

The smallest of kalym in the Perovsk uyezd is dzhiirme dzhesti, i. e., 27 heads of animals.

The special form of kalym called "tomalak kalyn" is arrived at by mutual agreement, which determines the total sum of animals or money as though at a sale. (1) With this there is no toymal or elyu.

1. In the Perovsk uyezd, someone gave 1500 rubles in money.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are the following kalyms:

1) According to Abdrakhman:

Names of divisions	Rich	Poor
Karamel	8 kukundi biye	8 kulundi biye (mare with colt)
	12 buidak (two year old sheep).	2 saiyak (gelding, barren mare).
Yeketu biye	2 horses	
Tusat	1 horse	nothing
Kshi at	1 horse	
/80/ Ul'kun yetim (1)	120 sheep	nothing

1. Ul'kun yetim "the great prisoner" means the captive or the child of a captive woman which was given in former times in payment of the kalym. They gave 5 camels in place of a captive.

Kshi yetim (2)	3 camels (of which one female pregnant or with baby camel).	nothing

2. Kshi yetim "small captive" was substituted for by 4 camels.

Toymal	Undefined (kesimsiz)	nothing
Elyu	"	"
Gifts (kiit) from bride's father	100 tillias /ca. 300 to 400 rubles/.	"

4:Grodekov--72 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

2) According to Kunakbai:

Names of divisions	Former kalym among the rich	Present kalym	Among the poorest
Karamel	8 kukundi biye 12 buidak	8 kulundi biye	atbastagan toguz.
Bas yakhsysy	5 camels	1 camel	"
Ayak yakhsysy	3 camels		"
Toymal	9 mares 50 tillias	Appoximately 20 tillias /ca. 60-80 rubles/	"
Elyu	As many camels as the bride's father has wives.		
/81/ Yirtich (adras, bikasam /striped silk/, chintz etc. given out as kerchiefs to women at wedding)	Approximately 20 tillias /60-80 rubles/	Approximately 10 tillias /30-40 rubles/	Atbastagan toguz.

3) According to a third report:

Names of divisions	Among the rich	Among the prosperous	Among the poor
Karamel	80 saulyk 40 buidak	8 mares with foals	30 saulyk 30 buidak
Yakhsysy or rekara (large animals)	12 camels and 4 horses	2 camels and 4 saiyak (horses of various ages)	2 camels and 1 horse (or less, depending on means).
Toymal	20 horses	3-4 horses	1 animal.

4:Grodekov--73 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

583 According to bii Khalmakhammed of the Chimkent uyezd, the kalym with the toymal etc., consists, as far as he knows of the following categories:

Kalym of the rich "47" (kyrk yete):	The "37"(otuz yete), which is usually with the agreement of the bride's father, when the kyrk yete has been agreed upon, but they cannot pay it:		Kalym of the poor:
Gifts of kiit,	approximately 400 rubles.	Kiit approximately 2 tillias /6 to 8 rubles/	
8 kulundi biye (mares in foal); of these 4 can be replaced by 60 sheep.		8 kulunde biye.	7 kulundi biye(of which 3 can be replaced by 1 good horse or camel).
/82/ 12 buidak zhylky (not old enough to sire foals, i. e., 2-4 years old)		6 buidak zhylky or 4 buidak zhylky, 1 yeletube tyuya, 1 yanam at.	2 buidak zhylky.

Six of these can be replaced by 30 sheep. Among the remaining 6 horses there is usually: tusat, i. e., a good horse, which the receiver will point to himself (tus salady); kshi at, "small horse", i. e., 4 year old; dzhanamat, "other horse", a good horse; yeketubie - 1 mare; yeletube tyuya, "camel tied to rope with running noose", a camel of medium value; some do not give yeletube tyuya. Ul'kun yetim or "bas yetim" - 120 sheep.

4:Grodekov--74 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

583

Kshi yetim - 5 camels Toymal (1) - ca. 400 rubles	Toymal - ca. 20 tillias /ca. 60 to 80 rubles/	The groom gives the bride clothing and transports her to his dwelling.

1. The toymal and the iu yirtis is returned by the bride's father in the form of the dowry.

Ui uirtis (cloth to be given away) Ca. 60 tillias (228 rubles) or less	Ui yirtis - 10 to 15 tillias /ca. 30-45 rubles/	
Elyu - 1 camel or 1 horse apiece to each wife of the bride's father, and 1 camel to his father (not obligatory, this is within the kiim).	Elyu - as in the kyrk yete column.	Elyu - a camel or horse if possible; otherwise they depart on foot or on a horse lent by acquaintances.
/83/ Bosaga elyu - "for the right to cross the threshold", 1 camel. For the arrangement of the feast - about 1 1/2 batmans /432 lbs. or more/ of dried apricots kishmish /seedless grapes or raisins/ on a camel, which is returned if the animal was not the elyu tyuya. To be slaughtered for the feast - 2 fattened mares. Prizes for kukubure and baigas.	Bosaga elyu - a foal etc. in a smaller amount.	

The matchmakers do not make an agreement on the amount of the toymal. It depends on the degree of solvency of the groom at

the time of the wedding. The groom gives tillias and receives from the bride's father horses, camels, rugs, blankets, fur coats, clothing of all sorts, a samovar, in a word, complete equipment, which is called yagal. Among these objects it is necessary to mention the dzhelek', a wrap of red material which the newly married woman wears for a full year, and the saukale.

Among the Kirgiz manaps, the kalym formerly consisted of 100 horses, but now is 30 to 40 animals (kara). Among the simple Kirgiz, a kalym for a beautiful bride consists of 15 to 17 animals (kara), and 9-10 animals among the poor. The toymal is usual only among the rich Kirgiz, and then only in a small amount, for among them it is not customary to give gifts of things (yasau). They give only a tent, a rug, and a coat in the dowry, and formerly they gave th the shaukale in addition. They seat the bride on a horse, and pack the entire dowry on one camel. Therefore there is also no elyu. (Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov).

/84/ According to the report of the manpa mullah Asan Dzhangeldin, the size of the kalym was formerly indefinite. Now the rich rarely pay up to 100 heads (kara) of various animals (andai diger). The usual kalym is not over 9 heads or 100 tillias /ca. 300 -400 rubles/. Among these 9 there are usually 1 camel, 4 horses and 4 cows, and among the poor 1 camel and 8 small animals (sheep and goats). The poorest give a tokaltoguz, in the sense of a toguz without a camel (1), namely: 1 horse, 1 bishti (2), 1 kunan, 1 tillia,

1. Tokaltoguz also signifies a toguz of things, without animals.

2. This is the name for a horse 3-4 years old among the Kirgiz.

taiturpak (sucking calf), 1 sheep and 1 goat. Among them no tents are given or draught animals. The wedding couple departs on foot.

In Tashkent the kalym given by the rich is 12 kara (3), while

3. Kara is "black animal", i. e., one animal. In the Auliye - Ata uyezd it is equal to 3 ewes with 3 lambs.

people of the middle class give 10 kara, and the pooe give 9 kara. With this the toymal consists of 20, 15, and 10 tillias, or else only of 8, 7, and 6 tillias. At the wedding the bride's father gives 1 sogum (bull) for the regalement, and 2 kids for the kukbure. The elyu equals 5 tillias, 4 tillias or 1 horse and 3 tillias.

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For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

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According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd./ /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765 according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[Not reproduced-- A.]

x648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

x648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in [583] accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride [584] price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[168] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
• 583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ů Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

/218 cont./

585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
●[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. [554] For those who could afford it, the possession of many wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native [589] districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
[589] the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
[554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
[554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1]Hichwin, 1950.
[2]Izrastsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

596 The family estate was not communal family property in the usual sense, nor can the paterfamilias be regarded as the owner of the family estate which he controlled. The family estate, both the physical and the intangible wealth, was an estate held in trust, and this definition fits the conception of the family (and the lineage) as a corporate structure.

Inheritance in the Great Horde

428 Properly speaking, only a small proportion of the family physical property was transmitted on the death of the father. Prior to his death, his sons, with the exception of the youngest son, had allotments made over to them of various kinds. In the normal course, these sons would have had a tent or yurt set up for them by the father,[106] which was generally done on marriage, but sometimes earlier, when they came of age; these two events, of course, might also be simultaneous. Thus, [884] youths among the Kazakhs were generally regarded as coming of age between their twelfth and fifteenth years; among those who could afford it, the marriage likewise [583] took place at or about this time.[107] The father likewise paid the kalym or bridewealth for these sons; and he gen-

[106] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 477.

[107] Dingelstedt, 153; Izrastsov, 72.

[Great Horde]

49 58 lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs [587] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the death of a man, the brother who survived him had the right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

•583 The marriage arrangements were centered around the payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this, even with the worst of wills on the part of the father. It is the family of the groom which contributes to the kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word, it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

of the terms of the kalym and the period of its payment.[128] A trait of steppe marriage arrangements is found among the Kazakhs of the Great Horde, whereby the go-between, usually a close kinsman or a close friend of the bridegroom's family initiates the negotiations.[129] There is a general taboo on seeing the bride before the marriage, or at least before the betrothal.

The kalym was a great undertaking and it usually amounted to a major portion of the patrimony of a man; hence the existence of a system whereby kinsmen outside the immediate family itself could be called on for support. Typical sums made over in a kalym were seven sevens of livestock of various descriptions, or nine nines.[130] On the other hand, there was no discussion of the amount of the kalym in a marriage between rich Kazakh families, which was matched by the dowry: it was a matter of prestige to exchange enormous amounts of livestock, each family seeking to outdo the other in the sumptuousness of the exchange.[131] Friends likewise did not debate the amount of the kalym in the marriage between their offspring. Poor families likewise did not discuss the

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[128] Izraztsov, 72.

[129] Ibid., 73.

[130] Radloff, op. cit., I, 476.

[131] Izraztsov, 73-74.

523 amount of the kalym, for usually very little bridewealth or wealth of any kind was exchanged in such marriages.

A common form of marriage arrangement was an exchange of daughters between or among families. These exchanges were of two kinds, one called uǒ urai, and the other called karsy. Let us consider the type called uǒ urai first. This was a marriage arrangement among three families, in which family A by agreement gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family B, which in turn gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family C, which gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family A. These circular marital arrangements, while not as universal as among the Gilyak, or as complex as among the Kachin, were at least widely enough known to obtain a specific appellation, uǒ urai. The second kind of exchange of daughters was called karsy, and was a simple exchange of daughters between two families. Such arrangements took place while the children were still minors, and were in many instances infant betrothals.[132]

524 These forms of marriage arrangement were, however, not the norm, which centered around the kalym. When the greater part of the kalym was paid, the groom acquired the right to visit the bride, who during this period still continued to dwell with her father; and the groom

[132] Izraztsov, 74.

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rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Iarastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

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562 bridepriceo. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
• 578 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange
of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the
payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in
a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep
the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract,
understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the
birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman
when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full
status as a woman.

683 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
656 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh sup-
plied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the
family's prestige required to be the equal of the hus-
band's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of
supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less
than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter
with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange
pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from
one community to another; her movement was in conformity
with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izraztsov, 82.

[Great Horde]

583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
562 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
562 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
683 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's[1] jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

1 [on the bii or "elder", cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

583 The kalym was typically the value of forty-seven horses, 556a figure often encountered elsewhere in the Kazakh hordes, close to Radlov's figure of seven sevens. Alternately, the typical kalym might be fifty horses, or the equivalent in the Little Horde.[193] All these figures agree closely. On the other hand, a rich Kazakh of the Little Horde generally paid twice or even three times that amount in the kalym for a first-class marriage, while a marriage of slightly lesser éclat might involve a kalym of from 75 to 100 horses or the equivalent. Finally, a poor Kazakh might pay as little as ten horses for his kalym.[194]

523 The family of the bride undertook to give the girl a dowry on her marriage, and that property which she brought with her was called kiit.[195] On the other hand, a certain sum was given by the family of the groom to the family of the bride, "for the adornment of the daughter-in-law"--baš džaksa.[196] The value of the wealth exchanged in these various arrangements was always greater on the side of the husband's family than on the side of the wife's. The wife-receivers had to pay doubly, to the wife's family, and to the wife herself for her

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[193] Altynsarin, 104.

[194] Balliuzek, 73.

[195] Karutz, op. cit., 38.

[196] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde]

583 adornment, but the girl left her natal <u>aul</u> and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

583 But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 584 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her 581 economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the <u>kalym</u> or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the <u>kalym</u> which they had already

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[197] Karutz, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

1 [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478--Analyst]

[Little Horde]

583 If a man really abducted a daughter from her family, his family was required either to furnish a daughter in exchange from its own midst or from among the closely related families, or to pay a full kalym for her. If the girl herself was returned after the abduction, an indemnity was imposed on the family of the abductor, since the girl could no longer command a full kalym.[202] Abduction for cause, however, such as delay in surrendering the bride after the kalym had been paid in full, could not be punished.[203] The requirement of the full kalym for an abduction was in itself a kind of imposition of an indemnity, for it placed a great economic burden on a family which ordinarily demanded years to get rid of, an indemnity which in the case of an unlawful abduction had to be paid in a short term.

576 602 From the data on the payment of the kalym,[1] it may be seen that the family was patriarchal in authority, patrilineal in descent, and patrilocal in residence. There is a certain amount of evidence that the family of the groom paid a psychic capital in the form of prestige and respect to the family of the bride, in addition to the material goods which exchanged hands. The taboo on face-to-face contact between the youth and his pro-

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[202] Balliusek, 82.

[203] Ibid., 79-80.

1 [Cf. especially, Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 477 ff. -- Analyst]

583 556 three and eight tents.[286] The Kazakh of moderate means could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, and these were the very poor.[287]

583 556 The relationship between wealth and family composition was intermediated by the continued existence of the kalym.[1] But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;[288] if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

583 422 The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, i.e., the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.[289] And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries, A.D., into the

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[286] Ibid., 54.

[287] Ibid., 67.

[288] Idem.

[289] Idem.

[1] [i.e. in the 1920's; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 244ff. -- Analyst]

[Soviet Era]

583 422 Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

58 Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before puberty.[290] A wife on taking up residence in her Hu Fa 553] <u>aul</u> underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified whether she was pretty, clever, sympathetic, etc.[291] The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time appears to have been oriented toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

428 The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted.

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[290] Ibid., 48.

[291] Ibid., 59.

8:Kostenko -27-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

584 Marriage. Usually, the Kazakhs, especially
581 the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when still very young, that is, not asking their consent, and for the most part they have in view equality of wealth and not equal age. In
585 general, Kazakh marriage has much in common
581 with a civil contract, of course within the crude concepts of this people; the religious element here is only very weakly developed.
584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were betrothed earlier or not, the match-making begins with gifts from the groom's side to the bride's father, and the latter on his part is obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has been no earlier agreement, the father of the bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by general council the amount to be paid for the bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep, depending on the wealth of the families. In addition to the kalym, however, the groom must give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head and a good foot). These two gifts, depending on the amount of property owned, are usually 9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi. Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses, and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and receives it according to the following reckoning: for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40, for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted as future offspring. The groom first pays the

584 583 kalym or part of it and gives gifts /343/ to the kinsmen, and pays one yakhshi, usually the ayak-yakhshi. Then he carries the remaining yakhshi himself when he rides for the first time to the bride's, and this yakhshi is called 'elu'. For this he receives the right to visit the bride at night, and spends about three days in the aul, secretly, as it were. He steals into the tent during this time and the parents of the bride act as though they knew nothing about it. In order to receive the right to visit the bride during the day the groom again gives gifts. To her father he gives the so-called 'tui-mal' and to her mother a payment for her milk, 'syut-ake'. The value of the tuimal, which depends entirely upon the wealth involved, and among the righ may be from 50 to 100 horses and one harness, is returned to the groom in the form of the bride's dowry if the marriage is broken off. The match-making sometimes lasts quite a long time, perhaps a year or more. During this time all the entertainment of guests is at the expense of the [585] bride's father. Only after this period is over does the groom ride to fetch the bride. For this he puts on his best clothing, mounts his best horse and arrives at the aul of his future wife. Here a tent has already been prepared for him, and after a prayer by the mullah, which i. actually the wedding, the bride and groom are led into the tent and left there alone. All these arrivals are of course accompanied by feasts and entertainments but the groom suffers especially during the last visit for the relatives of the bride take away everything, his horse, clothing, weapon, etc. In addition, all through the match-making the bride's brother has the right to steal anything he wants from the groom without paying any fine for it, and if he is caught he

8:Kostenko -29-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

584 is only given an ordinary beating. From all
583 this one can see that the marriage consists
of a civil agreement under a show of gifts,
and both sides have almost an equal interest
in conforming to it. But the real advantage
goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts
and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is
not given so informally to the groom, and she
must be taken by force, and yet certain customs
are observed in this case as well. After the
final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home
and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the
celebrations begin at the groom's father's and
at his expense. It is self-evident that the
number of gifts and the elaborateness of the
feasts are always in proportion to the means
of both sides.

764 /344/ Burial. According to Kazakh custom
the deceased is washed and dressed in his best
clothing, and sometimes he is wrapped in a
khalat. If a man has died, his wives are re-
quired to set up a terrible wail of despair
and repeat this ceremony mornings and evenings
for a year. In these cases the neighboring
women never lag in visiting the one in mourning
in order to wail with her to satiety. At the
funeral the mullah reads prayers twice; at home,
before the body is carried out, and at the
actual burial. They dig a pit with a wooden
floor for the deceased, or they place him at
the side of the main pit. Graves are usually
on elevations, and over them they make memo-
rials of wood, stone, clay or earth, sometimes
in the form of buildings with a round cupola
and turrets. It is remarkable that very often
the Kazakhs depart in this case from the Moslem
rules and make images of animals and people in
765 these tombs. Of course, at the burial there
is usually a feast for the guests, but the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

837 Adultery, by the Mongol code and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[55] was punishable by death. Zaleskie[57] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[58]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[59]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[60]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kanaev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[61] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful financé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

55. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[56] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[57] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 251.

[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

Z: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 EQ2 Kazak EQ2

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it 584
occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[62]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very 582
early age. Rudenko[63] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[64] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[65] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[66] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[67]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[68] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride 583
price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[69] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[70] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

[62] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358.
[63] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 48.
[64] Lattimore (E.), *Turkestan Reunion*, 268.
[65] See below, pages 53–54.
[66] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 54.
[67] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[68] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98–99.
[69] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 40.
[70] *Description des hordes*, 358.

the dishonor.

When the payment of the kalym is finished, the groom begins to go to the bride at her father's house, and she realizes that he is incapable of marital relations, she refuses to marry him as a result. Then respected persons give the groom over to be examined, and if in the course of a year this is not rectified, the bride is given the right to marry another, and the kalym paid by the groom is returned to him.

If a father betrothes his daughter in her childhood and receives the kalym for her, and upon reaching maturity she does not wish to marry her fiance, and her father does not wish it either, she still cannot go away from him unless the groom says that he does not want her for himself. /58/ In such a case the girl's father pays the kalym received from him and in addition a fine of twenty-seven animals, beginning with a camel and ending with sheep and goats.

If a girl who was betrothed in her infancy runs away with some young man after reaching maturity, then the latter must give her former groom a girl or else pay the bride price.

In general, according to customary law, the saying of a prayer [585] and the reception of the kalym are equivalent to a wedding.

In consequence of disagreement (oraz), the groom either becomes engaged to another girl or goes away for a long period of time. In the first case the previous bride is offended. The groom explains to her he will marry her after the other girl, but she does not wish to be the servant of others and returns the kalym minus 1 or 2 animals (kara). In the second case the girl's father loses patience and betrothes the girl to another. Then the groom appears and demands "either the kalym or the wife." The girl's father must give up the kalym with a fine of atton /a horse and a coat/.

The determination of the fine for breaking off the betrothal by one of the sides is completely dependant on the biis. If the refusal was caused, for example, by non-payment of the kalym, the fine is usually smaller. In general, if someone quits in the course of the payment of the kalym in installments, he pays a biilyk, and the sum which has been paid is returned minus one horse and one camel.

The choosing of the bride depends on the groom's father, who sends a stranger (khalis adam) in the capacity of a yauchi, so as not to expose himself to accidents which might spoil the whole affair. The yauchi begins the conversation, saying: "You have a falcon, we have a gerfalcon" (sizde lashin bar iken bizde sunkar bar iken).

584 They bargain over the amount of the kalym. The yauchi presents a gift kargibau, and receives as a gift a horse or a coat, which is called chege chapan (nail-coat), because he has validated the betrothal. The father of the bride sets the day, through this yauchi, for the coming of the groom's father with the formal proposal, for regalement and for delivering gifts to him (kiit kiib, sois yeb, kuda tusib ketsin). According to Makovetskii, "the formal proposal is frequently separated from /59/ the first agreement by many years, for example, if the groom and bride are in the cradle at the time of the agreement." Then the father or a kinsman of the groom becomes the matchmaker (kuda) who appears in the house of the bride, usually accompanied by relatives, for the formal proposal, the agreement about the kalym and the acceptance of the gifts kiit. According to Makovetskii, the more important the people making the match, the larger the number of matchmakers, sometimes more than twenty. As they approach the village of the bride's father, the matchmakers stop with his kinsmen and send an announcement of their coming from there. The bride's father notifies his relatives and friends of the presence of the matchmakers and orders the setting out of tents for the guests. When they appear, the matchmakers make the proposal in the presence of guests, which is accepted and validated by the slaughter of a white sheep and the reading of a blessing /baty/. The most valuable of the gifts is given to the father of the groom. This is required even when the groom's father is not among the matchmakers. In this case the gift is sent to him at home. According to the report of bii Khamahammed, the color of the sheep is indifferent; it can also be a kid and poor people can buy meat at the bazaar. He also says that the best gift is presented to the groom's father or to the person who is taking his place.

For the consecration of the contract which has been concluded, those present are regaled with fat-tail sheep fat (kuyruk) and liver (baur) which is cut into long strips. The platter with the kuyrukbaur is offered first to the groom's relatives and then to the bride's relatives. After this ritual the groom already speaks of his bride as "my lawful wife" (nikakhli khatynym). The feast, called kuda tusertoy, sometimes continues for several days. They arrange a baiga /horse race/, a fight, and the singing of choruses and soloists (zhirchi), who sing folk epics or compete in improvisations, [534] playing on the balalaika (dombra), violin (kobyz) and flute (sybyzga).

All during the merry-making the matchmakers play the most mournful role. The young women and girls make fun of them in all

possible ways. They strip them naked and drag them through the village with a rope around the neck, as the laughing-stock of the people. /60/ They are sewn into felt during the eating. They do such unpleasant things with them, that it is impossible to tell of them here. They drag them by the legs through the changarak /the hoop at the top of the tent/, etc. There have been cases where the women have caused the death of matchmakers from playing with them. In such a case their husbands and kinsmen are held responsible for the wergeld nevertheless.

After this the father or a kinsman of the bride, but with a smaller number of people than the matchmakers on the groom's side, visit the father of the groom and receive kiit gifts from him. According to bii Sultan, the kiit, which is determined by stipulation (kesimdi) is for the use of the bride's father. What the other matchmakers receive depends on the free will of the groom's father, without being fixed (kesimsiz). Regalement with kuyrukbaur is not obligatory. If the entire kalym is not paid on this visit, then the first installment is, in the presence of the guests. Further installments can be presented without witnesses. If the bride's father denies having received them, an oath is required of him alone. Relatives and acquaintances (tamyr, yekchet) contribute to the kalym (kalynga kosady) often of their free will. There is no custom for the matchmakers to give more than the value of the gift received by them from the bride's father (this contradicts Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 16).

Among the Kirgiz a rich father of the groom slaughters 4-5 sheep, a poor one 2 or 3. They are cooked at night. On the following day this meat, which is called "toy" is packed on a good animal, on whose head they tie a piece of cotton, called aktyk, for a sign (irym), and it is led to the bride's father. The animal is presented to him with the words: "for the transport of your treasure, " if it is a camel, or "for you to eat", if it is a horse. He is also given a sarypay. (1) The

1. Coat.

groom remains home. At the matchmaking they arrange baiga or kukbure /game played on horseback with kid. Cf. chapter XII/, the playing on the balalaika (2) and the zurna /type of oboe/. [534]

2. The Kirgiz balalaika has 3 strings, while the Kazakh one has only 2.

4:Grodekov--55 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

584 The matchmaking can be from both sides (karsyma karsy kuda bulmyk, atastyrmak), in which case neither side pays a kalym.

/61/ The brothers of the father refuse to support their nephews in paying the kalyms of the latter (kalynmalga kosady). For the son of a poor but respected man the group of fifty or the village arranges a collection for the kalym (yurttyk kylyb yardam tigizedi). Here everyone gives as much as he wishes.

583 The choice of the groom by the bride does happen, but without the payment of a kalym (Perovsk uyezd). Earlier this did not happen, according to the report of bii Umurbek of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. Now there are cases where the girl flees to the choice of her heart against the will of the father (erksiz). After this her chosen husband can be compelled to pay the kalym and a fine.

The man guilty of carrying away the bride appears before her father with gifts (tartu tartib), asking forgiveness by saying: "Forgive me. I too am your son (menen utingiz, mende balangiz). These gifts do not oblige the girl's father to refuse the kalym. According to Absatyamov of the Chimkent uyezd, the groom must pay a double kalym as a punishment.

584 The story of Karabai and Sarybai, who entered into matchmaking before the birth of their children, is confirmation of the sacredness of the betrothal. Sarybai died. Karabai did not wish to marry his daughter Bayan-Sulu to an orphan, and he travelled away with his herds and married her to Kodarkul. The son of Sarybai, Kazykurpish, came to Bayan-Sulu, and hid with her in a trunk, but his long hair(1)

1. Long hair for men is referred to in magic tales.

which hung outside betrayed him. Karabai's family spared his life, but Kodarkul killed him. Later on he himself was killed by the hand of Bayan-Sulu.

The Kirgiz do not determine the amount of the kalym at the betrothal. At the beginning they give 2-3 animals, and thereafter 1-2 animals annually. Only on the "ui dzhany kylgan" visit does the girl's father ask the groom for the first time: "How much more will you pay? You specify it. What went before does not count" (burungy mal isebsiz, inde kancha beresin? uzing bil'). Then the amount of the bride price is determined. If it is difficult to pay the designated sum after this, the parents of the groom, with /62/ other relatives, take a slaughtered animal to the tent of the girl's father. On the question of those who encounter them: "Where are you going?"

(yol bulsun), they reply: "We are going to our in-law /knashemu svatu/ to beat the forehead" (kudamyzga kulduk urgaly barayatyrmiz). The future wife's father forgives about one-third of the kalym for the sake of the groom's father. After this the wife of the suppliant says: "I am your matchmaker, and I too came to beat my forehead" (men de kudagaying men de kulduk urgali kel'dim), and for her sake he forgives about one-sixth of the kalym. Finally, for the sake of the rest of the family, he gives up still another small amount. The remainder must be paid without fail. The bride's father can fail to agree to the reduction and demand the payment in full (Torgai).

According to Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the Kirgiz pay at the beginning without keeping accounts. Later when the bride is 13-16 years old, the groom's father says: "My property is being exhausted, and if not my property, then at least my days are being exhausted. Give the girl. My son and your daughter are both grown" (malym yitti, malym yitmese, kunim yitti, kyzny ber, balamda chungaydy, sening kyzyng da chungaydy). The Kirgiz Daniyar says that after a year after the matchmaking an "opening of the doors" is arranged corresponding to the Kazakh oruntoy, and ishikachty (1), with baiga,

1. Concerning the word imchekkuru the informant says that inspection of the breasts takes place among the young people of the village, but secretly of course, and if someone sees it, then the outcome is nasty (yaman bulady). Judging by this, imchekkuru in Vambery's book, in the chapter on the Kirgiz, appeared by mistake in place of ishikachty.

kukbure, playing on the balalaika and the zurna. The women receive yirtich and the bride's father receives an animal. If he is satisfied with it he says: "I have opened the door" and makes a presentation of a coat. The groom asks: "How many more animals am I to give you? When will you give the bride?" The rich man overcharges more than the poor. By promising to keep it a secret, the groom can spend the night with the bride and have a foretaste of marital delights.

The groom cannot go to the family of the bride or into her village. If they see him there he is reprimanded, and in the Auliye-Ata uyezd his horse is taken from him and he is obliged to walk home in shame. In case of necessity he waits outside the village (aulnyng sirtinda). The women bring him food, for he /63/ can neither enter the house of the bride's father (ata) nor the house of the latter's family, including his elder brother (ulkun ata), the son of this brother (kainaga),

584

and in general the older relatives of the bride's father (ul'kun ui). If the bride's father has not received his allotment and lives or lived in their home, then this also includes the younger relatives of the bride's father. The groom can enter the tent of the younger brother of the bride's father, and his younger relatives, but cannot sit in the place of honor, tur. An exception is made if the groom was already a friend /tamyr/ before the betrothal with someone from that family. Then he continues to enter the house of his tamyr without constraint, "because he is already not ashamed to do so."

The bride does not visit the village of the groom. Otherwise she could no longer return home. She also does not enter the village of the older or younger kin of her future father-in-law. If necessary she goes to a younger relative, if the father-in-law does not or did not live in his tent as not having received his allotment. Even this she can only do with a ransom (elyu) consisting of a scarf (oramal, bogdzhama), a headdress (yaulyk), a ring (sakyna), etc. with the goal of a good omen (irym kylyb).

The fiancee is called kalyndyk among the Kazakhs and koruktyk among the Kirgiz. Her being visited by the groom (kuyau) before the wedding, secretly (yasyryn), is called orunbargan or oruntoy by the Kazakhs, and ui dzhany kylgan by the Kirgiz. The girl's father, to whom the groom does not show himself, ignores his visit, and if strangers take it into their heads to scold him, he tells them he does not mix into other people's affairs. "Perhaps the groom is dead," says the girl's father, "so that he cannot come, although he gave the animal for slaughter." (ul'teruni bergen sung, ulub yatyr kuyau sha bara vermai).

The groom brings a goat (serke) to the oruntoy to be slaughtered (ul'tiru) at the bride's older brother's, at whose tent the oruntoy takes place, and whose wife (yenge) serves as intermediary, bringing the bride for one or two nights. The groom lies with the bride, but is not supposed to perform complete intercourse.

When the food is cooked they throw a piece of fat into the fire, saying: /64/ "may it go for the spirit of so-and-so" (balenning arvakhina tiisin) and give the names of dead relatives.

The purpose of the oruntoy, this ancient custom of all the Kazakhs, is the encouragement of the groom and the advisement to finish paying the kalym. There are cases in which the daughter is given away at the oruntoy, trusting the promise of the groom to finish paying the kalym, and evading the arrangement of a solemn wedding (Torgai). In the Perovsk uyezd it was reported that the

daughter is not given away to the groom until the full payment of the kalym, guarding against the groom's failure to fulfill his promise concerning the remaining payment of the kalym. It is now becoming [585] customary (Auliye-Ata uyezd) that after finishing the payment of the kalym the groom comes to receive the bride at night, and goes away secretly without celebrating a wedding. In the Kurama uyezd the poor do this, regaling those who are invited with only one kettle of groats (butka). In this case it is self-evident that they dispense with toymal (1)

1. The Kazakh Khudaykul of the Kurama uyezd has paid the kalym and toymal short of one mare. The father of his bride is advising him, out of covetousness, to give him one horse and take the bride away secretly. But Khudaykul is demanding the arrangement of a wedding on the toymal received, promising to provide the remaining mare.

/cf. table of kalyms, chapter VI/.[1]

According to bii Sultan and Makovetskii, when the groom departs for the oruntoy, he takes with him one fellow-traveller - kuyau yuldasy (Makovetskii has otagasy), - who accompanies him the entire time of the oruntoy, and also 5-10 riders, to transport the elyu, bosaga elyu, uigekerer and dzhirtys. The riders return at once when they have delivered the property and received kiit for it. The groom remains with the travelling companion in the tent of the father or uncle of the bride, and among the rich in a tent specially prepared for him. Sometimes a special tent is prepared for the companion. Then the matchmakers who encounter the groom on horseback or on foot ask for a gift for their "weariness" (intik ber) from preparing the tent. For leading the groom into the tent they ask for a gift again (chatyrbay-gazysy). Then the manager of the gifts (kade), the groom's travelling companion, distributes them, depending on the degree of kinship. The first and best gift is presented to the mother of the bride. After her is the bride's grandmother, etc. The uigekerer, for the entrance into the tent, consists /65/ of a camel or a horse. The uidzhirtys is entrusted in entirety to the mother of the bride for distribution "in the house." The auldzhirtys is given to the most respected woman "from the village," for distribution to the others. When the women announce that the gifts are inadequate, the groom sends his companion back for new gifts. After this the celebration of the oruntoy begins, continuing for one day. The bride is hidden somewhere, and the mistress of the house where she is hidden receives a kyz kashar gift for giving her up, consisting of cloth

1 [cf. cat 116, pp 69-76 - A]

58 (adryasa, tent cloth or calico) for 2-3 dresses.

In the evening, when the bed for the groom has been prepared(1),

1. The bed is prepared by women who receive a gift called tyusek salar for this.

two women call him, and for this they receive a gift called kuyauchakyrar. When he enters the tent, the bride's brother's wife sprinkles dried apricots, nuts and baursak (2) over him. This is called

2. Small pieces of dough, baked in sheep's fat.

chachu. Then the bride is brought in. In former times, when the bride entered the tent she threw fat on the fire burning in the middle of it, with the words: "fire - mother, fat - mother, give me your blessing" (ot ana mai ana dzharylga). The bii says "This custom existed at the time of Chingiz Khan, when they did not know books. It is a wicked custom." This same night one woman, lying behind the back of the bride and holding her tightly in her embrace, receives a gift called arka yatar or kyz kushaktar for her departure.

On the departure of the groom, the bride's father gives him a gift called "at the bottom of the sack" consisting of one animal, and if the kalym has not yet been completely paid, he fogives one animal from it.

The visits of the groom continue until the wedding. The rich groom rides in each time with his comrades. The gifts brought with them are less valuable and are designated for the bride's brothers' wives (yengeler).

If the groom dies after having visited the bride in the oruntoy, her parents bring her in mourning with gifts called aza into the village of the deceased, and here she mourns the groom for a year /66/, and then marries his brother or close kinsman. In the Russian period, adds bii Khalmahammed, this custom is being lost. But in earlier times it happened that 20-30 young men from the groom's village departed for the bride's village, in order to bring her by force.

According to bii Khalmahammed, of the Chimkent uyezd, in agreement with Makovetskii, Pt. I, pp. 7, 8, they distinguish the orunkelyu or esikachti, i. e., the first visit of the bride after the finished payment of the kalym, which is accompanied by a regalement of baursak with gifts called dzhirtich from the side of

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the groom, and also songs and kikbure races, arranged by the bride's father, from the yasyryn kelyu, which is the visit preceding the full payment of the kalym.

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A wedding can be performed in all months except the months of Safarai and Urazai (month of fasting) of the lunar calendar.

As opposed to the oruntoy celebration, the wedding feast, after which the bride is allowed to leave, is called the feast of giving leave (uzatatugun toy). The poor do not arrange an oruntoy but have the feast of giving leave directly.

The groom rides to the celebration of the wedding, taking place in the village of the bride's father, on a decorated horse with a travelling companion (yuldas), who carries sutakky with him for the bride's mother, a changarak for the new tent, door jambs and half of the necessary pieces of felt, as well as other gifts. The new tent is not put up at once, and sometimes not for a month, because it is necessary to buy appurtenances for it. The rich bride dons a headdress (saukale, among the Kirgiz shaukale). The groom appears before the bride's father in a coat with long sleeves. As he bows low before the bride's father, the bride's mother, the bride's brother and the latter's wife (yenge), the sleeves touch the ground. As he straightens up he passes his hands over his knees.

The bride's father, having received 7 or 8 coats, called toy dzhirtys, and one mare, provides regalement (as). The elders (kar'-yaler) sit, are given food and drink and watch the young men (boz-balalar) race kukbure. The prize on this day is a slaughtered kid, called sagulak. In the evening the girls gather in a tent other than the tent of the bride's father. The door is closed but the felts are raised all around. Outside /Inserted page. Bride wearing headdress. Drawing by Akhmatov./ /67/ sit the young men. A singing (ulen) contest begins between the young men and the girls. The young men sing together by twos. In order to prevent arguments, the older ones ask all the young men to sing in turn (kezek). The girls give a ring (sakyna) to the good singers, bracelets (bilezuk) and money. The girls are given dried apricots, flat cakes, etc. The elders listen to the singing.

The first day of the wedding is called the day of "the closing of the tent", otau dzhabar, in distinction from the "great feast" (ul'-kun toy). For closing the tent the women receive gifts, otau dzhabar. For muyuntastar (1) they receive a sheep which they divide.

1. Muyuntastar is the throwing of a sheep's neck through the

7/8 [Not reproduced -- A]

[209 cont.]

Blinded by his resentment, Abulkhair considered this punishment as a new offense against him. He sought every means to harm Russia, and requested the protection of Persia.

His son Khodja Akhmet had been transferred from Petersburg to Kazan, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of a Tatar and asked for her hand in marriage. Abuljhair's impertinences had been so frequent and so serious, that one cannot admire enough the patience with which the court at St. Petersburg put up with it. In order to give this khan one more proof of its indulgence, both toward him and toward his people, Tevkelev, who, as we have said, professed the same religion as the Kazaks, was sent to Orenburg in 1747. Furthermore he had spent more than a year among them and had acquired general respect, and he knew their customs and habits and had always been a friend of Abulkhair's. He was charged with placating Abulkhair through his advice, of reconciling him with Governor Nepluev, and of returning his son Khodja Akhmet to him, but in exchange for another son born of a khaness.

Abulkhair's death, which took place soon after, prevents us from [210] saying what the consequences of his dealings with Tevkelev would have been. But at the opening of these conferences, Abulkhair showed himself disposed to reconciliation. During the summer of 1748, he arrived at the fortress of Orsk (1)

1. This was the name given to the old Orenburg, after the new one was founded on the site which it now occupies.

for an interview with his old friend, and he not only gave as hostage another legitimate son named Aichuvak, who later became a khan, in place of Khodja Akhmet, but he also added the children of some of his elders. Furthermore he promised to deliver immediately all the Russian prisoners taken by his subjects, and promised in writing that the Little Horde would never attack the borders. When he arrived at the horde, however, he secretly

x648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

x648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[584 583] [662 584]

[216 cont.]
recognizing the suzerainty of Russia, but it was even more difficult to refuse a liaison by marriage with a sovereign who was so dreaded by Nurali's enemies, and especially to miss the chance of taking possession of Turkestan without bloodshed, for [217] his ancestors had reigned there and were buried there, and Abulkhair himself had lived there until he was driven out by the Dzungars.

Balanced between fear and hope, Nurali did not know what to decide. The sultans and elders advised him to send his sister to the kungtaidji without delay and then, relying on his help, to go to take revenge on Barak and his subjects for his father's death. This advice accorded perfectly with his wishes, but he did not see that they were contrary to the interests of Russia, which could punish him for his disloyalty.

Besides this, at that time there was a Russian officer with him who had accompanied him from Orenburg. In the presence of such a witness, he could not act except in secret, and for this reason he dismissed the Dzungarian ambassadors without the girl, but he promised to send her soon. When Nepluev asked the reason for this embassy, Nurali claimed it had come from Galdan Tsyren's son with proposals of peace and friendship. He also pretended that the Dzungars had proposed to him the exchange of the Kazak prisoners they had in their power for Volga Kalmuks, a large number of whom were slaves of the Little Horde. His knavery was of no avail for the Russian officer (1) who was then with the

1. See Captain Iakovlev's journal and reports in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

horde reported matters as they really were to the border authorities, and these reported them to the higher authorities, who found that an alliance by marriage between the Dzungarian and Kazak sovereigns could bring great harm to Russia. There had even been an example of this already, when Aiuka, khan of the Volga Kalmuk horde, had married Darma Bala, kinswoman of

[217 cont.]
x649 the Dzungarian kungtaidji. She had incited his son Sanzhip to
●584 depart for Dzungaria with 15,000 tents in 1701. If the
662 Dzungars, who had already subjugated the Great Horde long since and had hostages from all the sultans of the Middle Horde, also were united with the Little Horde through the alliance of their sovereigns, then the entire population of the lands [218] beginning from the western territories of China of that time until the northern part of the Caspian Sea could be put in movement at the first signal of one single chief, and the entire length of the Russian border, from the upper Irtysh all the way to the mouth of the Ural River, could be exposed to attack on the same day.

In order to avert this danger, it was indispensable for the Russian government to forbid Nurali to become the brother-in-law of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, and it was ordered that all proper measures be taken to prevent this alliance. It was regarded as most efficacious to use the counsels of a man respected by the Khan and known to all the Little Horde, namely Tevkelev. To this end he was sent to Orenburg expressly to have a conference with Nurali. In order to support the advice, favors, and promises with which Tevkelev was to load the Khan, Nepluev was commanded to begin the funeral monument for Abulkhair immediately and to add residences for the khans in order to please Nurali and his brothers. It was likewise decided to accept the illegitimate Chingis as hostage in place of the khan's legitimate brother (1), a thing which had often been refused to Abulkhair.

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 2, 1749 and August 13, 1750.

During the interval, Nurali was dismayed by the rumor which
[152] was spread that if the Dzungarian kungtaidji had a son by his sister, he would exterminate all the Kazak chiefs and their descendants in order to give that son the position of sole khan of all the Kazaks.

x648 The death of Abulkhair's daughter destined for the chief of the Dzungars, which took place in 1750, reassured Russia.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 233 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [589] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. [593] [562] [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[584] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a
562 considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
[554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
[554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1] Ilichwin, 1950.
[2] Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3] Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4] Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

523 amount of the kalym, for usually very little bridewealth or wealth of any kind was exchanged in such marriages.

A common form of marriage arrangement was an exchange of daughters between or among families. These exchanges were of two kinds, one called uǒ urai, and the other called karsy. Let us consider the type called uǒ urai first. This was a marriage arrangement among three families, in which family A by agreement gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family B, which in turn gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family C, which gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family A. These circular marital arrangements, while not as universal as among the Gilyak, or as complex as among the Kachin, were at least widely enough known to obtain a specific appellation, uǒ urai. The second kind of exchange of daughters was called karsy, and was a simple exchange of daughters between two families. Such arrangements took place while the children were still minors, and were in many instances infant betrothals.[132]

524 These forms of marriage arrangement were, however, not the norm, which centered around the kalym. When the greater part of the kalym was paid, the groom acquired the right to visit the bride, who during this period still continued to dwell with her father; and the groom

[132] Izraztsov, 74.

[Great Horde]

534 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
872 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Popps, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Great Horde]

587 Grodekov and Levshin have reported it only as customary. Yet even though he phrased the matter in an extreme way, Radlov was able to interpret fittingly from our point of view certain biologically anomalous customs as the marriage of a mature widow to an immature boy who happened to be the surviving brother of the deceased husband.[142]

Latterly in Kazakh society, a marriage between a widow and a stranger, i.e., one not in the deceased husband's kin group, could not be opposed by the family of the deceased; but the remarriage was recognized as socially valid only if the kalym was paid in full to the late husband's family.[143] The full status of the mother of sons is seen in her right to hold the deceased husband's estate in trust for her minor sons; it is seen in the practices governing widow remarriage as well. If a widow had borne male children, she could not be forced to remarry against her will.[144] But if she was childless or had borne only daughters, then she remained single only if she was ailing or aging.[145]

•584 A kalym might require a number of years to be paid in full; nevertheless, the girl could not be married to

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[142] Radloff, op. cit., I, 485.

[143] Dingelstedt, 155.

[144] Izraitsov, 93.

[145] Ibid., 68.

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684 anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the bii[1] had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the kalym paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the kalym had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the kalym itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the kalym in this case was much lower.[146]

768 587 If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions, ornaments, etc. If she died after two years of the marriage, or having died before the two-year limit had borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for kalym in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower kalym.[147]

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[146] Izraztsov, 81.

[147] Ibid., 82-83.

1 [on the bii or "elder," cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

428 A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lack-
621 ing a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

622 The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a
[428] family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

695 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means
682 of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-
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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Middle Horde]

605 602 584 nence, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 695 428 The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

[170] Ibragimov, 237.

[Little Horde]

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The decision as to the time for betrothal conversations, and the decision as to whom to request as a wife rests on the unconditional discretion of the father.[185] Neither of the betrothed has any say in the matter, nor have their mothers, for authority is patriarchal. In the initiation of betrothal arrangements, a go-between, a close kin or friend of the boy's family, is sent to the family of the girl.[186] Why a go-between? It is insufficient to say that there is a stern taboo on contact between boy and the family of the bride, and that therefore a go-between is necessary. Such a taboo existed, and took the following form: the affianced youth could not show his face to his prospective father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, nor to any older agnatic kin of the girl's father until the day of the marriage itself. The future son-in-law either had to hide himself quickly or run to the side if he should encounter them by chance. This was explained by the Kazakhs as (1) a reflection of respect for one's elders, and (2) the attitude of a debtor who has not acquitted himself fully of his debt.[187]

However, this taboo does not explain why the youth's

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[185] Altynsarin, 103; Balliuzek, 69; Karuts, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[186] Balliuzek, 71; Altynsarin, 104.

[187] Altynsarin, 108.

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584 father preferred not to represent his son. The under-
602 standing of the role of the go-between and its necessity involves the entire relationship between the two affinally related families. The wife-givers lost a daughter and her dowry, they acquired bridewealth in exchange; they also gained prestige, as Leach has put it, for the husband and his family regarded the wife's kinsmen as occupying a socially higher position than their own, comparable with the Kalmuks (Aberle) and the Ordos (Mostaert) as well. In the case of Adai's lineage,[1] one of the component sub-lineages was senior to the other, but this seniority was a matter of collateral ranking of lineages; it had nothing to do with the affinal relations involved here, even though the same people were involved. The affinal 'prestige debt' was wiped out between the two sub-lineages over the course of time, through the normal exchange of daughters in marriage; it was a reciprocal relation, whereas seniority is not a reciprocal relation at all. The youth's family went to the bride's family as seekers, they were as a social group in an inferior position to the future wife's family, not the would-be husband alone. The sending of a go-between is an expression in a modified and less stringent form of the general avoidance practice between future son-in-law and wife's family, for the youth's family was the debtor, and not the youth alone, they were the wife-seekers, the payers of respect.

1 [Cf. n. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 582 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the century, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.[188] The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were ten or eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.[189] The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.[190]

556 584 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.[191] However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire kalym, or a major portion of it, had been paid.[192]

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188 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

189 Altynsarin, 101.

190 Plotnikov, 123-124.

191 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

192 Plotnikov, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

583 adornment, but the girl left her natal aul and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 583 584 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her 581 economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the kalym or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the kalym which they had already

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[197] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

[1] [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478--Analyst]

[Little Horde]

584 parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire kalym which he had already received, and pay an indemnity in addition.[199]

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements was the amount of kalym, and the amount of dowry. The kalym was paid over 585 602 a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the kalym payments.[200] A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted. The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.[201]

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[199] Balliusek, 87-88.

[200] Karuts, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 37-38.

[201] Ibid., 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

8:Kostenko -27-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

584 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially
581 the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when still very young, that is, not asking their consent, and for the most part they have in view equality of wealth and not equal age. In
585 general, Kazakh marriage has much in common
581 with a civil contract, of course within the crude concepts of this people; the religious element here is only very weakly developed.
584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were betrothed earlier or not, the match-making begins with gifts from the groom's side to the bride's father, and the latter on his part is obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has been no earlier agreement, the father of the bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by general council the amount to be paid for the bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep, depending on the wealth of the families. In addition to the kalym, however, the groom must give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head and a good foot). These two gifts, depending on the amount of property owned. are usually 9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi. Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses, and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and receives it according to the following reckoning: for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40, for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted as future offspring. The groom first pays the

584 kalym or part of it and gives gifts /343/ to
583 the kinsmen, and pays one yakhshi, usually the ayak-yakhshi. Then he carries the remaining yakhshi himself when he rides for the first time to the bride's, and this yakhshi is called 'elu'. For this he receives the right to visit the bride at night, and spends about three days in the aul, secretly, as it were. He steals into the tent during this time and the parents of the bride act as though they knew nothing about it. In order to receive the right to visit the bride during the day the groom again gives gifts. To her father he gives the so-called 'tui-mal' and to her mother a payment for her milk, 'syut-ake'. The value of the tuimal, which depends entirely upon the wealth involved, and among the righ may be from 50 to 100 horses and one harness, is returned to the groom in the form of the bride's dowry if the marriage is broken off. The match-making sometimes lasts quite a long time, perhaps a year or more. During this time all the entertainment of guests is at the expense of the
[585] bride's father. Only after this period is over does the groom ride to fetch the bride. For this he puts on his best clothing, mounts his best horse and arrives at the aul of his future wife. Here a tent has already been prepared for him, and after a prayer by the mullah, which i. actually the wedding, the bride and groom are led into the tent and left there alone. All these arrivals are of course accompanied by feasts and entertainments but the groom suffers especially during the last visit for the relatives of the bride take away everything, his horse, clothing, weapon, etc. In addition, all through the match-making the bride's brother has the right to steal anything he wants from the groom without paying any fine for it, and if he is caught he

8:Kostenko -29-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

584 is only given an ordinary beating. From all
583 this one can see that the marriage consists of a civil agreement under a show of gifts, and both sides have almost an equal interest in conforming to it. But the real advantage goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is not given so informally to the groom, and she must be taken by force, and yet certain customs are observed in this case as well. After the final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the celebrations begin at the groom's father's and at his expense. It is self-evident that the number of gifts and the elaborateness of the feasts are always in proportion to the means of both sides.

764 /344/ Burial. According to Kazakh custom the deceased is washed and dressed in his best clothing, and sometimes he is wrapped in a khalat. If a man has died, his wives are required to set up a terrible wail of despair and repeat this ceremony mornings and evenings for a year. In these cases the neighboring women never lag in visiting the one in mourning in order to wail with her to satiety. At the funeral the mullah reads prayers twice; at home, before the body is carried out, and at the actual burial. They dig a pit with a wooden floor for the deceased, or they place him at the side of the main pit. Graves are usually on elevations, and over them they make memorials of wood, stone, clay or earth, sometimes in the form of buildings with a round cupola and turrets. It is remarkable that very often the Kazakhs depart in this case from the Moslem rules and make images of animals and people in
765 these tombs. Of course, at the burial there is usually a feast for the guests, but the

584 kalym or part of it and gives gifts /343/ to
583 the kinsmen, and pays one yakhshi, usually the ayak-yakhshi. Then he carries the remaining yakhshi himself when he rides for the first time to the bride's, and this yakhshi is called 'elu'. For this he receives the right to visit the bride at night, and spends about three days in the aul, secretly, as it were. He steals into the tent during this time and the parents of the bride act as though they knew nothing about it. In order to receive the right to visit the bride during the day the groom again gives gifts. To her father he gives the so-called 'tui-mal' and to her mother a payment for her milk, 'syut-ake'. The value of the tuimal, which depends entirely upon the wealth involved, and among the righ may be from 50 to 100 horses and one harness, is returned to the groom in the form of the bride's dowry if the marriage is broken off. The match-making sometimes lasts quite a long time, perhaps a year or more. During this time all the entertainment of guests is at the expense of the
[585] bride's father. Only after this period is over does the groom ride to fetch the bride. For this he puts on his best clothing, mounts his best horse and arrives at the aul of his future wife. Here a tent has already been prepared for him, and after a prayer by the mullah, which is actually the wedding, the bride and groom are led into the tent and left there alone. All these arrivals are of course accompanied by feasts and entertainments but the groom suffers especially during the last visit for the relatives of the bride take away everything, his horse, clothing, weapon, etc. In addition, all through the match-making the bride's brother has the right to steal anything he wants from the groom without paying any fine for it, and if he is caught he

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoflovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoflovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[47] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[48] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a 836
pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de 585
briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitte ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a 836
fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there 848
would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child 836
might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an [847]
infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[53] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kazalinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

Elsewhere Grodekov reports that an unmarried girl who bears a child will marry the father of the child. Her relatives are usually able to claim from him at least a part of the bride price and if she is young, beautiful and of good family perhaps the whole amount.[54]

Adultery, by the old Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan ○○○

[50] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[51] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[52] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[53] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 97.
[54] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[55] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Soadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

the dishonor.

When the payment of the kalym is finished, the groom begins to go to the bride at her father's house, and she realizes that he is incapable of marital relations, she refuses to marry him as a result. Then respected persons give the groom over to be examined, and if in the course of a year this is not rectified, the bride is given the right to marry another, and the kalym paid by the groom is returned to him.

If a father betrothes his daughter in her childhood and receives the kalym for her, and upon reaching maturity she does not wish to marry her fiance, and her father does not wish it either, she still cannot go away from him unless the groom says that he does not want her for himself. /58/ In such a case the girl's father pays the kalym received from him and in addition a fine of twenty-seven animals, beginning with a camel and ending with sheep and goats.

If a girl who was betrothed in her infancy runs away with some young man after reaching maturity, then the latter must give her former groom a girl or else pay the bride price.

In general, according to customary law, the saying of a prayer [585] and the reception of the kalym are equivalent to a wedding.

In consequence of disagreement (oraz), the groom either becomes engaged to another girl or goes away for a long period of time. In the first case the previous bride is offended. The groom explains to her he will marry her after the other girl, but she does not wish to be the servant of others and returns the kalym minus 1 or 2 animals (kara). In the second case the girl's father loses patience and betrothes the girl to another. Then the groom appears and demands "either the kalym or the wife." The girl's father must give up the kalym with a fine of atton /a horse and a coat/.

The determination of the fine for breaking off the betrothal by one of the sides is completely dependant on the biis. If the refusal was caused, for example, by non-payment of the kalym, the fine is usually smaller. In general, if someone quits in the course of the payment of the kalym in installments, he pays a biilyk, and the sum which has been paid is returned minus one horse and one camel.

The choosing of the bride depends on the groom's father, who sends a stranger (khalis adam) in the capacity of a yauchi, so as not to expose himself to accidents which might spoil the whole affair. The yauchi begins the conversation, saying: "You have a falcon, we have a gerfalcon" (sizde iashin bar iken bizde sunkar bar iken).

daughter is not given away to the groom until the full payment of the kalym, guarding against the groom's failure to fulfill his promise concerning the remaining payment of the kalym. It is now becoming [585] customary (Auliye-Ata uyezd) that after finishing the payment of the kalym the groom comes to receive the bride at night, and goes away secretly without celebrating a wedding. In the Kurama uyezd the poor do this, regaling those who are invited with only one kettle of groats (butka). In this case it is self-evident that they dispense with toymal (1)

1. The Kazakh Khudaykul of the Kurama uyezd has paid the kalym and toymal short of one mare. The father of his bride is advising him, out of covetousness, to give him one horse and take the bride away secretly. But Khudaykul is demanding the arrangement of a wedding on the toymal received, promising to provide the remaining mare.

/cf. table of kalyms, chapter VI/. 1

According to bii Sultan and Makovetskii, when the groom departs for the oruntoy, he takes with him one fellow-traveller - kuyau yuldasy (Makovetskii has otagasy), - who accompanies him the entire time of the oruntoy, and also 5-10 riders, to transport the elyu, bosaga elyu, uigekerer and dzhirtys. The riders return at once when they have delivered the property and received kiit for it. The groom remains with the travelling companion in the tent of the father or uncle of the bride, and among the rich in a tent specially prepared for him. Sometimes a special tent is prepared for the companion. Then the matchmakers who encounter the groom on horseback or on foot ask for a gift for their "weariness" (intik ber) from preparing the tent. For leading the groom into the tent they ask for a gift again (chatyrbay-gazysy). Then the manager of the gifts (kade), the groom's travelling companion, distributes them, depending on the degree of kinship. The first and best gift is presented to the mother of the bride. After her is the bride's grandmother, etc. The uigekerer, for the entrance into the tent, consists /65/ of a camel or a horse. The uidzhirtys is entrusted in entirety to the mother of the bride for distribution "in the house." The auldzhirtys is given to the most respected woman "from the village," for distribution to the others. When the women announce that the gifts are inadequate, the groom sends his companion back for new gifts. After this the celebration of the oruntoy begins, continuing for one day. The bride is hidden somewhere, and the mistress of the house where she is hidden receives a kyz kashar gift for giving her up, consisting of cloth

1 [cf cat 116, pp 69-75 - A]

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the groom, and also songs and kikbure races, arranged by the bride's father, from the yasyryn kelyu, which is the visit preceding the full payment of the kalym.

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A wedding can be performed in all months except the months of Safarai and Urazai (month of fasting) of the lunar calendar.

As opposed to the oruntoy celebration, the wedding feast, after which the bride is allowed to leave, is called the feast of giving leave (uzatatugun toy). The poor do not arrange an oruntoy but have the feast of giving leave directly.

The groom rides to the celebration of the wedding, taking place in the village of the bride's father, on a decorated horse with a travelling companion (yuldas), who carries sutakky with him for the bride's mother, a changarak for the new tent, door jambs and half of the necessary pieces of felt, as well as other gifts. The new tent is not put up at once, and sometimes not for a month, because it is necessary to buy appurtenances for it. The rich bride dons a headdress (saukale, among the Kirgiz shaukale). The groom appears before the bride's father in a coat with long sleeves. As he bows low before the bride's father, the bride's mother, the bride's brother and the latter's wife (yenge), the sleeves touch the ground. As he straightens up he passes his hands over his knees.

The bride's father, having received 7 or 8 coats, called toy dzhirtys, and one mare, provides regalement (as). The elders (kar'-yaler) sit, are given food and drink and watch the young men (boz-balalar) race kukbure. The prize on this day is a slaughtered kid, called sagulak. In the evening the girls gather in a tent other than the tent of the bride's father. The door is closed but the felts are raised all around. Outside /Inserted page. Bride wearing headdress. Drawing by Akhmatov.[1]/ /67/ sit the young men. A singing (ulen) contest begins between the young men and the girls. The young men sing together by twos. In order to prevent arguments, the older ones ask all the young men to sing in turn (kezek). The girls give a ring (sakyna) to the good singers, bracelets (bilezuk) and money. The girls are given dried apricots, flat cakes, etc. The elders listen to the singing.

The first day of the wedding is called the day of "the closing of the tent", otau dzhabar, in distinction from the "great feast" (ul'-kun toy). For closing the tent the women receive gifts, otau dzhabar. For muyuntastar (1) they receive a sheep which they divide.

1. Muyuntastar is the throwing of a sheep's neck through the

1 [Not reproduced -- A]

•585

tyundyuk /the felt covering the changarak at the top of the tent/, so that the new tent will not be smoky.

In the morning of the second day there is a kukbure race. (2)

2. In general the young men demand kukbure at every toy, before and after the baiga /horse race/. If they are refused, they threaten to tear down the tyundyuk from the tent, for the shame of the householder. (Bii Sultan Kanaev).

The kid with this is simply called ulak.

The festivity of this day (toy) goes in the same order as on the preceding day. But this time the women wish to amuse themselves and to take the bride away from the midst of her girl friends, where she is taking part in the singing. The girls defend their friend who is their same age, and the women take her away by force (tartady). This ritual is called taking away by force (tartis). Finally the women tie up the bride by force in a rug and carry her away, accompanied by the whimpering girls (singsiydy), who receive one or two pieces of cloth, called "for the taking", alym. The bride is thus carried into the tent of the bride's father, where a couch (tusek) has been prepared for the groom behind the bed curtains (shimildyk), with a white scarf (nikeyaulyk) (3) spread on it. The women demand

3. Cf. Supplement No. 4: yar-yar and audzhar.

that the groom lifts the bride himself and carry her to the bed. The groom refuses to do this, saying that it is shameful for a man to lift a woman. Then one of the strong women lifts the bride for a gift called kyzkuterer. The girls go away, but the women remain in order to listen (tynglab turady) outside. Afterwards they take/68/ the blood-stained scarf (nikeyaulyk) to the parents of the bride, with the words: "Your daughter is chaste, God has been merciful, give syuyunchi" (kyzyng kyz iken, kuday yarlykab kaldy, syuyunchi ber). If the husband proves to be insolvent, he pays the aunts the value of one horse.

If the bride proves to be unchaste, the groom can have cause for complaint, saying that he paid the kalym for a maiden and not a woman (kyzga mal bergen men, khatynga mal bergenim yok). For this the bride's father is liable to a fine, which was formerly up to three toguz, and now up to an atton (a horse and a coat), but

585.

they do not pardon it regardless. (Torgai).

If the groom himself causes the bride to lose her innocence at the oruntoy, he informs the matchmakers who spread out the nikeyaulyk of this, and in such a case they demand gifts for themselves, resorting to a threat which is never carried out, namely, to rip open the belly of his horse. (Bii Sultan).

[586]

If the groom is impotent (yaramisa), they wait three days. After that if the bride does not like the groom, she can use this as a pretext to announce that she will not marry him (tiymeymen). Then her father returns the kalym to the amount determined by the biis.

On the following day, for the first time during the day, the bride's father and mother invite the groom to their tent. He does not sit in the tur /place of honor/ but remains in the corner between the first and second cross pieces (yabsar - corner, link). He is given the sheep's breast (tus) to eat. The guests appear with food and receive money from the groom in empty cups (tabak). (Torgai).

According to Irsbek, among the Tashkent Kazakhs no wedding can dispense with the religious ceremony /venchanie/ (nika), for which the groom provides the payment, nikakyyar, 40 kopeks to the imam and 2 rubles to the bii. According to Daulet Bushaev, they give the mullah, depending on their station, 1 sheep and 40 kopeks, or 4 rubles, 40 kopeks in money, or another gift. According to Mikebai, the bii does not take a gift, anyway as a guest. The mullah receives eki bauly chapān "a coat with two fastenings", i. e., one coat, or eki tisti tusak, "a female ewe with two teeth", or 4 rubles. /69/ The rich give more. Only half this sum is given for a widow.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd the wedding ritual /brakosochetanie/ takes place in the following manner. While the prayers are read water is poured into a cup. The girl being married throws either earrings or a silver ring into it, and covers the vessel with a white kerchief. The groom fastens a stick in the form of an arrow to the edge of the cup with the white kerchief. After the prayers the bride takes back the object thrown into the cup, and thereafter preserves it as a pledge of happiness. One of the witnesses of the wedding (1) takes the cup

1. There must be one from each side.

and holds it in his hands in such a way that the fingers on the brim do not join on top. In this space husband and wife put their lips in turn (the husband first) and drink the water. Then the cup is passed

into the hands of all those present, who drink from it without touching their lips to that place where the wedding couple drank. The white kerchiefs go to the witnesses. (2)

2. Communication from E. A. Aleksandrov.

According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 11, the wedding ritual is performed only after the actual departure of the wedding couple, according to bii Sultan, it occurs before the ritual otausalar. It consists of the reading of the blessing "amin allaakbar" by the mullah. The bride, her girl companions and other women are behind a curtain, while the groom and two witnesses or warrentors (gua, vakil) sit in the middle of the tent, one witness on each side of him, with the family and other guests, without a curtain (in contradiction to Makovetskii). The witnesses, or according to Makovetskii the mullah, asks the groom if he is agreed to take in marriage (zhupti klyb aluga) such and such (giving her name) a daughter of so and so (the name of the father) and so and so (the name of the mother). The groom answers that he is agreed (kabyl kyldym, kabyl tuttim). Then they turn to the bride with the same question and receive a similar answer. After this /70/ the mullah reads the prayer called khutba. A cup (ayak) is brought in containing pure water in which they leave money, rings or something similar for the witnesses. The mullah consecrates it by blowing on it (dem salady), and then the witnesses carry it to the groom, the bride and the guests, each of whom takes a sip. At this time the groom and bride must touch the cup in the same place, which designates their unity symbolically. The mullah is usually given not less than 40 kopeks, but this payment (nikakyyar) is not obligatory. The village bii, who is informed of the wedding, also asks for nikakyyar and also receives something.

After the end of the ritual, the relatives turn to the newlyweds with instructions for a peaceful life. They say to the groom: "We have put the bone (i. e., your kinswoman) into your hands, treat her well, do not torment her nor beat her, and do not scold without fault" (kulyngyza br suyak berdik, muny yaksylab kutib bagyngyz azar berib urma, bi vadzh yaman syuilemengyz). They tell the bride: "Live in such a way that they will not curse me"(balam dzhaman bolma a[illegible] atalga nalet kelterersen). Then the bride departs with the mother and the best man of the groom, while the groom remains to eat and to say farewell to the bride's father, and overtakes the procession (bii Sultan).

4:Grodekov--64 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Now let us turn to a listing of the gifts which the groom is obliged to give the women:

1) Sutakky, to the bride's mother for nursing at the breast, is a camel or a horse, but no less than a good coat at 4 rubles. In the Perovsk uyezd the rich give 10 camels, and the poor a good animal at 40 rubles, or the same amount in money (Torgai).

2) Baldyz kurimdik - a keepsake for the bride's sister (baldyz). This gift is presented at the time of orunbargan, and in any case before the wedding, or otherwise the baldyz will take offense.

3) Yengetai - to the wife of the bride's brother, or the wife of that closest kinsman of the bride who follows after her father. The amount is similar to the preceding gifts.

4) Sauka lening baygazysy. The bride's headdress /71/ is put on by some woman who appears before the groom to receive a gift, a coat or a shirt, for giving up the headress to the bride.

5) Otau dzhabar - For the uncovered tent given by the bride's father the groom provides felts, and for covering the tent with felts he gives the women one animal.

6) Endikimdik - For the weariness of the women who ran and got out of breath (endikib kelgen) when the groom arrived, a gift of 20 or 40 kopeks.

7) Atbaylar - for tying up the horse - is a gift of 9 pieces of clothing (toguzkiim) or 3 pieces of matting. The women divide this among themselves.

8) Tyusek salar - for laying the bed for the oruntoy.

9) Shimildyk baylar - for tying back the bed curtains.

10) Kolustartar - for delivering the bride into the hands of the groom at the oruntoy.

11) Shashsipatar - for the right to smooth the hair of the bride.

12) Kurpa kamyltartar - for moving the bedcovers.

13) Ityrilder - for chasing off the dog that snarled at the groom. (1)

1. A woman who sits at the threshold of the tent portrays the dog.

14) Bakansaldymdik - for opening the tyundyuk /the felt over the top part of the tent/.

15) Muyuntastar - for the throwing of the sheep's neck through the tyundyuk by the women.

4. Grodekov--65 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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16) Arka yatar (not among all the Kazakhs) - for the departure of the woman lying behind the back of the bride.

17) Kyzkuterer - for lifting the bride on a rug.

18) Kempir ul'di - so that the old woman who has been hindering the union will pretend to be dead.

19) Kuyau attandyrar - for seating the groom on his horse.

/72/ 20) Kyz kashar - For bringing the bride in, after her flight to her kinsmen.

Each of the last gifts is worth 20 to 40 kopeks, while according to Irsbai (Tashkent Kazakh), a small piece of cloth is given, similar to a kerchief.

When the groom refuses to pay after his money is exhausted, the women say: "even if the horse should die of hunger, the customary gift ought not to perish" (at ulse de kada ulmeydi), for according to the proverb; the bride can be without a kalym but not without gifts (kalyngsiz kyz bulady, kadesiz bulmaydy).

If the groom gives nothing, the women tear the clothing of his companion. The young men of the bride's village, who threaten to kill the groom, receive a gift called mushe (1) from him, consisting

1. In Budagov's dictionary, it says under the word mushe that mushe basy "the chief gift", a silk coat or a horse, is presented to the eldest by birth, and he gives it to the sultan or to another Kazakh, older than himself. The remaining mushe are presented in succession to the younger clans. The last one - a scrap of silk material or calico - is grabbed by someone who races away. He is followed and the one who catches him receives it, so that it finally remains with the man who has the swiftest horse.

of kerchiefs. The aksakal receives a coat at this time (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the relatives of the groom themselves drive animals to the home of the bride's father for the regalement of the guests, and arrange the entire feast. The women receive kishmish /raisins or seedless grapes/, pistachio nuts, and baursak from the groom. and the buyrek' /kidney/, shirak' and muche (yota yilik) from the slaughtered animal. The groom who does not give them this is called bad, and they shame him, but do not beat him. They entertain themselves with kukbure and baiga, and with the balalaika and zurna /stringed instrument and type of oboe/. The bride's father gives a sarypay for the zurna player /zurnaichi/of the groom and the groom's father. On the first day of the wedding the kukbure is not

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called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1)

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1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from her father (Zgrzn).

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

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The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire, wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

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291 2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

586 high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals, 292 pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585 The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or kelinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i.e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtians. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

4:Grodekov--68 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

1. Cf. Supplement No. 5.

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The groom's father regales the guests and distributes to them something from the dowry, tyubetyeikas /skull caps/, etc., and arranges kukbure racing. After /75/ the departure of the guests, the girls of the village bring food and again each one begs something, a chest, a cushion, an amulet (imar). This ritual is called congratulation (kuttuk), and people ride in to it from far away. Animals are given to those from a long distance. In the evening the bride melts fat-tail fat and smears her face with it, and brings the grooms father and mother respect (tazim) and a bow (salem).(1).

1. Communicated by Torgai.

In the Turkestan uyezd it is denied that the bride smears her face. There she only throws fat into the fire, in remembrance of the dead.

When the bride throws fat into the fire, the elders say: be of one accord, like fat (maydoy opatu bul). (Tashkent uyezd).

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As long as the groom's father is alive, his daughter-in-law cannot be in or enter the honored corner (tur). Otherwise her legs will hurt. After the death of the groom's father, the daughter-in-law throws fat in the fire, and then she can be in the tur. (Tashkent uyezd).

The young groom does not avoid the wife's relatives, but visits them without restraint, for all the relatives of the bride, even those the same age, became acquainted with him at the wedding.

For one year the young bride does not go to her relatives "from shame" (uyalib), since now she is wearing not the girl's kerchief but the headdress of married women (yaulyk). She receives news of the health of her relatives and bits of news from her husband. Only in the case of the death of one of her relatives does she go to them to express her condolences (aza tutib).

A good bride both from shame and from respect (uyaladi, izzet klady) avoids the groom's father and all the kinsmen springing from him all her life, according to the proverb: the husband is not respected whose body is seen, the kinswoman is not respected whose face is seen (erding kadryn bil'meydi, etin kuredii, againdyng kadryn bil'meydi betin kuredi).

According to data reported from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the young wife does not show herself to the older kinsmen of her husband in the third degree of kinship, all the way to the most remote clan affiliation.

000 affiliation.

585 /76/ Among the Kirgiz, the bride is seated behind the curtain at the groom's father's. The yenge says: "pay for a look" (kurumdigin ber). Those who like her give her something. The bride in the "large house" (chung uide), that is, in the house of the groom's father, greets the groom's father and mother and throws fat in the fire with the words: "May God have mercy on you. May the animal join you from behind. May children join you from in front. May the years of your life be long, both yours and the groom's". (1) In answer to this the groom's father

1. Ak yalgasyn! Artingdy mal bassyn, aldyngdy bala bassyn! Kuyauing ukeauing umri yashi bulsyn!

and mother pronounce a blessing (bata).

/77/ CHAPTER VI.

Kalym. - Number of wives. - The marriage of a widow. - Divorce. - Akymar. - The children of widows and divorced people. - The position of women. - The illegitimate children. - Birth and designation of names.

583 The payment for the bride or kalym (kalyn, kalyn mal) goes to the use of the person who reared her and married her, i. e., her father, kinsman, guardian, etc. The extent of the kalym differs greatly between rich and poor, and between beautiful and unattractive brides. (1) A larger kalym is demanded for a girl from widowers, than

1. They offered a deaf and dumb girl in Tashkent for 5 cows.

from men entering their first marriage. After the payment of the kalym, the groom still provides the toymal and the elyu before the day of the wedding. The bride's father adds the same amount himself to the toymal he receives, and from this he arranges the wedding feast and buys the wedding couple a tent, rugs, blankets, a fur coat, the bridal headdress, utensils, clothing and other parts of the dowry.

The elyu is an animal to carry the tent and the entire dowry.

The kalyms of the Perovsk uyezd, according to bii Mikebai Sultanaev,, consist of the following divisions:

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583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryukbaur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

/218 cont. /

585 [583] they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned, but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here. / These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

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585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accom-
[431] panied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

585 /219 cont./
[431] gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
872 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Little Horde]

584 parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire kalym which he had already received, and pay an indemnity in addition.[199]

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements was the amount of kalym, and the amount of dowry. The kalym was paid over 585 602 a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the kalym payments.[200] A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted. The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.[201]

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[199] Balliuzek, 87-88.

[200] Karutz, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 37-38.

[201] Ibid., 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

8:Kostenko -27-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan Kazak RQ2

584 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially
581 the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when still very young, that is, not asking their consent, and for the most part they have in view equality of wealth and not equal age. In
● 585 general, Kazakh marriage has much in common
581 with a civil contract, of course within the crude concepts of this people; the religious element here is only very weakly developed.
584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were betrothed earlier or not, the match-making begins with gifts from the groom's side to the bride's father, and the latter on his part is obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has been no earlier agreement, the father of the bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by general council the amount to be paid for the bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep, depending on the wealth of the families. In addition to the kalym, however, the groom must give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head and a good foot). These two gifts, depending on the amount of property owned. are usually 9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi. Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses, and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and receives it according to the following reckoning: for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40, for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted as future offspring. The groom first pays the

as future offspring. The groom first pays the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, [illegible] *description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was 587 obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.
[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.
[83] *Description des hordes*, 364.
[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 112
[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

mother would probably marry again into a third uru and the daughter would go with her 586
and be considered a member of the family of the mother's new husband. She might, according to Tlenshiev, even marry back into the uru of her real father. Another informant objected to this statement and said that she could only do so if the seven generations rule permitted; such, of course might perhaps be the case even if she had remained with her father in the first place.

The evidence on the whole indicates that a wife in theory was considered to belong permanently to the uru of her first husband, and the children to the uru of their father, although in practice, especially as regards residence, there might be numerous exceptions to the rule.

LEVIRATE AND SORORATE

Both the levirate and sororate were practised in variable and attenuated forms by the 587
Kazak. My informants said that as a general rule when a man died his wife would marry his younger brother; if he had no younger brother she would marry an elder brother. If the deceased husband had no brothers she would marry some relative, probably a son of the husband's father's brother. She was in any case expected to remain in the husband's uru, but considerable latitude of choice was permitted her. Tlenshiev said that if she happened to prefer an elder brother to the younger brother she might marry the former if everyone were willing.

It is important to note that the taking over by a brother of his widowed sister-in-law had the character, in many cases at least, not of a marriage but of a guardianship.[87] It was essentially a device to ensure the support of the dead man's children. Frequently a childless widow or one with grown children would not remarry at all. The personal element of course was very important. The disposition of a young and attractive widow sometimes became a bone of contention between surviving brothers. On the other hand a man might receive his brother's widow as an obligation to be dutifully accepted, perhaps having occasional sexual intercourse with her as evidence of cordiality but generally relegating her to a position of pensioner. One case was mentioned of a man who objected strongly to taking in his brother's widow, but, being ordered to do so by the bij, submitted.

Information from other sources on the observance of the levirate is contradictory but generally suggests the flexibility of the institution. Zaleskie says[88] that not only a widow but a financée for whom part of the kalym had been paid was absolutely obliged to marry a near relative of the dead man. But he adds that this did not apply to women who had adult children. Grodekov[89] states that a widow should take a new husband from the family of the first and that it was the eldest brother who had first claim to marry her, although he might cede his rights to a younger brother and even to his own son. It was,

[87] See also Beveridge, *Babur-nama in English*, 23 and note.

[88] *La Vie des steppes*, 52.

[89] [illegible] *i Karakirgizy*, 12; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 154–55.

587 however, optional for the widow to remarry. If she wished to remain single she was entitled to a share of her husband's property or might even, with the consent of her first husband's family, marry a man who was not related to them, provided kalym were paid to the first husband's family by the new husband. She might go so far as to remarry without their consent and without payment of a second kalym but the marriage would not be con-
[586] sidered as altogether respectable. Elsewhere Grodekov says[80] that when a widow married a husband in a "different tribe" the children stayed with a guardian in the first tribe. It is not unlikely that in such cases there were exceptions similar to those which have been mentioned in reference to the disposition of children of divorced parents.

It was customary, though by no means obligatory, for a man to marry the younger sister of a deceased wife, provided of course that she were not already married to someone else. In marrying a wife's sister a greatly reduced kalym or perhaps none at all was paid. The wife's father however might refuse to give over a second daughter but, according to Grodekov[81] would be obliged to pay a small compensation for the refusal " . . . unless he had good reasons." If a fiancée died before marriage her family was expected to substitute her younger sister. It was, however, very definitely not permissable to be married to two sisters simultaneously. My informants were noticeably shocked at the suggestion. One of Grodekov's informants told him that two brothers might not marry two sisters and the wives of brothers must be at least three generations removed from one another. In other districts he found no objection to brothers marrying sisters.[82] My own informants thought it was quite usual.

[80] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 38.
[81] *Idem*, 30
[82] *Idem*, 28–29.

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586 ●
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride 836
which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depend-

the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.
er the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 587
and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman,
oves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

they do not pardon it regardless. (Torgai).

If the groom himself causes the bride to lose her innocence at the oruntoy, he informs the matchmakers who spread out the nikeyaulyk of this, and in such a case they demand gifts for themselves, resorting to a threat which is never carried out, namely, to rip open the belly of his horse. (Bii Sultan).

If the groom is impotent (yaramisa), they wait three days. After that if the bride does not like the groom, she can use this as a pretext to announce that she will not marry him (tiymeymen). Then her father returns the kalym to the amount determined by the biis.

On the following day, for the first time during the day, the bride's father and mother invite the groom to their tent. He does not sit in the tur /place of honor/ but remains in the corner between the first and second cross pieces (yabsar - corner, link). He is given the sheep's breast (tus) to eat. The guests appear with food and receive money from the groom in empty cups (tabak). (Torgai).

According to Irsbek, among the Tashkent Kazakhs no wedding can dispense with the religious ceremony /venchanie/ (nika), for which the groom provides the payment, nikakyyar, 40 kopeks to the imam and 2 rubles to the bii. According to Daulet Bushaev, they give the mullah, depending on their station, 1 sheep and 40 kopeks, or 4 rubles, 40 kopeks in money, or another gift. According to Mikebai, the bii does not take a gift, anyway as a guest. The mullah receives eki bauly chapan "a coat with two fastenings", i.e., one coat, or eki tisti tusak, "a female ewe with two teeth", or 4 rubles. /69/ The rich give more. Only half this sum is given for a widow.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd the wedding ritual /brakosochetanie/ takes place in the following manner. While the prayers are read water is poured into a cup. The girl being married throws either earrings or a silver ring into it, and covers the vessel with a white kerchief. The groom fastens a stick in the form of an arrow to the edge of the cup with the white kerchief. After the prayers the bride takes back the object thrown into the cup, and thereafter preserves it as a pledge of happiness. One of the witnesses of the wedding (1) takes the cup

1. There must be one from each side.

and holds it in his hands in such a way that the fingers on the brim do not join on top. In this space husband and wife put their lips in turn (the husband first) and drink the water. Then the cup is passed

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

683 562 [581] /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (ultirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinas shykty ma?). If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber). If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The relatives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

587 a divorced woman can marry her husband for the second time only if she has been married to another, received a divorce from him and has lived unmarried for 100 days. Here the influence of the Shariat is felt.

586 A marriage is dissolved after the husband has been absent without report for 7 years; if in this period he could not be found, and means for support of the wife were not brought from him. The wife in this case is acquired by the older brother without a kalym.

A marriage is dissolved in the case of incapacity of one of the spouses (szharamsiz, bili dzhok, erlikke dzharamaydy), even after long years of living together. If the husband denies his impotence, the wife orders him to establish the truth under the observation of the elder (the bii books of the Perovsk uyezd). According to the declaration of Aver'yanov, the former chief of the Namangan uyezd, a Kirgiz woman who was complaining of the impotence of her husband, was led into a special place, lay down there, in the presence of the biis, and invited her husband to prove his capacity for marital relations. The husband proved to be impotent. (1)

1. According to a report of I. I. Ibragimov, one Siberian bii ordered the married couple to be intimate, and appointed several persons from among his intimates to observe them from outside the tent. In addition he appointed one person apiece from the side of the plaintiff and the defendant. The observation led to nothing for the observers, like the couple themselves, contradicted each other, so the bii ordered them to be led into a special tent and to make the same experiment, but in hot water. The husband proved to be impotent.

The wife, when she declares that her husband is impotent to his relatives, asks permission to marry another. The husband's relatives, seeing no basis /91/ for refusing, oblige her only to choose the new husband from the same clan and lineage, so as not to cast a shadow on their lineage. The new husband in such a case does not pay the first one a full kalym but a "kin" one the amount of which is greater, the more distant the degree of kinship. (1)

1. Communication of Torgai.

If the wife does not wish to live with her husband because of his incapacity for marital life, but in the meantime it is shown that he is capable of this, she does not have the right to leave him. If by examination of the husband it is proven that he is incapable of marital relations, the wife, having received a letter of divorce from him, with the signature of solid persons, can marry whomever she wishes. In this case the previous husband of this woman must pay her new husband half a kalym. (2)

2. Communication of Sagyndykov.

The settlement which is reached when a wife leaves her husband is based, among the Kazakhs, on the amount of the kalym already received for her from the husband. Among the Kirgiz the settlement does not depend on the size of the kalym. Among them they simply decree from 2 to 3 toguz /nines of cattle/ for the use of the husband. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Kirgiz, from the time of matchmaking, when the bride is 2-10 years old, until she is mature (17 years) pay without reckoning until the parents come to the bride's house with one animal (so as not to come with empty hands) and determine the amount of kalym remaining to be paid.

In imitation of the Shariat, the customary law allows akymar (property) to be alloted to the wife in case of a divorce (khatynyng inchisi). The akymar can consist of livestock, immovable property and money.

The groom determines the akymar of the bride before the people, but without a receipt. He does not distinguish it from his own property and does not put it into her hands. In the case of a divorce, the wife, her closest kinsman (iese) or her clan (dzhamaasy), demands /92/ in court and receives the promised akymar. After the death of the husband, if the widow has a dispute with his relatives, they do not give her the akymar. If, however, she takes leave of the relatives of the husband on good relations, the heir gives her something in place of the akymar. If the husband grows weary of the old wife, and marries a young one, he can apportion the earlier wife with the akymar, with the addition of an allotment for her child. He apportions her to his son, or brother, or around himself. He is free to send her to her own kinsmen /turkun/.

Among the Kirgiz there is no akymar, but for this purpose there is a "contribution to the wedding"(nikaga basken mal), collected

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the
182 right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only the latter is not customary. (1)
837

1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

•586 If after the departure of the husband a child is born after 9 months and 10 days or more, the husband divorces the wife, and she 837 marries her lover, who pays the former husband a kalym, either his 848 daughter or a kinswoman. If the husband does not wish a divorce, he receives the wife with the strange child and a fine from the lover of 2-3 camels (in former times he received a full kalym). If the child was conceived by the lover, but not during the absence of the father, it is considered the lawful child of the husband. According to Torgai, children of widows, born out of wedlock, remain /97/ with her until her death. Before she dies they ask about their father and look for him.

848 It is impossible to speak of illegitimate children of unmarried girls, according to Torgai, for on the steppe all the girls marry (kyz dalada kalmaydy). In the Kazalinsk uyezd such children are buried in the ground. According to Aleksandrov and Makovetskii, a child born of a widow and the brother of her deceased husband is considered a legitimately born member of the family. (1)

1. Staff Captain Grombchevskii reports the following concerning the attitude of the Kirgiz of the Fergana region to illegitimate children. Bringing a child into the world from fornication not only covers the family of the girl with shame, but also her entire clan. In order to avoid the scandal they try to marry the girl [847] upon the first signs of pregnancy. When this is not successful, they have recourse to stopping the prenancy. This is either done mechanically, or by giving the patient an infusion of the "usma" plant, or finally they put the child to death immediately after birth. Illegitimate children do not succeed the father, and are usually banished from the village as soon as they are big enough to herd livestock or to support themselves by other means. They are called kharam, kharmzade, valadizina, and in the Ketmen-Tiube volost also gartakum (born of a libertine). There are cases, however, when the birth of a child out of wedlock is not considered a scandal, namely, 1) from a groom and bride, if they later marry, 2) from a widow and

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [606] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 640 171

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Geodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ismailov, 1897, p. 11.

[Great Horde]

671 lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and
672 legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was
673 a matter of membership in specific corporate structures,
the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

676 In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

[586]

Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

601 602 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

[154] Izrastsov, loc. cit.

[155] Lingalstedt, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

171.58
587

sense her husband's; but they were losing control over her.

A generation later it was only a memory that the widow had once necessarily remarried leviratically, and by the turn of the century a number of alternatives had been opened to her in the Little Horde. She might indeed marry her deceased husband's brother; again she might simply go to live in the household of the latter informally; or she might marry away from her husband's kin entirely.[214]

171.58
•586

Divorce was rare in the 1870's.[215] In the following generation, the same general pattern still existed in divorce as elsewhere on the steppe: the husband needed very little grounds to divorce his wife; the wife was limited to the following grounds--impotence and maltreatment on the part of the husband. The latter is a variant on the desertion or nonsupport for a year as the wife's grounds for divorce. However, she was also permitted to divorce her husband by the turn of the century if he was unfaithful to her. The divorced woman was simply returned to her father; if she married again, it was without the formalities of the kalym, the go-between, and so forth.[216] Husband's infidelity as

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[214] Karutz, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 42.

[215] Balliuzek, 90.

[216] Karutz, loc. cit.

177,58 586 ground for divorce occurs now for the first time and may be added to the general transformation of certain traits through acculturation.

428 Rules of Inheritance and Succession

We have seen that the estate of a brother was equally distributed among the surviving brothers on his death. The equal division of a man's estate among his survivors is only one aspect of a complex problem. The practice of allotment or apportionment of sons as they came of age was the basic mode of transmission of physical property, which together with the payment of the kalym on behalf of the son, formed part of the total property transfer when the son came of age. For the coming of age was associated with marriage, and entailed both the payment of the kalym and the apportionment of the son.[217]

The youngest son, in contrast to his elder brothers, was not portioned off during the lifetime of the father, although the kalym was paid on his behalf when he came of age, that is to say, when he was married. He shared his father's estate during the father's lifetime, and did not take up full possessive rights until his father's death, when he became the sole residuary legatee of the

[217] Balliuzek, 104.

[Inner Horde]

429 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 Divorce is reported as having been easy and fre-
596 quent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but
177.59 since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture con-
[591] tact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for [587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined [587] by the aqsaqal.[1] A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1 [leader of uru -- Analyst]

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2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was
587 obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.
[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.
[83] *Description des hordes*, 364.
[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*. 112
[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

mother would probably marry again into a third uru and the daughter would go with her 586
and be considered a member of the family of the mother's new husband. She might, according to Tlenshiev, even marry back into the uru of her real father. Another informant objected to this statement and said that she could only do so if the seven generations rule permitted; such, of course might perhaps be the case even if she had remained with her father in the first place.

The evidence on the whole indicates that a wife in theory was considered to belong permanently to the uru of her first husband, and the children to the uru of their father, although in practice, especially as regards residence, there might be numerous exceptions to the rule.

LEVIRATE AND SORORATE

Both the levirate and sororate were practised in variable and attenuated forms by the 587
Kazak. My informants said that as a general rule when a man died his wife would marry his younger brother; if he had no younger brother she would marry an elder brother. If the deceased husband had no brothers she would marry some relative, probably a son of the husband's father's brother. She was in any case expected to remain in the husband's uru, but considerable latitude of choice was permitted her. Tlenshiev said that if she happened to prefer an elder brother to the younger brother she might marry the former if everyone were willing.

It is important to note that the taking over by a brother of his widowed sister-in-law had the character, in many cases at least, not of a marriage but of a guardianship.[87] It was essentially a device to ensure the support of the dead man's children. Frequently a childless widow or one with grown children would not remarry at all. The personal element of course was very important. The disposition of a young and attractive widow sometimes became a bone of contention between surviving brothers. On the other hand a man might receive his brother's widow as an obligation to be dutifully accepted, perhaps having occasional sexual intercourse with her as evidence of cordiality but generally relegating her to a position of pensioner. One case was mentioned of a man who objected strongly to taking in his brother's widow, but, being ordered to do so by the bij, submitted.

Information from other sources on the observance of the levirate is contradictory but generally suggests the flexibility of the institution. Zaleskie says[88] that not only a widow but a fiancée for whom part of the kalym had been paid was absolutely obliged to marry a near relative of the dead man. But he adds that this did not apply to women who had adult children. Grodekov[89] states that a widow should take a new husband from the family of the first and that it was the eldest brother who had first claim to marry her, although he might cede his rights to a younger brother and even to his own son. It was,

[87] See also Beveridge, *Babur-nama in English*, 23 and note.

[88] *La Vie des steppes*, 52.

[89] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 12; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 154–55.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

587 however, optional for the widow to remarry. If she wished to remain single she was entitled to a share of her husband's property or might even, with the consent of her first husband's family, marry a man who was not related to them, provided kalym were paid to the first husband's family by the new husband. She might go so far as to remarry without their consent and without payment of a second kalym but the marriage would not be con-
[586] sidered as altogether respectable. Elsewhere Grodekov says[90] that when a widow married a husband in a "different tribe" the children stayed with a guardian in the first tribe. It is not unlikely that in such cases there were exceptions similar to those which have been mentioned in reference to the disposition of children of divorced parents.

It was customary, though by no means obligatory, for a man to marry the younger sister of a deceased wife, provided of course that she were not already married to someone else. In marrying a wife's sister a greatly reduced kalym or perhaps none at all was paid. The wife's father however might refuse to give over a second daughter but, according to Grodekov[91] would be obliged to pay a small compensation for the refusal " . . . unless he had good reasons." If a fiancée died before marriage her family was expected to substitute her younger sister. It was, however, very definitely not permissable to be married to two sisters simultaneously. My informants were noticeably shocked at the suggestion. One of Grodekov's informants told him that two brothers might not marry two sisters and the wives of brothers must be at least three generations removed from one another. In other districts he found no objection to brothers marrying sisters.[92] My own informants thought it was quite usual.

[90] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 38.
[91] *Idem*, 30
[92] *Idem*, 28–29.

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

[695] the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by
[628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a
[587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from
[429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure- a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

4:Grodekov--27 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

582 page. Picture. Caption: The Kirgiz manap mullah Asan Dzhangel' din, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. / /29/ of two brothers must be no more closely related than the third degree of kinship.

Sisters may marry two first cousins, but even this is not done eagerly, and they say it would be better to establish a bond in two places rather than in one (eki tamyrdi br tamyr kylmaimyz).

It is impossible to marry your step-sister (not your own-ugei), from the same father but another mother, and vice versa. It is impossible to marry a step-daughter, whether a maiden or a widow. (1)

1. "Anyone who did that would become an infidel /Kafir/" cried bii Khamahammed.

[Picture not reproduced--A]

582 587 A widow may marry a step-son, born by another wife of her late husband. A widow does not marry her father-in-law, but she does marry his brother. A daughter cannot marry the brother of her father's wife, but she can marry his son.

It is impossible to marry one's step-mother (ugei sheshe). If a widow with her son goes over to the older or younger brother of her husband, who was already married earlier, and if he also dies, then a son can marry his widow, i.e., his own step-mother, as Torgai expresses it, by the Shariat, but not by customary law. If the wife of the uncle does not become one's step-mother, then one can marry her also according to customary law (Torgai).

According to Khamahammed, Chimkent uyezd, it is impossible to marry the son's widow /or/ the wife's mother. The son of one wife can marry the step-daughter of his father by another wife.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, Pt. 1, p. 2, this bii finds that two brothers can marry two sisters, or one can marry the mother, and the other the daughter. Sultan Abulfaiz, of the Chimkent uyezd, says the same thing, stating that he has encountered examples of it.

To marry the sister of one's step-mother is considered reprehensible, although this does happen for love. The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that such a marriage is illicit.

/30/ The sister-in-law, the sister of the brother's wife, is considered the blood sister until the death of the brother. Therefore it is impossible to marry her until this time.

587 It is impossible to marry the wife's sister (baldyz), as long as the wife is living.

After the death of a wife, the husband demands her sister for himself in marriage, if she is still unspoken for, or her kinswoman, with the payment of a bride price minus 6 head of livestock from

587.

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

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601

The kinship terms in Kazakh

Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride 836
which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 587
brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

587 In the folk poem Dzhibekkyz, the hero Tulegen, of the Dzhagalbayly clan is killed. His brother, when he comes of age, goes to seek the hand of Dzhibekkiz, the bride of the deceased. He says, among other things: "If she does not wish to marry me, I will return with my tail between my legs" (kutimni kysyo). From the time of the death of her first husband Dzhibekkyz has been waiting for the arrival of his closest kinsman or other relative. She says: "I was betrothed (bas kaskanym) from the beginning to the Dzhagalbaily clan, which is so rich that it is unable to look after its herds. If it is true that Tulegen has been killed, then O God, why do they not take Dzhibek? Surely there is one young fellow in his clan who would ask for and receive his bride (yesir)!"

If the bride dies, her father or kinsman gives the groom her unbetrothed sister or close kinswoman for a small addition to the kalym (called baldyzkalyn) of one or two camels. When there is no other girl, the kalym is returned in full if the bride died in the house of her father, i. e., before the wedding. If after the death of a bride, her sisters are still too young, their father invites the son-in-law to visit him, gives him a horse or a camel and begs him to wait until the girl is more mature. If the groom /57/ refuses to wait for her to come of age, two parts of the kalym which has been paid is returned to him, and one part remains for the bride's father. A bride can marry the younger brother of the groom, with the agreement of the groom's side. In this case, even though the visit to the bride has taken place, yasyrin kelyu, nothing is added to the previous kalym. If the oruntoy /cf. below/ has taken place, then a baldyzkalyn is paid for the sister in addition to the kalym, a sum equal to half the given kalym. In extremity, if no bride is available, the kalym is returned minus 1 kulundi biya, or according to other data, half the kalym if the groom had been going to the bride, or the entire kalym if he had not been going.

After the death of a bride, the groom is obliged to visit the village of her parents, otherwise he loses the right to her sister. In this case, for his new betrothal he is required to pay a toguz in addition (the books of the biis).

If a father who had received a kalym from one groom married the bride to another, in former times the first groom tried to kill the father or his rival, demanding to be given the bride, calling her tangbaly tayimning kuzi (the eye of the marked colt), and not agreeing to the return of the kalym or else demanding to be given her sister and one slave to be sent with her, to wipe away the dishonor.

4:Grodekov--76 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

583

For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd.[1] / /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765 according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[1] [Not reproduced-- A.]

765 should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Alek-
587 sandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

587 The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /83/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to
589 remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that, even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

587 After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older' and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

atives of the deceased to marriage with the widow by stealth, begins to live maritally with her. Then the lawful husband does not wish to take her "because the hem of a stranger has touched her" (itegi tiibti), but /87/ he makes a complaint nevertheless and receives satisfaction in the form of a horse or a camel(1), and the people sanction

1. The new husband at first suggests little, for example, a horse. The lawful groom does not agree to this, threatening to kill. Then they propose more, a camel, etc., until the legal groom is satisfied (razy klady).

the arrangement which is made.

If the widow marries a stranger, with the agreement of the relatives of the deceased, her children, even those not yet born, remain in the house of the former husband (2) and the new husband

2. There are cases where all the children go with the mother.

pays the family of the deceased at least half a kalym, or else provides a girl.

If after the mourning period a kinsman of the groom does not appear to receive the yesir, the biis give the widow permission (achyk khat) to marry according to her choice. (3)

3. The law of 1867, in case of an unsatisfactory decision of a people's court on marital matters, let them turn to the uyezd chief with a complaint. Usually the Russian administration has permitted the widows to marry according to their choice. This type of decision, going contrary to custom, has given birth to disputes between the choice of the heart and the lawful groom.

When the widow has already had a wedding (nika) with an outsider without the permission of the husband's relatives, then the marriage is considered valid and only the question of the amount of compensation to the husband's relatives remains open. The lawful bridegroom, even though he does not receive a full kalym, has never gone away empty-handed (kuru kalmaydy) thus far.

A bii does not believe an accuasation of marital infidelity with- 684
out witnesses.

The lover, about whom there has been a complaint to the bii,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship, as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura-Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

•587 a divorced woman can marry her husband for the second time only if she has been married to another, received a divorce from him and has lived unmarried for 100 days. Here the influence of the Shariat is felt.

586 A marriage is dissolved after the husband has been absent without report for 7 years, if in this period he could not be found, and means for support of the wife were not brought from him. The wife in this case is acquired by the older brother without a kalym.

A marriage is dissolved in the case of incapacity of one of the spouses (szharamsiz, bili dzhok, erlikke dzharamaydy), even after long years of living together. If the husband denies his impotence, the wife orders him to establish the truth under the observation of the elder (the bii books of the Perovsk uyezd). According to the declaration of Aver'yanov, the former chief of the Namangan uyezd, a Kirgiz woman who was complaining of the impotence of her husband, was led into a special place, lay down there, in the presence of the biis, and invited her husband to prove his capacity for marital relations. The husband proved to be impotent. (1)

1. According to a report of I. I. Ibragimov, one Siberian bii ordered the married couple to be intimate, and appointed several persons from among his intimates to observe them from outside the tent. In addition he appointed one person apiece from the side of the plaintiff and the defendant. The observation led to nothing for the observers, like the couple themselves, contradicted each other, so the bii ordered them to be led into a special tent and to make the same experiment, but in hot water. The husband proved to be impotent.

The wife, when she declares that her husband is impotent to his relatives, asks permission to marry another. The husband's relatives, seeing no basis /91/ for refusing, oblige her only to choose the new husband from the same clan and lineage, so as not to cast a shadow on their lineage. The new husband in such a case does not pay the first one a full kalym but a "kin" one the amount of which is greater, the more distant the degree of kinship. (1)

1. Communication of Torgai.

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

587 429

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

182 593

/93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 562

There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only the latter is not customary. (1)

593 562 837

1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [606] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 602 171

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 582 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 179

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[Great Horde]

135 4. Marriage of a widow with her deceased husband's father is forbidden.

5. Marriage of a girl with her father's wife's brother is forbidden.

6. Marriage with a milk sister or with the wet-nurse is forbidden. (This is a Koranic influence.)

The following marriages are permitted, although no preferential pattern appears to be indicated:

1. Patrilateral cross cousin marriage (father's sister's daughter to mother's brother's son).

2. Marriage with the wife's sister only after the death of the wife, if the former is not already betrothed. Sororal polygyny is taboo.

3. Marriage with the brother's wife's sister on the death of the brother, when she no longer counts as kin. This is the same as the rule in the case of the wife's sister.

4. The son with his father's widow other than his own mother.

587 5. Marriage with the father's brother's widow. By this and the following, the levirate is established.

6. Marriage with the brother's widow.[123]

000 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of

[123] Grodekov, 29 ff.

[Great Horde]

595 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practised only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's [597] version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of 88 the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izraztsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

[Great Horde]

49 lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place
58 between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs
[587] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the death of a man, the brother who survived him had the right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

583 The marriage arrangements were centered around the payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this, even with the worst of wills on the part of the father. It is the family of the groom which contributes to the kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word, it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

587 581 The marriage contract was made between the husband's family and the family of the wife; it is only in this way that we can understand the kalym on the one hand, since it was made over to the wife's family, and the levirate on the other. For the contract was to supply male issue not merely to the husband, but to the husband's line, thus involving the husband's brother and those sons of her husband who were not her own. Sociologically, the husband of the mother was the father of the child, but the wife of the father was not necessarily the mother of the child. Moreover, the sororate, or marriage with the deceased wife's sister, which was required if the latter was not yet betrothed, was part of an undertaking on the part of the bride's family to supply a genetrix to the husband's family, whether it was the woman originally stipulated or a substitute. If a widow broke the contract by seeking to marry outside her late husband's kin group, the second husband of the widow had to pay the kalym to the family of the first husband, or offer a girl in exchange from his own family; the girl's natal family enjoyed no role in her remarriage.[141]

587 In full accord with this interpretation, Radlov has observed that the wife belonged not to the husband, but to his family. Now Radlov had conceived that the levirate was an obligatory practice, while Israstsov,

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[141] Dingelstedt, 155.

587 Grodekov and Levshin have reported it only as customary. Yet even though he phrased the matter in an extreme way, Radlov was able to interpret fittingly from our point of view certain biologically anomalous customs as the marriage of a mature widow to an immature boy who happened to be the surviving brother of the deceased husband.[142]

Latterly in Kazakh society, a marriage between a widow and a stranger, i.e., one not in the deceased husband's kin group, could not be opposed by the family of the deceased; but the remarriage was recognized as socially valid only if the kalym was paid in full to the late husband's family.[143] The full status of the mother of sons is seen in her right to hold the deceased husband's estate in trust for her minor sons; it is seen in the practices governing widow remarriage as well. If a widow had borne male children, she could not be forced to remarry against her will.[144] But if she was childless or had borne only daughters, then she remained single only if she was ailing or aging.[145]

584 A kalym might require a number of years to be paid in full; nevertheless, the girl could not be married to

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[142] Radloff, op. cit., I, 485.

[143] Dingelstedt, 155.

[144] Izraetsov, 93.

[145] Ibid., 68.

[Great Horde]

584 anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the bii[1] had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the kalym paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the kalym had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the kalym itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the kalym in this case was much lower.[146]

768 587 If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions, ornaments, etc. If she died after two years of the marriage, or having died before the two-year limit had borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for kalym in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower kalym.[147]

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[146] Izraztsov, 81.

[147] Ibid., 82-83.

[1] [On the bii or "elder", cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

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Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

601 602 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

[154] Izrastsov, loc. cit.

[155] Tingelstedt, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

000 married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[207] However, the maintenance of separate households was not correlated exclusively with the need for diminishing family friction, it was closely associated with the distribution of family property among the various segments of the household, as we shall see when the question of inheritance and succession within the family is taken up. Briefly, subject to later confirmation, it may be said that the wealth of the family was settled on the sons during the father's lifetime in a polygynous family, and if the settlement was made while the sons were still minor, the wife living in her own tent with her children held the patrimony in trust until her sons came of age. There was some change of roles within the household: while in the 1870's the first wife was the mistress of the menage, by the turn of the century the second wife could often rule over the first.[208]

595 428

587 A certain number of the polygynous households were the result of the levirate where the surviving brother was already married. A proverb of the Little Horde runs:

aga ulsa dzengo mura
eni ulsa kelin mura
at ulsa saury mura.

"If the elder brother dies, his wife goes to the younger

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[207] Balliuzek, 85-86.

[208] Karuts, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

•587 brother; [just as] when a horse dies, the hide is property of the owner."[209] The "owner" of the wife in this sense cannot be regarded as either of her husbands, but as the extended family which thus maintained her. A ten-year-old boy might receive a wife who already had borne children, and if the deceased husband had no brothers, the husband's family then sought to find a husband for her among the closest collateral kinsmen in the paternal line, the husband's father's brother's son, etc.[210]

However, the widow did not always go to the husband's oldest surviving brother; she might go to another brother or to a close kineman of the deceased on payment of a horse.[211]

If the widow had borne sons, and if she herself preferred another brother of the deceased other than the one on whom she would have ordinarily devolved, the other brother might make a small payment to the primary candidate, and he then would be able to marry the widow who came to him with all her children and her deceased husband's estate. If the widow was childless, however, she went to her new husband with her nuptial tent alone, but shorn of her former husband's herds, etc., while the

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[209] Balliuzek, 99.

[210] Altynsarin, 102.

[211] Plotnikov, 125.

[Little Horde]

587 property of the deceased was distributed equally among the surviving brothers. If she had one son, and no matter how many daughters, her children were not taken away from her; all remained by her. But if she had only daughters, and no sons, then they were taken away from her and given to the husband's brothers to raise, and she was permitted to keep one daughter at the most by her.[212]

177.58 587 This was the idealized model of the family around the year 1870; actually the acculturative process had begun, of which the contemporary reporters were aware; and they regarded it as the result of Russian influence. Thus, a degree of loosening of the practice of the levirate was noted, and a newly widowed woman was adjured rather than commanded: "Thou hast the right to reject one person, but not the entire line or clan [of the husband]. With thousands of people there will be at least one who will meet your taste."[213] The widow was considerably freer than the unmarried girl, for she was not under the thumb of a father, and had some choice or option. The husband's family, moreover, was telling her that she should stay among the agnatic kin of her deceased husband, that that was where by custom she should stay, and continue that line which was in the larger

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[212] Balliuzek, 99-100.

[213] Ibid., 101.

[Little Horde]

177.58
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sense her husband's; but they were losing control over her.

A generation later it was only a memory that the widow had once necessarily remarried leviratically, and by the turn of the century a number of alternatives had been opened to her in the Little Horde. She might indeed marry her deceased husband's brother; again she might simply go to live in the household of the latter informally; or she might marry away from her husband's kin entirely.[214]

177.58
586

Divorce was rare in the 1870's.[215] In the following generation, the same general pattern still existed in divorce as elsewhere on the steppe: the husband needed very little grounds to divorce his wife; the wife was limited to the following grounds--impotence and maltreatment on the part of the husband. The latter is a variant on the desertion or nonsupport for a year as the wife's grounds for divorce. However, she was also permitted to divorce her husband by the turn of the century if he was unfaithful to her. The divorced woman was simply returned to her father; if she married again, it was without the formalities of the kalym, the go-between, and so forth.[216] Husband's infidelity as

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[214] Karutz, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 42.

[215] Balliuzek, 90.

[216] Karutz, loc. cit.

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride 836
which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betroth[illegible] has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 587
brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd). [628]

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in 588

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

586 If after the departure of the husband a child is born after 9 months and 10 days or more, the husband divorces the wife, and she 837 marries her lover, who pays the former husband a kalym, either his daughter or a kinswoman. If the husband does not wish a divorce, he 848 receives the wife with the strange child and a fine from the lover of 2-3 camels (in former times he received a full kalym). If the child was conceived by the lover, but not during the absence of the father, it is considered the lawful child of the husband. According to Torgai, children of widows, born out of wedlock, remain /97/ with her until her death. Before she dies they ask about their father and look for him.

848 It is impossible to speak of illegitimate children of unmarried girls, according to Torgai, for on the steppe all the girls marry (kyz dalada kalmaydy). In the Kazalinsk uyezd such children are buried in the ground. According to Aleksandrov and Makovetskii, a child born of a widow and the brother of her deceased husband is considered a legitimately born member of the family. (1)

1. Staff Captain Grombchevskii reports the following concerning the attitude of the Kirgiz of the Fergana region to illegitimate children. Bringing a child into the world from fornication not only covers the family of the girl with shame, but also her entire clan. In order to avoid the scandal they try to marry the girl [847] upon the first signs of pregnancy. When this is not successful, they have recourse to stopping the prenancy. This is either done mechanically, or by giving the patient an infusion of the "usma" plant, or finally they put the child to death immediately after birth. Illegitimate children do not succeed the father, and are usually banished from the village as soon as they are big enough to herd livestock or to support themselves by other means. They are called kharam, kharmzade, valadizina, and in the Ketmen-Tiube volost also gartakum (born of a libertine). There are cases, however, when the birth of a child out of wedlock is not considered a scandal, namely, 1) from a groom and bride, if they later marry, 2) from a widow and

765 should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Alek-
587 sandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

587 The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /86/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to
589 remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that, even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

587 After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband.

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South-Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanovov, 1897, p. 11.

[Great Horde]

428 survived her husband, the youngest son and the mother shared a double portion. Izraztsov gives the following instance: a woman with four sons received from her husband a herd of 200 head of livestock of various kinds. She then divided the herd into five parts; two parts, or eighty head, were reserved for her youngest son and herself, the three older sons, forty head each. This, however, did not require the elder sons to move away, for all the herds could continue to share in a common pasture, and to be otherwise indistinguishable, the natural increase being proportional to all.[111]

428 948 0589 The widow's portion again was held in trust for her minor sons. A distinction was made between children born out of wedlock as follows: if a widow has borne sons to her deceased husband, any further sons she bore could not share in her husband's estate, but were reckoned to their natural and actual sire's line, a consequence of the doctrine that the son of an unmarried woman participated with full rights in his biological father's estate.[112] On the other hand, sons born to a widow who had borne no sons previously were reckoned to her husband's line if they were born within a few years after the death of the husband, and thus social fact overrode the biological.

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[111] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[112] Dingelstedt, 154.

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife.
[583] However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because
marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the fam-
[554] ily of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many
wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took
another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in
general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were
few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married
[162] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist
times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid-
[648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs,
and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet
press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg-
[554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet
life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and
221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained
through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes
is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to
month and from season to season. However, there are too many herds-
men and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The
usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where
many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic
purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the live-
stock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early
spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each,
and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp
which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of
movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had
established residence outside the district in which they had been born.
The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for
● 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh
woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is
almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or
for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages
involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's fam-
ily. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native
districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for
[584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time
the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet-
177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic
648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society
had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of
Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but
Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the
Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resist-
ing Soviet influence.

[Great Horde]

562 bridepriсe. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
578 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract, understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full status as a woman.

583 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
584 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh supplied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the family's prestige required to be the equal of the husband's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]

[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from one community to another; her movement was in conformity with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izraetsov, 82.

[Inner Horde]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 596 177.59 Divorce is reported as having been easy and frequent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture contact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

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601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking 61
Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of 592
the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many 592
families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives 513
might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and allothers in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.

[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 34.

[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Pozdneev on pages 77–78.

[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 70.

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592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
595 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbice) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kici əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Description des hordes*, 353.

607 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more
597 complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the
[569] guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants
[592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Hudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharusin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Iarastsov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izvestsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 621 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [114] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society [181] together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
593 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbice) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kici əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–24.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Description des hordes*, 353.

sole recompense for the toil of the Kazak woman was to be treated like a slave by her arrogant and severe master. Grodekov also considers the wife as legally a slave whom the husband had the right to punish by beating,[14] and Zaleskie[15] points out that although the Kazak woman had complete physical personal freedom she was less the companion of her husband than the animals of his herds. 595 562

On the other hand Karutz[16] denies specifically that the relation between husband and wife approached that of master and slave. The household was harmonious and in it the wife held a respected position. That the senior wife at least might be considered a responsible partner in her husband's affairs is indicated by Lansdell:[17]

> The head of a household will often send a portion of his herds several hundreds of miles away under the care of this [the senior] wife while he himself will either remain with his other wives about the grazing ground or go and encamp somewhere by himself.

And Ibn Battúta says:[18]

> A remarkable thing which I saw in this country was the respect shown to women by the Turks, for they hold a more dignified position than the men.

And again:[19]

> Among the Turks and Tatars their wives hold a high position; when they issue an order they say in it "By order of the Sultan and the Khatuns" [queens, wives of a khan]. Each khatun possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when they travel with the sultan they have a separate camp.

These observations of Ibn Battúta were made about 1332 and it is uncertain exactly to which Turco-Mongol group they refer, although considering the route of his journey they probably include tribes ancestral to the Kazak. They agree with other information on the status of women among the steppe nomads at the time,[20] but may be somewhat discounted as applying particularly to the highest class among whom marriages took on something of the nature of political alliances with a consequently enhanced position for the wife. His remarks are, however, interesting as applying to a period before the wide acceptance of Mohammedanism among the Turkish nomads. It seems possible that the contradictory accounts of the status of the Kazak woman may be due to her somewhat anomalous position resulting from the imposition of Mohammedan concepts upon a former culture pattern in which she occupied a more respected position.

My informants on the whole painted a rather gloomy picture of the life of the Kazak

[14] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 23; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151–52.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.
[16] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 114–15.
[17] *Russian Central Asia*, 322.
[18] *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 146–47.
[19] *Idem*, 100–101.
[20] *The Texts and Versions*, 134, 196–97.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or [601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qlɨz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his own offspring. Grodekov, however, remarks[36] that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme circumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."[37]

EXOGAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenshiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekov writes:[38]

> Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

> . . . among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating zaq" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekov's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law] . . . ."

[36] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[37] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[38] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.

601

Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkun ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

• • • •

593

The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd.

593 683

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children.

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In a similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not subjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her husband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

593 685

For stealing from parents, children who have received their allotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is considered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind
[675] (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

this for himself.

/35/ In extremity, the father renounces his son, khatti bizar, bizar khatt, before witnesses. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the bii places his seal on the document (for khatti bizar actually means "a letter of renunciation"). The form of the renunciation is: "If you are killed, I will not demand wergeld for you. If you kill someone, I will not pay wergeld on your behalf." In spite of this statement, however, a father cannot evade the payment of the wergeld for a murder committed by his son after that, unless, when he refuses to pay the wergeld, he permits his son to be killed as a punishment for the murder committed by him. A son who has been expelled by his father goes to one of his relatives.

Sometimes a daughter is given to an ishan or mullah (1) as an

1. The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds: there are cases when a sick father promises to give his daughter to his ishan if he recovers.

offering favorable to God (nazr), provided that he is not within the forbidden degree of kinship, and also sometimes to a blood brother.

It is said that under the pressure of poverty boys are sometimes sold in the Perovsk uyezd (for 20 sheep for example). The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov states that now they do not sell children.

A daughter is not sold, for there is a possibility of marrying her off for a small kalym. Bii Sultan Kanev recalls that in a time of famine daughters were sold for 1 or 2 heads of livestock or for 20-30 fillias /monetary unit equal to about 3-4 rubles/, and after the famine was over they demanded before him, bii Sultan, the rest of the payment up to the full kalym. The bii awarded the rest of the payment up to the full kalym of the category of "7 kulundi biya (2) and 2

2. Kulundi biya is a mare with a suckling.

buidak." (3)

3. Buidak is a two year old sheep. On the kalym /bride price/, cf. Chapter VI.

According to customary law there can be no protest against

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 608 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe", like the real mother.

* * * *

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was
582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only
837 the latter is not customary. (1)

1. According to Makovetskii, I.P. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd) Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband, the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
685 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

[684]

1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Punkratova, 1943, pp. 140-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izvestsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 621 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [560] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this [181] pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. [593] [562] [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

593 562 [584] she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually, she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The [583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for [595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

[583] The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her [593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in- [606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

[554] A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The 584 562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges [554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1]Bichurin, 1950.
[2]Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [606] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 642 171

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

596 could make no such allotment; the herd belonging to such a family was too small to allow for such a division.[98] Therefore it was held in common supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom allotment during the lifetime of the father was made on the occasion of the marriage of the son, lived and herded in common with his father.[99] Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated, for example, if one brother died without male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.[100]

593 671 602 685 The general position of the family in the social structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situation before the law. The criminal law of the Great Horde, as codified by Grodekov, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law; and to the private delict in the somewhat more cumbersome terminology

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[98] Ibid., 2; Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[99] Izrastsov, 3.

[100] Ibid., 70.

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of Radcliffe-Brown.[101] The rustling of cattle (barants/barymta) was permitted in the following circumstances, according to information received by Grodekov from the biis of the Great Horde:

1. By the son from the father, or the son's son from the grandfather, regardless of how many times or how much property was involved. On the other hand, the father had the right of seizure of the entire property of the son; the father had the right to indenture his son for annual terms, and the money thus earned was applied to the father's estate, i.e., the family property.

2. Stealing between sons of brothers could not be punished.

3. The sister's son might request aid from the uncles (mother's brothers). If this aid was not forthcoming, the sister's son (dĭien) might make up to three seizures on the property of the mother's brothers. If he made seizure beyond that number of times, the difference was taken away from him. If he should steal a courser, the maternal uncle might require a return of like value. If the sister's son stole a fourth time, the maternal uncle might tell him: "Thou losest the rights of a nephew."

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4. Among kin related beyond the third degree (those with a common father's father), seizure was permitted, with the obligation to repay, however, as soon and as

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[101] Durkheim, Division of Labor, 112 ff; Radcliffe-Brown, Primitive Law.

602 685 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 593 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

604 601 Important to note, although its fuller implications must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his dzien.[1] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk sē/dzē) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

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[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

[1] [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Amolyat]

[Great Horde]

602 relationship, a man must now be aware of, respond to the economic and legal implications of, a relationship through the mother's sister. In the light of this, we must re-examine the lines of consanguinity, and we find that the agnatic line no longer satisfies all the relationships involved, or even the major proportion of them. Descent is significant in the light of the data here presented through the grandfather in general, and not through the father's father alone. A man can call on me for help if he shares a common grandfather with me, and conversely, I can call on him. This is a cognatic relationship, and not at all an agnatic one, which in the present context is of considerable theoretical interest.

678 A final relationship between the kinship system and
681 the law on the steppe which is to be discussed is the
●593 legal personality of the family. The family was a person before the criminal law of the Great Horde, as it was in other parts of the steppe. Thus, if a father killed his son, no legal proceeding could be undertaken against him; nor could the law intervene if the son killed his father. The family unity could not be invaded, that is, by outside forces. Again, if the father was alive, and a brother killed a brother, the legal process could not intervene; and even if the father were dead and the sons had moved apart, only a small sum was paid to the family of the victim, more a token payment than a true wergeld.[165]

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[165] Ibid., 15-16.

672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
573 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of kalym, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yüz, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radlov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.[166]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

[166] Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 480; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
593 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbice) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kici əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Description des hordes*, 353.

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593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [60] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɨz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

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837 Adultery, by the Mongol code[53] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[54] was punishable by death. Zaleskii[57] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[58]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[59]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[60]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kanaev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[61] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful fiancé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

53. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[54] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[57] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

428 There are no statements about a vacant succession, since no one lives without relatives and friends, who appropriate this property for themselves. In case of some sort of epidemic such property would be stolen (Perovsk uyezd). (1)

[567]

1. Slaves could not possess property or receive an inheritance. A slave and his family who were received in an allotment did not inherit anything. An unalloted adopted slave or his children received a small share of the inheritance. A slave woman was taken by the successor. They might give her something in view of advanced age. If she had a son, /54/ he could receive a part, for example, one-third of the usual allotment or less, depending on the generosity of the deceased or the successor.

[595] Children of concubines who were not adopted did not receive inheritance. The adopted ones received half of what the other heirs received. Communicated by Sultan Daulet Bushaev.

/54/ In ancient times, wergeld which was sentenced to be paid by the deceased was demanded to be paid by his heirs from the inheritance. But if the defendant died before the matter was decided, so that he did not have the possibility of clearing himself, the demand for the wergeld was refused. Now the heir takes part in the payment of the wergeld just as much as all the members of the clan which is paying the wergeld(khundas).

/55/ CHAPTER V.

Conditions for entering into marriage. - Matchmaking. - Oruntoy. - Wedding. - Gifts of the groom to the women. - The procession of the wedding couple to the groom's father.

[587] 582 Entrance into marriage is dependant on the payment of a kalym /bride price/ but not on the majority of the groom and the bride. (1)

1. Among the Alai Kirgiz the betrothal is most often settled when the boy is a year old, and rarely at a mature age. Communication of Grombchevskii. Matchmaking can take place also before the birth of a child.

The rich usually marry their sons when they are 12 to 15 years old, the poor much later, for example at 30 (Perovsk uyezd). In the

583

For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd.[1] / /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: did I not bear you a child, etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765 according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[1] [Not reproduced-- A.]

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

[198 cont.]

×648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[728] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged ×648 their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this 662 time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg. [595] But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he [622] wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

/219 cont./

585 gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones,
[431] such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
• 595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- [554] amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 233 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained 221 through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had 166 established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [414]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izraitsev, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 621 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [562] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this ● [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society [181] together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
[584] neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The
[583] married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for
[595] its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family
[583] receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her
[593] parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-
[606] law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still
[554] further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is
584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The
562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges
[554] vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1]Bichurin, 1950.
[2]Izvaznov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3]Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4]Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5]Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband.

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [627]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 582 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [627] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A sart (agricultural Turk of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house; a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."[122] In this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth--notably bridewealth; the relationship between polygyny and wealth, in addition to the explicit content of the proverb, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

The rules of marriage have been already mentioned in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy. The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at the end of the 19th century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-law's mother.

2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters. In these two rules, relationship in the maternal line is as powerful a determinant as that in the paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed on brothers marrying sisters.

3. Marriage with the step-mother, step-sister or step-daughter is strictly forbidden.

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[122] Lingelstedt, 155.

[Great Horde]

•595 Despite the frequent reference in these rules to plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practised only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's [597] version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of 88 the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izraztsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

[Little Horde]

596 spective wife's elder male kin is but one aspect of
602 this respect relationship, another being that of the function of the go-between, and the initiation of the betrothal proceedings by the family of the groom, who came as supplicants for the daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, a family did not wish to have daughters, it desired sons, even though it might gain some prestige
[181] by marrying the daughters off. The emphasis on sons[1] is a correlate of the patrilineal orientation of the entire society, its patri-centrism in values.

● 595 The Kazakh family of the Little Horde, as elsewhere on the steppe, was polygynous if it could afford to be. On the Mangyshlak peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century it was estimated that 50 percent of the marriages were monogamous and the other 50 percent consisted of two wives, although the Kazakhs were permitted as many as five in theory. The motivation for seeking a second wife was accounted to be childlessness[204] and is exemplified in the proverb, "The more mares the more colts."[205] The Kazakhs were fully aware that the solution of one problem, the need for children, precisely, male issue, in turn raised another issue, that of possible conflict between the wives. The wives therefore were kept in separate tents;[206] again, a man rarely married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[207][2]

[204] Karutz, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42.

[205] Altynsarin, 103.

[206] Karutz, loc. cit.

[1] [cf. especially, cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 478 -- Analyst]
[2] [for text note cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 482 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

000 married a second wife without the prior consent of the
595 first.[207] However, the maintenance of separate house-
428 holds was not correlated exclusively with the need for diminishing family friction, it was closely associated with the distribution of family property among the various segments of the household, as we shall see when the question of inheritance and succession within the family is taken up. Briefly, subject to later confirmation, it may be said that the wealth of the family was settled on the sons during the father's lifetime in a polygynous family, and if the settlement was made while the sons were still minor, the wife living in her own tent with her children held the patrimony in trust until her sons came of age. There was some change of roles within the household: while in the 1870's the first wife was the mistress of the menage, by the turn of the century the second wife could often rule over the first.[208]

587 A certain number of the polygynous households were the result of the levirate where the surviving brother was already married. A proverb of the Little Horde runs:

aga ulsa dzengo mura
eni ulsa kelin mura
at ulsa saury mura.

"If the elder brother dies, his wife goes to the younger

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[207] Balliuzek, 85-86.

[208] Karuts, loc. cit.

[Inner Horde]

621 576 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the *aul*, for the extended family, and in these cases, *a fortiori*, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The *aul* was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the *kalym* was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where [562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.

596 and valuistically oriented toward the need for sons, patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then; the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence reckoned in terms of the number of kinsmen came to play a subordinate role.[284] A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

177.55 556

595 556 The factor of wealth determined not only the number of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,[285] although the Soviet regime sought half-heartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a laissez-faire policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two; there is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his <u>aul</u> had 13 tents in it, whereas the <u>aul</u> in these parts ranged between

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[284] Ibid., 66.

[285] Ibid., 67.

583 three and eight tents.[286] The Kazakh of moderate means
556 could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, and these were the very poor.[287]

583 The relationship between wealth and family composi-
556 tion was intermediated by the continued existence of the kalym.[1] But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;[288] if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

583 The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent
422 and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, i.e., the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.[289] And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries, A.D., into the

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[288] Ibid., 54.

[287] Ibid., 67.

[288] Idem.

[289] Idem.

[1] [i.e. in the 1920's; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 244ff. -- Analyst]

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

●595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae' and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with them grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.

607 597 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the [569] guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

● 596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants [592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharusin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Iarustsev, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [605] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 642 171

[1] Bichurin, 1950, p. 250.
[2] Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3] Ivanaev, 1897, p. 11.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [221] [596] [342]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Karbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [627]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 582 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [627] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1]*Ibid.*, p. 86.

621 by virtue of its fixed rules of admission (by birth or adoption); its perpetual life, or at any rate the survival of the life-cycle of its individual members; and its fixed locus of authority in the person of the village bii. The family community formed the core of the social grouping necessary for the nomads. Family members who stood in closest consanguinity were bound closely together through common, undivided ownership, which was a condition of life for small herds; isolated further kinsmen came to them and neighboring families connected through other relationships combined to form what Radlov has called the smallest social unit, the sul,[96] in its economic, juridical and other functions.

The Family in the Great Horde

596 The Kazakh family was an extended family: three generations of males, grandfather, father, and son, were combined in a family; such at least was the ideal case, the desideratum, achieved when conditions were favorable: the rich Kazakh of the Great Horde kept his family together and formed a veritable extended family.[97] An allotment was made to the sons on marriage among those families who could afford it, while the poor paterfamilias

[96] Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[97] Izrastsov, 3.

596 could make no such allotment; the herd belonging to such a family was too small to allow for such a division.[98] Therefore it was held in common supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom allotment during the lifetime of the father was made on the occasion of the marriage of the son, lived and herded in common with his father.[99] Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated, for example, if one brother died without male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.[100]

The general position of the family in the social structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situation before the law. The criminal law of the Great Horde, as codified by Grodekov, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law; and to the private delict in the somewhat more cumbersome terminology

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[98] Ibid., 2; Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[99] Izrastsov, 3.

[100] Ibid., 70.

[Great Horde]

604 601 nological usages on the one side and inheritance practices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the dŭien relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilateral relations highlighted in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is only a seeming one, not real. The matrilateral relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

●596 We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, was more likely to attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and kept its members together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conforms more closely to a corporate entity than does the poor one; it survives the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed, 596 671 however, to another criterion of the corporate entity: they were a single personality in the eyes of such legal mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the aksakal or bii stepped in only with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all.

[Great Horde]

596 671 We have seen how seizure of property (usually in livestock) was not regarded as theft between son and father, nephew and father's brother, or between sons of brothers; within certain limits, seizure between sister's son and mother's brother was not regarded as theft. Theft among family members was not recognized as such even where the members had set up separate households.[103]

596 The authority pattern was patriarchal within the family, whether of a wealthy or of a poor Kazakh. According to Dingelstedt, this was a categorical phenomenon: the authority of the father over the son, or the husband over the wife, was absolute.[104] This is corroborated for the Kazakhs of the Great Horde by Israstsov, who asserts that the wife was without any rights, all rights residing in the husband, for example, in deciding on the marriage of the son or the daughter.[105] Both these statements are extreme, and must be qualified, as will be seen in what follows. Nevertheless, the patriarchal nature of the Kazakh household and family authority pattern must be accepted as a datum subject to slight amendment. We have seen that the father could even indenture his son for a fixed term, and apply the income to the family estate which he controlled.

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[103] Dingelstedt, 148.

[104] Idem.

[105] Israstsov, 67.

596 The family estate was not communal family property in the usual sense, nor can the paterfamilias be regarded as the owner of the family estate which he controlled. The family estate, both the physical and the intangible wealth, was an estate held in trust, and this definition fits the conception of the family (and the lineage) as a corporate structure.

Inheritance in the Great Horde

428 Properly speaking, only a small proportion of the family physical property was transmitted on the death of the father. Prior to his death, his sons, with the exception of the youngest son, had allotments made over to them of various kinds. In the normal course, these sons would have had a tent or yurt set up for them by the father,[106] which was generally done on marriage, but sometimes earlier, when they came of age; these two events, of course, might also be simultaneous. Thus, [584] youths among the Kazakhs were generally regarded as coming of age between their twelfth and fifteenth years; among those who could afford it, the marriage likewise [583] took place at or about this time.[107] The father likewise paid the kalym or bridewealth for these sons; and he gen-

[106] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 477.

[107] Dingelstedt, 153; Izrastsov, 72.

[Great Horde]

428 erally supplied them with herds in sufficient quantity for independence, if he could afford it, and if he so wished.[108] On the other hand, a rich Kazakh might retain his sons by his side, or at least in the same household economy.

396 428 Kazakh families other than the rich were often forced by economic necessity to break up the family on allotment of the sons who had come of age. The father, once he had made provision for his sons, lost power over them, and they moved as they wished. But this quittance of obligation was a reciprocal relationship; the son lost all further claims on his father's wealth.[109] The poor Kazakhs made no allotment to their sons at all, since they could not afford to; it would have been uneconomical to break up the herd.

428 The youngest son was the residuary legatee of the father's property; he remained by his father's side until the latter's death, and acquired the father's tent, and such portions of the herds, etc., which the father had not made over previously to the elder sons.[110] In fact, the relationship between the youngest son and the parents was not restricted to the father; if the wife

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[108] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[109] Israztsov, 2-3.

[110] Dingelstedt, 153.

[Great Horde]

428 unknown to them.[115] The maximum which any of his children would receive was determined by the father; the minimum was often set by the elders and respected men of the community to whom appeal would be made by a dissatisfied heir.[116] The authority of these elders was advisory rather than coercive, however, for they had no means other than public opinion to cause the father to change his mind.[117]

428 ● 596 Further restrictions on the distribution of the family estate existed: a kalym or bridewealth had to be provided for all the sons, a mandatory provision in the Kazakh customary law.[118] Again, if a man was squandering his patrimony, a wife could appeal to his senior kinsmen, the elders of the community, and these men could adjudge the father irresponsible, and remove his estate from him. In such a case, the estate was usually allotted to a major son, or failing such, to the closest paternal kinsman to be held in trust for equal apportionment in the manner described above.[119] These evidently drastic measures could only have been found necessary rarely;

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[115] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[116] Grodekov, 45.

[117] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.; Grodekov, loc. cit.

[118] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

[119] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

428 nevertheless they must be regarded as limitations on
●596 the authority of the father, which was far from absolute therefore. It would be difficult to see, in any case, in view of what is known of Kazakh society and of the steppe societies generally, how a man could have an absolute authority, independent of all outside force, within his family. The family was far from an independent entity even as an extended family. It was part of a larger whole which included wider and wider reaches of collateral agnatically related lines, and hence extended both backward and forward in time.

429 The estate of a man went first to his sons, whether major or minor; if he died without male issue, the estate then adverted to his brothers. Even if the brothers had quarreled and were living apart, no one could prevent this order of succession, for the estate necessarily remained in the male line, if not the direct line, then in the closest collateral line.[120]

According to Izraztsov, the following was the order of succession:

1. Sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc.
2. Brothers, brothers' sons, their successors.
3. Father's brothers, father's brothers' sons, their successors.

In each group, the division was equal, subject to the

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[120] Izraztsov, 5.

428 will of him who made the bequest. The inheritance passed to the second category if the first died without issue, then to the third if the second was not filled, and so forth.[121]

428 596 It is of importance to note that the inverse order of succession, namely, brothers before sons, was not the case. And it is difficult to see how this could possibly have been: the estate included not only real, but intangible property as well, and with its control was correlated a great amount of authority. Now if brothers quarreled, and they often did, then they would split up. If an estate descended fraternally before passing to the next succeeding generation, this would mean that the locus of authority was always on the verge of moving off. Such an unstable situation could be envisaged, but it would also necessitate certain corrective or compensatory measures in order to lessen the friction which might thus arise; still no such measures are found in Kazakh society. In general, among the Kazakhs, the Kara-Kirgis, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and other steppe societies of Asia, the line of descent passed to the son, and failing a son it passed to the closest collateral line, whether that of the brother or that of the brother's son.

601 428 In addition to the evidence, both positive and negative, and the comparative material from other societies,

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[121] Ibid., 11.

62) the greater degree of concentration in the winter. Radlov has given the etymology of aul from agyl, enclosure,
[103] cognate with the Mongol ayil. The Mongol ayil was indeed a circle, according to the descriptions of Shchapov for the Buryats, Pozdneev for the Khalkha Mongols, and Vladimirtsov for the Mongols of earlier times. That of the Little Horde Kazakhs and of the Turkmen, their neighbors to the south, had apparently opened out; the same is true of the Kalmuk nomadic village.

The Family in the Little Horde

596 The data bring out a number of features shared by the Little Horde families with other Kazakh and Turco-Mongol groups. The family was agnatic, it was patrilocal in residence, and it was of the extended family type, that is, the family into which one was born was the same as that which one procreated on marriage. The extended family had a personality before the law, it extended beyond the life span of any individual member, and in general conforms with the conception of the corporate structure which has already been advanced here, apud Maine, Weber, and Fortes. The family was the unit of economic production and consumption, and it was the unit of production of children. It could become the unit of nomadic movement if it was identical with a village. Otherwise, as we have seen, the village is the unit of nomadic movement.

[Little Horde]

583 If a man really abducted a daughter from her family, his family was required either to furnish a daughter in exchange from its own midst or from among the closely related families, or to pay a full kalym for her. If the girl herself was returned after the abduction, an indemnity was imposed on the family of the abductor, since the girl could no longer command a full kalym.[202] Abduction for cause, however, such as delay in surrendering the bride after the kalym had been paid in full, could not be punished.[203] The requirement of the full kalym for an abduction was in itself a kind of imposition of an indemnity, for it placed a great economic burden on a family which ordinarily demanded years to get rid of, an indemnity which in the case of an unlawful abduction had to be paid in a short term.

596 602 From the data on the payment of the kalym,[1] it may be seen that the family was patriarchal in authority, patrilineal in descent, and patrilocal in residence. There is a certain amount of evidence that the family of the groom paid a psychic capital in the form of prestige and respect to the family of the bride, in addition to the material goods which exchanged hands. The taboo on face-to-face contact between the youth and his pro-

[202] Balliusek, 82.

[203] Ibid., 79-80.

1 [Cf. especially, cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 477 ff. -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

596 spective wife's elder male kin is but one aspect of
602 this respect relationship, another being that of the function of the go-between, and the initiation of the betrothal proceedings by the family of the groom, who came as supplicants for the daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, a family did not wish to have daughters, it desired sons, even though it might gain some prestige
[181] by marrying the daughters off. The emphasis on sons[1] is a correlate of the patrilineal orientation of the entire society, its patri-centrism in values.

595 The Kazakh family of the Little Horde, as elsewhere on the steppe, was polygynous if it could afford to be. On the Mangyshlak peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century it was estimated that 50 percent of the marriages were monogamous and the other 50 percent consisted of two wives, although the Kazakhs were permitted as many as five in theory. The motivation for seeking a second wife was accounted to be childlessness[204] and is exemplified in the proverb, "The more mares the more colts."[205] The Kazakhs were fully aware that the solution of one problem, the need for children, precisely, male issue, in turn raised another issue, that of possible conflict between the wives. The wives therefore were kept in separate tents;[206] again, a man rarely married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[2]

[204] Karutz, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42.

[205] Altynsarin, 103.

[206] Karutz, loc. cit.

[1] [cf. especially, cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 478 -- Analyst]
[2] [for text note cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 482 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

equal to that of the sons in the inže, her share taking the form of a dowry or marriage portion.[219] Unfortunately, it is nowhere corroborated that the inže was of recent date (as of the year 1872), and the equal participation of the daughter was definitely limited to wealthy Kazakhs, who made a dotal settlement equal to the kalym they received for the daughter as a matter of prestige.

It is the ideal family situation which is here described: the wealthy family could afford to realize in practice the family ideal by maintaining the extended family unity. When the son was portioned off, he remained within the family enclave or aul, which was in turn identical with the extended family of the wealthy. For in such a case, the collateral lines, including father's younger brothers, and their sons, and their sons' sons, lived together with the father, his sons, and their families and offspring in one great community. When Pater Schmidt equates the Grossfamilie with the aul of the Kirgis-Kazakh, his equation can be accepted in the light of the considerations here entertained: that it relates to the ideal family, the sought-after family, the wealthy family.[220]

In the transmission of the property from one gen-

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[219] Idem.

[220] Schmidt, Eigentum, 187.

[Cf. cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, pp. 486-488--Analyst]

These descent lines formed the aristocracy, while the commoners were the estate of the kara sŭk. The distinction maintained by the end of the 19th century was no longer that of purity of descent in a particular line, but rather by wealth, between rich and poor Kazakhs.[243]

Aul and Family; Aul-Family in the Inner Horde

The lineage was composed of a number of auls whose members were agnatically related to each other more closely than to other members of the lineage. Where possible, a single extended family might form an entire aul of five to ten tents. Such an aul would be composed of a father, his married sons, their children, sometimes close collateral kin of the father, and if possible, four generations of patrilineal descent. This, however, was more often the case in the past than it was at the end of the 19th century, when sons had a greater tendency to break away on marriage--i.e., on being apportioned by the father. Authority in the aul passed to the eldest son on the death of the father. Authority was patriarchal except when, on the death of the father while the sons were still minor, the senior widow held the authority in trust, together with the entire estate, until the sons came of age.[244]

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[243] Ibid., 47, 52.

[244] Ibid., 110.

[Inner Horde]

621 596 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the aul, for the extended family, and in those cases, a fortiori, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The aul was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the kalym was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where [562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.

[Inner Horde]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 Divorce is reported as having been easy and fre-
596 quent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but
177.59 since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture con-
[591] tact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

621 we that it [1] preserved a number of features of a time We
177.62 when acculturation was less advanced, giving ground in others: the growth of farming and the administrative reshuffling by the Russians were the main acculturative influences, but there were other minor ones, in technology for instance, which were not without an effect on the kinship picture. The increase in the gathering and storage of hay[283] influenced the nomadic cycle of the still-pastoral Kazakhs, encouraging some to continue to be herders, lessening the scope of movement of others, factors closely bound up with kinship. On the other hand, the scythes, etc., necessary for mowing, had to be purchased from the Russians, making for an increase in commodity exchange, closer economic interaction with the Russians, and an acceleration of the acculturative process once again.

Family and Marriage

596 The Kazakh family in the 1920's was an extended family and as such continued to form the innermost of a series of concentric circles of kinship; like the next outer concentric circle, the nomadic village, and like the outermost, the lineage, it was founded on an agnatically related membership, it was patrilocal, patriarchal,

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[283] Ibid., 24.

[1] [i.e., the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs (Altai Kazakhs) --Analyst]

596 and valuistically oriented toward the need for sons, patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then; the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence reckoned in terms of the number of kinsmen came to play a subordinate role.[284] A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

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595 The factor of wealth determined not only the number of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,[285] although the Soviet regime sought half-heartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a laissez-faire policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two; there is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his <u>aul</u> had 13 tents in it, whereas the <u>aul</u> in these parts ranged between

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[284] Ibid., 66.

[285] Ibid., 67.

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for
[587] them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined
[587] by the aqsaqal.[64] A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.
[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.
[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.
[62] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40.
[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[leader of uru -- Analyst]

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[60] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Očerk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his 597
own offspring. Grodekov, however, remarks[26] that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme cir- 593
cumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."[27]

EXOGAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining 582
the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenshiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekov writes:[28]

> Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

> . . . among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating *zaq*" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekov's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law] . . . ."

[26] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[27] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 33.
[28] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 27.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61] [621]

permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbe, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15." 884 582

Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, let us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan. 618

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd). [848]

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

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Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption. 597

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

597 Touching the breast of the adoptive mother is a symbol that she considers the adopted one on an equal with her own children, whom she nursed, although she did not nurse him.

The adopted one is usually not considered as close as the true child, although he may gain more affection than the true children by his spiritual qualities and his services. The same can be said of adopted slaves.

When they wish to reject the adopted one, they give him an allotment only of inchi or only of kalym. In extreme cases it is enough to give him a horse for his departure. On the request of the adopted one, the aksakas may request the father not to reject his foster child without a serious offense (Perovsk uyezd). The adopted one, on his part, can always go away to his clan at any time.

The clan does not change through adoption, at any rate not now.

[582] According to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov, the adopted child (inchiles bala), coming from a clan and lineage with which marriage is permissible, can under no circumstances enter into marriage with those who have adopted him. This includes not only the family, but also the close relatives of this family. He is considered as a true son of the adopter and has a right to the name and the inheritance on an equal with the lawful children.

* * * *

429 After the death of the father, even though the mother is living, one of the close kinsmen takes the place of the father for the protection of the orphans (yetim), and the wards nomadize together with him.

This guardianship is not juridical but patriarchal, for which reason also there are rarely used words signifying the guardian: miraskhur, miras, mira(1), and according to Daulet Bushaev - vasy.

1. On hearing the word "mirasy" meaning "his guardian" they took the sy for a suffix and began to use "mira". Actually, the Arabic miras means inheritance, and miraskhur, the receiver of the inheritance. Among the Kazakhs these same words have received the meaning of guardian.

/39/ If no one remains alive in the tent but the successor, who is not of age, then he moves with all his property to the nearest kinsman (Perovsk uyezd). To this last kinsman other kinsmen come

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 660 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [577]

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (1861), 1893, pp. 513-514; Rasgaiev, 1879, pp. 234-237.
[2] Tsuzin, 1864, pp. 3-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 140-141.

607 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan 597 may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the [569] guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants [592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Hudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharusin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Imeretsov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

[Little Horde]

428 604 loses his rights as such. The same relationship, with its inherent conflicts, is found among the Kalmuks.[1] Another aspect of the problem is the unforeseeable nature of the baranta. It is not merely that the nephew comes silently and unbeknownst to the uncle to drive off his portion; it will also be recalled that marriage residence is patrilocal, and the brother may not reckon with the existence of a sister's son who appears from afar to demand what is his. Such a seizure may disturb whatever prior arrangements the nagaŷ may have made. An act of seusure is a violent act, and per se is disruptive of social peace. The entire relationship is a disharmony built in to the social structure.

428 The principle of apportionment to the elder sons during the lifetime of the father and that of ultimogeniture continued in force in the Little Horde at the turn of the century: "The inheritance on the death of the father goes to the unmarried sons still living in the paternal aul, or if all are married, to the youngest, who remains with the father. The elder married sons will have been established during the father's lifetime and have no more rights in his property."[222]

•577 Adoption was generally practiced among close kin alone,[223] which recalls the practice elsewhere of adoption

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[222] Karutz, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42; Karutz, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 113.

[223] Balliuzek, 96.

[1] [Cf. cat. No, AHI Mongolia, p. 274 ff. -- Analyst]

597 of deceased brother's children. Again, an affianced girl who has been orphaned may be raised by her father-in-law, who has an interest in her upbringing in view of the kalym already paid for her.[224] This is to be distinguished from adoption per se because, while it does mean the taking up of children not one's own, the female never becomes fully incorporated into her husband's family.

The Inner or Bukei Horde

101 177 The Horde named for Khan Bukei was the last such formation among the Kazakh hordes. It was formed in the year 1800 when some 1500 Kazakhs of the Little Horde crossed the New Cossack lines to occupy the steppe between the Ural River and the left bank of the Volga, a steppe left empty for a generation by the flight of the Kalmuks to China and occupied only by wild horses and saiga antelope.[225] The leader of the new horde, Khan Bukei, was encouraged to do so by the Russians, who were seeking to pacify the steppe, and the move was willingly undertaken by the Khan partly for financial considerations, and partly through fear of the internecine wars and raids on the steppe beyond the Ural River.[226]

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[224] Plotnikov, 124.

[225] Ivanin, 5-7.

[226] Ibid., 7-9.

113, 601 Kazak RQ2

/For data on kinship terminology among the Kazakh-Kirgiz, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 503-522./

113, 601 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of Kazak kinship terminology in the context of the Altaic steppe pastoralist systems generally, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 600-611.]

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.
597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

587

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf, below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

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601

The kinship terms in Kazakh:
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

4:Grodekov--29 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

601 Mother's elder brother - nagashi, nagashi ata (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Mother's younger brother - nagashi, nagashi aga (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Aunt, father's sister - apa (amma in Sart).
Aunt, mother's sister - nagashi yenge (khala in Sart).
Father's elder brother - ata, nemere ata (amake in Sart).
Father's younger brother - aga, nemere aga (amake in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger brother - nemere (dzhien in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger sister - dzien.
Nephew, grandson of brother - shubere.
Grandson, son's son - nemere.
Grandson, daughter's son - dzhien.
Cousin, father's brother's son - nemere.
Cousin, father's sister's son - dzhien.
Cousin, mother's younger or elder sister's son - bule (khalavacha in Sart).
Cousin, mother's elder or younger brother's son - nagashi.
Second cousin - shubere.
/32/ Wife's elder or younger brother's son, in relation to her husband's son - dzhien.
Husband - er, bai.
Wife, - khatyn. Among the Kirgiz ayash.
First wife. - biabishe.
Other wives - takal, kshi khatyn.
Spouse's father /svat/ - kuda.
Spouse's brother - kuda byla.
Spouse's sister - kudacha.
Spouse's mother - kudagai.
Groom - kuyau.
Bride - kalyndyk (koruktyk among the Kirgiz).
Sister-in-law, wife of the elder brother - yenge.
Sister-in-law, wife of younger brother - kelin, kelinchek.
Husband's older brother - kainaga.
Husband's younger brother - kain.
Husband's older sister - kain
Husband's younger sister - bikesh.
Husband of wife's older sister - yezde.
Wife's younger sister's husband - badzha.
Wife's older sister - kain bike.
Wife's younger sister - baldyz.

601

Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkun ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

* * * *

593

The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd. 593

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily 683 punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children.

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In a similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not subjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her husband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

For stealing from parents, children who have received their 593 allotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is 685 considered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. 593 562 [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an aul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.6 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
604 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

602 685 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 593 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

604 ●601 Important to note, although its fuller implications must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his dzion.[1/4] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk ze/dze) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

1/4 [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

604 601 nological usages on the one side and inheritance practices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the dzien relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilateral relations highlighted in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is only a seeming one, not real. The matrilateral relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

596 We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, was more likely to attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and kept its members together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conforms more closely to a corporate entity than does the poor one; it survives the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed, 596 671 however, to another criterion of the corporate entity: they were a single personality in the eyes of [illegible] mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the aksakal or bii stepped in only with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all.

428 will of him who made the bequest. The inheritance passed to the second category if the first died without issue, then to the third if the second was not filled, and so forth.[121]

428 596 It is of importance to note that the inverse order of succession, namely, brothers before sons, was not the case. And it is difficult to see how this could possibly have been: the estate included not only real, but intangible property as well, and with its control was correlated a great amount of authority. Now if brothers quarreled, and they often did, then they would split up. If an estate descended fraternally before passing to the next succeeding generation, this would mean that the locus of authority was always on the verge of moving off. Such an unstable situation could be envisaged, but it would also necessitate certain corrective or compensatory measures in order to lessen the friction which might thus arise; still no such measures are found in Kazakh society. In general, among the Kazakhs, the Kara-Kirgis, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and other steppe societies of Asia, the line of descent passed to the son, and failing a son it passed to the closest collateral line, whether that of the brother or that of the brother's son.

601 428 In addition to the evidence, both positive and negative, and the comparative material from other societies,

[121] Ibid., 11.

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601 there is a clear confirmation of the order of succession[1] in the kinship terminology. In fact, the close correlation with a particular--and relatively rare--application of the kinship terminology should become a classical case of a behavioral correlate of kinship terminology. In a manner parallel to that of the Kalmuks, brother's son and son's son bear the same term, the term in Kazakh being nemere.

604 428 The avunculate, the relations between mother's brother (nagaŷ) and sister's son (dźien), likewise played a role in the transmission of real property.[1] The latter could call on his maternal uncle for support in paying his bridewealth, for the payment of a debt, and so forth. If the maternal uncle failed to fulfill a socially recognized obligation, the dźien could effect a seizure on the stock of his nagaŷ's stock up to three times, and the nagaŷ had no basis for protest. If the dźien exceeded the three sanctioned seizures, only then could the nagaŷ tell him that he had forfeited the rights of a nephew.

604 428 Just as the nemere term has a definable social correlate, so does the dźien concept: both are related to the mode of acquiring a wife, transmitting inherited property, establishing respect and authority.

Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk

[1] [Cf. cat. 116 AH1 Mongolia, pp. 431-432 -- Analyst]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
525 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Hair. His horde because of its recent formation,* small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak sŭk, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak sŭk, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

[229] Ibid., 11.

*[i.e. in 1800; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 Another principle of social structure is illus-
619 trated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that
601 of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

[Inner Horde]

614 619 ●601 [177.61] where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan decline generally,[1] as part of the acculturation picture, are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 561 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is: the ak sŏk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a genealogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

[177. 56]

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[240] Kharusin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 Divorce is reported as having been easy and fre-
596 quent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but
177.59 since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture con-
[591] tact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

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[247] Ibid., 108-111.

[248] Ibid., 108.

[249] Ibid., 110.

[250] Idem.

201 respects from the terminology of other Turkic-speaking peoples, such as the Bashkir, but on the other hand, corresponds closely to the fragments we have of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turkic system, and to the Kalmuk. In addition to the general patrilineal principle at work, Kazakh terminology shares the following features with the Orkhon Turkic: in the ascending paternal line, separate terms for Fa and Fa Br (Orkhon term for Fa Yo Br is unreported); the same term for Fa Br and for Ol Br; distinctions between Fa and Fa Fa. In the descending patriline: common terms for So So and for Br So; distinction between So and So So (contrary to Bashkir, for example). It is interesting that while Orkhon Turkic has the same term for Br So and So So, and the principle of identifying the two has remained the same in Kazakh, yet the etymologies are different: Orkhon Turkic aty, Br So and So So; Kazakh nemere idem. Features relative to terms for female patrilineal kin shared by Kazakh and Orkhon Turkic are: Fa Si and Ol Si are called by the same term in both, but again the terms used are different: Orkhon Turkic, ikä; Kazakh, apa. On the other hand, terms for Da and for Yo Si are etymologically identical. For the rest, all we can determine is that both systems, Orkhon and Kazakh, have a term for spouse's Fa, combining thus Wi Fa and Hu Fa, and that

•601 the terms are etymologically related: Orkhon kadyn, Kazakh kain (ata). The only other affinal terms, Da Hu and So Wi, are etymologically related in Orkhon and Kazakh. On the other hand, the Orkhon collective term, kälindn, wife's kin, is not found in Kazakh.[251]

The basic features of the Kazakh system of nomenclature, those which are invariant from horde to horde, are the following: In the parental generation, the terminology is of the bifurcate collateral type, with separate terms for Fa, Fa Br, and Mo Br; separate terms for Mo, Mo Si, and Fa Si. In ego's own generation, the cousin terminology is of the Omaha type, with separate terms for each cousin, Fa Br Ch, Fa Si Ch, Mo Br Ch, and Mo Si Ch, all distinct from sibling terms. In a manner identical with Omaha terminology, Fa Si So and Si So are terminologically equated, as are Fa Br So and Br So. On the other hand, the term for Mo Br So is that which is given to the maternal kin generally. Again, at least in the Great Horde, the term for Fa Br So is the same as that for Br So and So So; and the term for Fa Si So is likewise extended to Si So and Da So. There are separate terms for each patrilineal forebear, to the fourth ascending generation, and separate terms

[251] The sources for the Orkhon and Yenisei terms have been given above, footnote 24. Sources for Kazakh terms generally are: Radlov, Opyt Slovaria; Balakaev, et al; for the Great Horde: Grodekov, 30-33; for the Middle Horde, Rudenko (1930), 58-61.

for descendants for two generations. The fraternal collateral line generally bears the same terms, but down-graded a generation, as the direct descending line. That is, Br So is terminologically equated with So So. Now this feature is the converse of the reservoir system noted in Yap for the parental relation[252] and acts as a reservoir for descendants; it not only correlates with the customary form adoption, that of Br So adoption, but also correlates with the highest value of Kazakh and other steppe society, the supplying of male descendants for the continuity of the line. Every one of these features, without exception, is shared with the Kalmuk terminology, and more common traits will be discussed directly. Kazakh and Kalmuk societies possess a uniform structure, contrasting with the rest of the Mongol world and contrasting likewise with other parts of the Turkic world, such as Bashkir, Chuvash, Uzbek, Urianhai, Yakut, Osmanli societies, each one of which in turn is different from the others.

Kazakhs and Kalmuks do not merely share a terminological system, they have a number of specific patterns of kinship behavior in common.

Paternal Kin Terms

In the direct ascending paternal line, separate terms exist up to the fourth generation:

[252] Schneider, 220, 224.

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Fa Fa Fa Fa	tub ata
Fa Fa Fa	ul ata
Fa Fa	ul ake
Fa	ake[253]

Another series of the same kinship terms is:

Fa Fa Fa Fa	ekeśinin ekeśi
Fa Fa Fa	argy ata
Fa Fa	ata or ulken ata
Fa	eke[254]

In both cases the number of generations is the same, and certain terms are common to both, either identically or in dialectal variation: ata and ake/eke. Moreover, a syntactic device in counting generations is common to both. The Middle Horde series starts with a basic morpheme and mounts a generation by preposing ul; mounts another generation with another morpheme, ata, preposing the same ul; and mounts to the fourth generation by retaining the morpheme ata, preposing tub to it. In the 1946 general Kazakh series, the basic morpheme is eke; the father of eke is ata or ulken ata; Fa Fa Fa has the same morpheme, ata, with argy proposed to it; Fa Fa Fa Fa is a duplication of the morpheme ekeśi; -nin is the

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[253] Rudenko, op. cit., 58. This vocabulary was collected in the Middle Horde in the 1920's.

[254] Balakaev, s.v. prapraded, praded, ded, otets. This is a general Kazakh dictionary published in 1946, with no notation of dialectal differences.

genitive form, ekeǰinin, literally grandfather of. -si is a postfixed generation counter on the root-morpheme eke, Fa: ekeǰinin ekeǰi. An alternative form for Fa is ata, an alternative for Fa Fa is baba.

The term for Fa Ol Br in the Middle Horde is ulken aga, and is distinguished from Fa Yo Br, aga. The differentiation between paternal uncles by seniority was made by all variants in the Kazakh terminological system. In the Great Horde, Fa Ol Br is ata or nemere ata, and Fa Yo Br is aga or nemere aga. The term ulken generally indicates a senior position when applied to a given kinship term, specifically to Fa Fa, Fa Ol Br, etc.

The term for Ol Br is the same as that for Fa Yo Br, aga; Yo Br is ini.

Fa Mo is ase; Fa Si is apa, and this is the same term for Ol Si. Yo Si is differentiated according to whether a man is speaking or a woman; m.s. karyndaš, w.s. sipli. The terms for female paternal kin are fewer than those for males, a reflection of the greater weight attached to males in the kinship system and value orientations of the Kazakhs generally. Symmetrically with the terms for men, however, Ol Si is up-graded a generation, just as Ol Br; Ol Si is differentiated from Yo Si; a distinctive feature of the sister terms is the differentiation by sex of speaker in the case of Yo Si.

The term for So is ul, and that for child (also

601 used for So) is bala.

A matter that calls for further analysis is the cousin terminology. The term for Fa Br So is nemere, differentiated as Fa Br Ol So, nemere aga, and Fa Br Yo So, nemere ini. Fa Br Ol So and Fa Yo Br bear the same term. The term nemere is also applied to Br So and So So, and thus applies to all those who stand eligible to receive the patrimony, real and intangible, of the family; more important, this group of kin, called by the same term, form a unit which ego looks to for maintenance of the paternal line. If the direct line fails, others stand as a reserve of kin to maintain it. This is the outer limit of the extended family, together with those more closely related in the paternal line as a corporate unit. Within this group the junior levirate is practiced.

601 428 The Fa Si So is dźien, and the term is extended to include Si So and Da So. Above we have seen the limited rights enjoyed by the dźien in the property of his Mo Br, from whom he was legally permitted to rustle livestock up to three times; beyond this number, the nephew forfeited the rights of a dźien. The rights of the dźien were associated with some kind of forced or violent act. Moreover, the rights of the uncle were protected by supplying him with a formula which effectively was a quitclaim from the viewpoint of the nephew. Implied here

601 is a certain amount of tension, of dysnomie: if a system is functioning smoothly, there is no need of force and formulae for the containment or limitation of that force.
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The rights of the Si So in the estate of the Mo Br go beyond the strictly agnatic system of relationships. The Si So and Da So relationships are cognatic, for they bring in relationships to the kinship system which exist through the mother.

The right to share in an estate in an agnatically related society is asserted by demonstrating descent from the father or the paternal grandfather; these are patrimonial rights. The system of rights shared by the Kalmuks and the Kazakhs, however, are established through descent from either grandfather, paternal or maternal, although in a greater proportion from the Fa Fa than from the Mo Fa. This is an expression of the mode of transmission of the property rights. From the viewpoint of the kinship terminology, however, a totally different problem emerges: it will be recalled that the cousin system of the Kazakh is of the Omaha type; that is, there are separate terms for paternal parallel, paternal cross, maternal parallel and maternal cross cousins; and there is the distinctive feature of Omaha cousin terminology, Fa Si Ch bears the same term as Si Ch, dzien. But the variation on Omaha is that the term dzien has

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the same scope as the term nemere; both are symmetrical in the system: nemere designates Fa Br So, Br So, and So So; dŭien designates Fa Si So, Si So, and Da So.

There are rights which the nemere possesses in succession and inheritance. The dŭien relationship likewise has important social correlates, including rights in the estate of the Mo Br and the Mo Fa and in the direct descent line of these matrilateral kin, notably the Mo Br So. The extension of the dŭien term and its delimitation is a function of a new concept in Kazakh and Kalmuk social structure: the key relationship of consanguinity is kinship through a common grandfather; those who call ego dŭien, are his Mo Br, his Mo Fa, his Mo Br So; they are all his cognatic kinsmen. In turn, ego calls them all nagaŭ, with certain qualifiers.

By what change in structural principle or practice can a social system remarkable for the purity of its patrilineality submit to changes predicated both in terminology and in kinship behavior, on a cognatic principle, whereby descent through the father as through the mother validates a given right, claim, or obligation? On the terminological side, the kin through the Fa Si are singled out as distinct referents, with specific terms in Kalmuk and Kazakh alone; such is not the case in Bashkir, in Uriankhai, in Ordos, in Classical Mongol, etc. In these systems there is no term for the paternal cross cousin; we have the specific statement in Ordos (q.v.)

601/ that this individual or these individuals are simply not reckoned as kin.[1] Therefore the Omaha system on the Asiatic steppe is found in such societies as the Kalmuk and Kazakh alone.

An explanation may be sought in shifts in marriage rules. Let us assume that at one time a preferred form of marriage was that with the matrilateral cross cousin. In such a case a boy's family could turn to the Wi Br, i.e., the boy's Mo Br, and ask him to supply a daughter as the boy's wife. This implies a constant flow of women in one direction, from Clan B (or Exogamic Unit B) to Clan A (or Exogamic Unit A), for the mother and the wife both would then come from the same clan, a different one from ego's own clan. Such a state of affairs is hinted at in the Secret History, when Chingis Khan's father, Yesügei Bagatur, states that he is going to seek a wife for his son among the son's mother's kin. It need not necessarily have been the Mo Br Da, and certainly Chingis Khan did not call all the men of the mother's clan in the mother's generation by the term for Mo Br. But let us assume that Yesügei Bagatur actually set out to obtain a wife for his son from the family of his wife's brother, and that this was the aboriginal condition.

In fact we need not make any such assumptions. We have a report on the Kirgiz (whether Kazakh-Kirgiz or Kara-Kirgiz is not stated) of the Altai Mountain region that "Marriage with kin through the mother is the most

1/ [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 186 ff. --Analyst]

60! to be preferred. The sister's son may marry the brother's daughter...while the tai-eke (Mo Ol Br) is obliged to give him his daughter without bargaining or requiring a kalym."[255] That is, the Mo Br is not supposed to require a brideprice for his Da. Among these Kirgis further aspects of the avunculate are: the Mo Br helps the Si So in marriage and after; he helps pay the kalym for the Si So. In turn, the Mo Br is given special and respectful treatment at the wedding, at feasts and sacrifices, etc.[256] In other words, he gains prestige, a part of his psychic capital, a return for his role in either supplying a daughter of his own, or helping to pay the kalym in finding another woman as wife for the Si So.

These data fit the set of assumptions made above. Returning to the assumptions, the only step in reasoning that remains is the hypothesis that the Mo Br helps to pay the kalym because he is not supplying his daughter as wife for the Mo Br. If there is preferred matrilateral cross cousin marriage and the Mo Br Da is not forthcoming, then the avuncular obligation of Mo Br to Si So, in helping with the kalym, is substituted. This is arguing post hoc ergo propter hoc, but in support is

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[255] Dyrenkova, 15; quoted in Starynkevich, 217. Original not available in this country.

[256] Starynkevich, op. cit., 218.

the linguistic evidence: the nomenclatural system in which there is no term for Fa Si Ch (and the idea that he or she is not kin) is earlier chronologically than the Omaha variant on the steppes of Asia.

The final stage in this historical reconstruction is again fully supported by fact: the mutual obligation to help in paying the kalym and the payment of respect in return by the dźien disappears. There remains only the negative form of the avunculate, the claim of the Si So on the Mo Br, to an extent limited by law. And this nonreciprocal obligation has brought about the shift to a cognatic principle in the transmission of property. The Si So is not obligated in return to pay respect to the Mo Br; the Mo Br is not obligated to supply a daughter as wife to the Si So. Hence the disharmony between the two, and the reluctant participation of the Mo Br.

Viewed from still another angle, the daughter has a right to share in the patrimony of her father, not, it is true, in her own right, but as a mother she is the specific medium whereby her son may assert his claim in the estate of the Mo Fa. He does this by establishing the right to make seizure in the estate of the Mo Br. Thus the inheritance practice that corresponds to the identification of Si So and Da So in terminology is accounted for; and likewise the social relationship that corresponds to the terminological identification of Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So. Finally, since property is

60/ still transmitted in the main agnatically, and the claim is not against the estate of the Mo Br specifically, but against all those called nagaŝy, including Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So, then by reciprocity, the dŝien relationship and attendant claim is extended from the Si So and Da So to the Fa Si So, for he calls the Mo Br So nagasy, and the nagaŝy calls him dŝien.

In all the foregoing, only one assumption has been made which was not directly an expression of fact, or immediately demonstrated by fact; namely, that the contribution to the kalym made by the Mo Br was in lieu of supplying a daughter as wife to the Si So. However, this line of reasoning as a possible explanation for two systematic shifts, in terminology and in behavior, can be correlated with each, point for point, in the nemere-dŝien relation as well as in the dŝien-nagaŝy relation. It is founded both in chronology and typology, and above all is a systematic phenomenon. Finally, it may be used to account for certain anomalies, such as the present (19th century) use of force in the dŝien-nagaŝy relations to obtain the wherewithal for a kalym. This is at once culture-history and structural history--the history of the change in social structure, which can be tied to specific eras in time. Thus we can say that the Omaha system, and these cognatic relationships, are post-15th century phenomena; that matrilateral cross cousin marriage as a preferred form precedes them in time, and

604 survives into the 20th century in certain areas of the Kirgis-Kazakh world.

The son of nemere is called sübere, that is, Br So Ch and So So Ch. By this means, the direct and the collateral descent lines are terminologically identified for still another generation. The same kinship logic extends to both: the collateral line is implicitly recognized as a potential replacement for the direct line; the descendant in the direct line is up-graded a generation to make this identification possible. Linguistically, there is exemplified a fragmentary instance of a phenomenon which is systematically carried out among the Buryat, the Ordos and other terminological schemes. -ere designates a given line of descent, ne-, ně- are counters of generations in this line. The desinence is actually -bere/-mere, because of the alternation b/m, of which numerous instances exist in intervocalic position, e.g., omok/obok, clan.

Maternal Kin Terms

The female kin in the paternal line are not marked by a wealth of terms or of internal differentiation, and neither are the kin in the mother's line. The ascending line of the mother's male ancestors is designated by the same terms as the father's line, with the classifier of maternal kin set before; this is reported solely of the

601 Middle Hordo:

Mo Fa Fa Fa nagaǐy tub ata

Mo Fa Fa nagaǐy ul ata

Mo Fa nagaǐy ul ake or nagaǐy ata.

Mo El Br is nagaǐy ata; Mo Yo Br is nagaǐy aga. Mo Br So is called simply nagaǐy, i.e., by the term for maternal kin in general, and by the collective term for maternal kin. The maternal parallel cousin term is a reciprocal designation found throughout the steppe, bile; children of sisters, just as the maternal parallel cousins, are considered especially close; no behavioral correlate is reported for the maternal parallel cousin term.

The Mo Mo term is nagaǐy ǐeǐe; Mo is ǐeǐe. Mo Si is nagaǐy enge, in keeping with the bifurcate collateral terminology for parents' siblings.

Affinal Kin Terms: Spousal Kin

The general term for spouse's kin is kain, which is applied both to the wife's and the husband's kin.

The term for Hu is er; the term kuyeu is also used, and is applied both to Hu and Da Hu; it is possible that in the case of er, it is the woman who is speaking, and in the case of kuyeu, it is a man; but there is no clear indication of this. It also is possible that er is a term of address, and kuyeu a term of reference.

The term for Wi is katyn generally; the chief Wi is

601 baibitše, all other wives are tokal/takal (dialectal variants). The term tokal is applied to all younger women (junior to me) who marry in to my kin group, a phratrogamic term.

Spouse's Fa is kain ata; alternately, Wi Fa is called kain aga, literally, affinal El Br. Spouse's El Br is called also kain aga. Spouse's Mo is kain ana/kain ene (dialectal variants); spouse's El Si is called kain bike.

The parents of the spouses have a set of terms which are not only symmetrical (applied equally to Hu kin and to Wi kin) but reciprocal as well: the user of the term has it applied to himself in turn. The general term for parents of spouses is kuda: this is applied to So Wi Fa, Da Hu Fa, So Wi Mo, and Da Hu Mo. In the Great Horde, the term kudagai is used reciprocally by So Wi Mo and Da Hu Mo. Again in the Great Horde, the sons of one called kuda are kuda bala/byla (So Wi Br and Da Hu Br) and the daughters of kuda are called kudatša (So Wi Si and Da Hu Si).

At this point the symmetry in spousal terminology ceases; other affinal terms are applied only to either Hu kin or to Wi kin, not to both. The wife's senior male kin are called ulken uy (literally, senior generation). There is a single term for Wi Yo Sibling, baldys. Wi Fa Br Da is enge, a term also designating Wi Fa Yo

601 Br Wi. In the case of baldyz (Wi Yo Si) and enge (Wi Fa Br Da), we know that women who bear this term are sought in marriage if the wife should die, either before or after the wedding, or if the Wi kin for any reason fails to bring forward the affianced girl.

The wife addresses the Hu kin by the same terms that he uses to his own kin, with the prefix kain. Thus, in addition to the symmetrical usages of kain mentioned above, the Wi calls Hu Yo Br kain ini, Hu Yo Si kain sipli, etc.

Affinal Kin Terms: Phratrogamic Kin

The phratrogamic kin are those kin who are acquired through the marriage of consanguineal kin. Si Hu and Da Hu are both called kuyeu, and this terminological equation is symmetrical with the equation of So Ch and Da Ch, both dźien. There is one term for son-in-law's brother and daughter-in-law's brother, i.e., So Wi Br and Da Hu Br; both are kuda bala/ kuda byla, the child of kuda, literally, child's spouse's parent's child. Si Hu is further differentiated as Ol Si Hu ezde, and Yo Si Hu, badźa, which is symmetrical with the distinction made between Ol Si and Yo Si. Another term for Si Hu in general is badźa.

There is some dialectal variation in the term for Ol Si Hu: the term in the Great Horde is dźezde; in the

601 Middle Horde it is ezde. Among the spousal kin terms, baldyz Wi Yo Si was mentioned. Those who call each other baldyz and dĕezde/ezde, and who are therefore in the relationship of Wi Yo Si and Ol Si Hu respectively, are an eligible marriage pair if the Ol Si of the one who is the Wi of the other should die. A man cannot marry sisters while either of them is alive; sororal polygyny or the sororate is strictly tabooed. But inasmuch as a marriage is a contract between families and not between individuals, the family of a deceased betrothed girl or of a wife who dies in the early years of her marriage undertakes to find a substitute, who is usually the deceased girl's sister, provided the latter is not already bespoken. This modified sororate is the concept which underlies the relationship of baldyz and dĕezde/ezde, and corresponds to the distinction in western society between digamy which is permitted and bigamy or polygamy which are forbidden.

El Br Wi is dĕesir; Yo Br Wi and So Wi are both kelin. There is one term for son-in-law's sister and daughter-in-law's sister, i.e., So Wi Si and Da Hu Si, both are kudatŏa, the daughter of kuda, literally, child's spouse's parent's daughter.

The woman is called tokal/takal by all her husband's senior kin, a term also used for the junior wives of a polygynous household; generally it means younger women

601 marrying in. However, the wife is called kelin by the Hu Ol Br and by the Hu Fa, that is, by males senior to the husband within the extended family. Thus there is a differentiation between junior female phratrogamic kin, depending on whether the consanguineal unit is the lineage and village or whether it is the extended family whose members apply the relevant term. The term kelin pairs with the term dżesir, Ol Br Wi, the wife of a man senior to ego within the extended family. Inasmuch as the wife is called dżesir by Hu Yo Br, the pairing kelin/dżesir has a bearing on the practice of the junior levirate. Marriage with a woman who is in the relation of kelin is taboo; marriage with a woman who is in the relation of dżesir is precisely the practice of the levirate, for the latter is a woman che may marry on her husband's death; he is the elder brother.

Adoptive Kin Terms; Terms Used on Remarriage

Adoptive kin terms and those of the adopted are the same as consanguineal terms; the fiction of assumed kinship as real is complete.

On remarriage of either parent, outside the practice of the junior levirate, the term ügei (literally, no, not, negative) is put before the step-kinship involved. Thus, Step-Fa is ügei ata; Step-Mo ügei sese; Step-So ügei ül; Step-Da ügei kys; Step-child ügei bala.

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dzuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

61 565 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line of common descent through the father is sdök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among
619 the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Klata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the
614 genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŭŭk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

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[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 524-526--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

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I	Naiman	VIII	Oletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekzhardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Boranchy	XII	Bem
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	M. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylized manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, M. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous plan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; M. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

[1] [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman, cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]

601 614 genealogies of these people compiled by outstanding investigators in the past, Aristov and Tynyshpaev. According to Tynyshpaev, Ergenekti had two sons, Kekzhardy and Karatai, whereas Samoilovich reports them respectively as father, son and grandson. Above we have seen that in Kazakh kinship nomenclature, Fa Ol Br may bear the same term as Fa Fa, ata; and Fa Yo Br may bear the same term as Ol Br, aga. There is thus really no contradiction between Tynyshpaev and Samoilovich; it is solely a matter of what the end in view of the genealogist was, and which generation he took as his point of reference. Let us consider first the generation reference point: assuming that Kekzhardy was senior and Karatai the cadet; in this case, the son of Karatai, Boranchy, would call Kekzhardy ata regardless of whether he was his Fa Ol Br, i.e., Karatai's Ol Br, or Karatai's Fa, i.e., Boranchy's Fa Fa. This is viewed from the standpoint of the next descending generation, i.e., from Karatai. Assuming, on the other hand, that Karatai was senior and Kekzhardy the cadet, Karatai would have been called aga by Kekzhardy; likewise, Karatai's son, Boranchy, would have called Kekzhardy aga, Fa Yo Br, so that the denotation of the term would coalesce from the viewpoint of the generation succeeding Boranchy. This telescoping and expanding of the genealogy ad libitam is made possible by the intricate

601 614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), süök, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the süök were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The süök might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the süök corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

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[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

1 [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. --Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sügk, of the byr top.[265]

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
●601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the džien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

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[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Analyst]

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one of the uezdy is the Karkaralinsk, occupied in the main by the Shorkarakesek lineage, and with a minority from another lineage, the Karaul. These Karaul members are settled likewise in three other uezdy. Now the descent is still agnatic primarily, and residence is patrilocal. Nevertheless, one of the Karaul sub-lineages reckoned its descent through the daughters of the sub-lineage founder, one Botyshor, and are known as the Botyshor dźien (Botyshor's daughter's sons). They live among the Karaul lineage, not among their patrilineal kinsmen who would have been Botyshor's kuyeu (Da Hu). These dźien nevertheless preserved their patrilineal affiliations, at least in the reckoning of kinship.[266]

Significantly, group membership is determined now by administrative district in which one dwells or one's group dwells. This in itself has had the consequence of extending the dźien relationship to a field where it had not been remarked before: in addition to various functions related to inheritance and the distribution of the parental estate, and to the paying of the kalym or bridewealth, the dźien relation is now seen to be a means for establishing residence, descent, the occupation of common pasturage, etc. A sub-lineage such as the Botyshor dźien asserted their right through kinship with the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

[266] Rudenko, op. cit., 59.

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same district with, their cognatic kinsmen. This does not mean that descent has come to be traced bilaterally; it is necessary to differentiate, for the purposes of this analysis, between bilateral and cognatic descent and kinship. Except for the lacuna of one generation, that necessary to establish the relationship with the Mo Fa line, descent is still reckoned patrilineally, and the dźien likewise maintain their own agnatic relationships; although how long the latter will survive if they are not closely correlated with actual functions is questionable. From all this, it may be concluded that the extension of the dźien relationship to the residence and pasturage unit is a consequence of acculturation, and not a spelling out of innate dynamics of Kazakh development. Nevertheless it is consonant with tendencies already set in motion, at least in the 19th century if not earlier, to assign ever wider functions to the dźien, a nonagnatic relationship.

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Lineages continued to change place of residence and fuse with other lineages in the 1920's, forming a sub-lineage sŭŏk among other component sŭŏk of a byr top (major lineage) and retain its original name. Thus, for instance, a group of Argun Kazakhs moved in among the Karatai byr-top of the Ergenekti ruu of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde. These Argun continued to be identified as such, that is, the sub-lineage which they now formed was known by that name, but they

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[p 640]

Kazakh-Kirgis Kinship Terms

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Ph Ph Ph Ph	tub ata (Middle Turks)	———	ebebizin ebei (Kazakh-Kirgis generally)
Ph Ph Ph	ul ata	———	argy ata
Ph Ph	ul abe "	———	ata or ulken ata "
Ph	abu "	———	abu "
			Ph Ne — ape
Se	Ul or bala		Ze — kyz
Se Se	ponere		
Se Se Se	ébere		
Ze Ol Br	ulken aga or senere ata		Ze Si — aga
Ze Te Br	aga or senere aga		
Ol Br	aga		Ol Br Vi — ébeir
Te Br	ini		Te Br Vi — bolin
			Se Vi — bolin
Ol Si	aga		Ol Si Ze — ede
Te Si	baryudaí (man sp.)		Te Si Ze — badin
Te Si	eigili (woman sp.)		Si Ze — bayes or badin
			Ze Ze — bayes
Ze Br Ch	senere		
Ze Br Ol Se	senere aga		
Ze Br Te Se	senere ini		
Br Se	senere		
Br Se Se	ébere		
Ze Si Ch	ділен		
Si Ch	ділен		
Ze Ch	ділен		
Ne Ph Ph Ph	nagaiy tub ata		
Ne Ze Ph	nagaiy ul ata		
Ne Ph	nagaiy ul abe or nagaiy ata		Ne Ne — nagaiy ape
Ne Ol Br	nagaiy ata		Ne Si — nagaiy aga
Ne Te Br	nagaiy aga		
Ne Br Ch	nagaiy		
Ne Si Ch	bile		
Ze	er or bayes		Vi — ketya
Se Ze	kain ata		Se Ne — kain ape
Se Ol Br	kain aga		Se Ol Si — kain bike
Ze Te Br	kain ini		Ze Te Si — kain eigili
Vi Te Si bi	baldyz		

Sexual Parts		Sexual Parts	
Se Vi Ze	kain (self-	Se Vi Ne	kainagai (reciprocal)
Ze Ze Ze	kain (reciprocal)	Ze Ze Ze	kainagai "
Se Vi Br	kain bala "	Se Vi Si	kainten "
Ze Ze Br	kain bala "	Ze Ze Si	kainten "
		Vi Ze Br Ze	aga

10: Kzader 8:4 (no date) 1953 AHl Mongolia

KAZAK RQ2

Kazakh-Kirgiz Kinship Terms 2.

*LD1

Agnatic kin	tuysqan
Descendants	tuiqyn
Close descendant	dzurugat
Descendants	uryn batak (collective)
Siblings	tuaban (Mkdlo Kerde)
Children	bala

Wl senior male kin ulken ag.

Clan	ysn
Lineage	kyz tay
Zone	[illegible]

[p. 641]

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Kazakh-Kirgiz Consanguineal System

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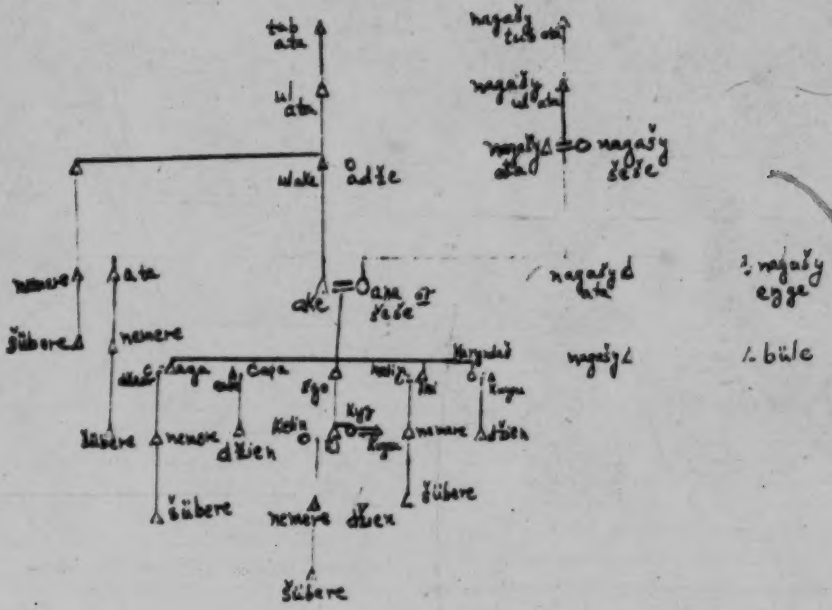
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KAZAK RQ 2

Kazakh-Kirgiz Affinal System

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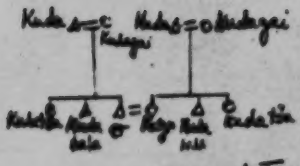
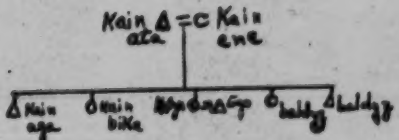


Spouses' Parents Terms (self-reciprocal)

Husband's Kin



Wife's Kin

[p. 651]

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples. 428

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans of different kinds of animals; savɨn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majɨn, the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride price. Such loans were made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[64] says that one hundred percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the animals. Dingelstedt[65] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the approximate wage of a shepherd. 426 602 [465]

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

[64] Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.
[65] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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ter-revolutionists" and "bourgeois historians" as the basis of a claim that "primitive communism" existed among the Kazak I must not permit myself to be led astray by them. Actually, he said, they were merely devices used by the ruling class to cloak their exploitation of the masses and hold them in subjection.

Both aspects of the relationship of client and patron must of course be borne in mind, and one must distinguish between the theory of uru solidarity and its practice. As regards the details of the debt relationship it is not unlikely that the making of loans for interest as a more or less business transaction was a comparatively recent development influenced by trade relations with the Central Asian commercial centers to the south and later with Russia on the north.

It is interesting to note as an indication of the advantageous position of the patron that if he himself became entangled in debts the amount was requisitioned from among his dependents. Grodekov mentions the practice of taking up a collection to pay the debts of a rich man.[66] Further aspects of the patron client relationship will be considered later in relation to class stratification.

[66] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

/27/ CHAPTER III.

602 Degrees of kinship. -The authority of the parents. -Age of majority. -The clan of the mother. -Adoption. -Guardianship. -Blood brotherhood.

An unknown person receives questions first of all about his clan (Ne el sen? Syuyaging ne?). If the inquirer is of the same clan, then he asks about the lineage, then the sublineage, etc., down to the group, after which the direct descending list of the ancestors begins. Each is supposed to know his ancestors. "He who does not know seven ancestors is a backslider," says the proverb (yete atasyn bil'megen murted). (1)These inquiries serve as a testimonial of the

1. We were able to ascertain more than once that even children aged 10-11 knew their seven ancestors exactly.

individual. Guests are received graciously or rudely on the basis of the recognized degree of kinship. Kinship is reckoned, as they say, to the fortieth degree.

618 Transfer from one clan to another is impossible, but living and nomadizing with a strange clan is permitted.

582 Marriages are concluded between hordes, clans, lineages, etc. to the seventh "ancestor", i.e., the seventh degree of kinship inclusively, by the male line (2), and in the opinion of several people, to

2. Matchmaking takes place when seven ancestors have passed (yete ata utkensong). If anyone has a love relationship with a person more closely related than this degree of kinship, he is banished from the society (yurttan chygarady). Communication of bii Khalmakhammed, Chimkent uyezd.

the fourth and even the third degree. Among the Kirgiz, according to the statement of bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, marriages are concluded to the fifth generation. At the present time, closer relatives marry, even from the second generation, for which they are reproached by the words: "You are spoiling the customary law." But they do not dissolve the marriage and do not impose a penalty. (3) Mullah Asan

3. In the Svanetiya "Even those whose kinship is reckoned at the twelfth degree cannot enter into marriage." (Vestnik Evropy, August, 1886).

concepts of stealing and brigandage. Urlyk is stealing or brigandage; ury is thief, robber and criminal in general, urlamak is to steal, tartyb, almak is to take away, to ransack. Theft accompanied by violence is not judged more severly than simple theft. 673

Among the Kirgiz, there is more severe prosecution of the theft of a considerable number of objects, for clear robbery and for taking away by force (bii Daniyar).

Robbery accompanied by violence occurs in the following forms among the Kazakhs: 674

1) The plundering of every kind of traveler: such as Sart merchants and travelers. It usually opens with /160/ a request for nasvay, tobacco, or with a double meaning, for that "which is in the belt."

2) Driving horses out of the herd at night.

3) The latest kind of robbery is asking for a ticket, the presentation of which is ignored, the declaration by the robber that he intends to rob, and frightening by various threats and charges, with the request to give this or that. The aim of these circumlocutions is to discover whether the traveler has any chances of defense or not. However, robbery by force is rarely accompanied by murder.

According to the reports of the biis Sultan and Khalmakhammed, it is permissible to rob or to kidnap and not to return the objects gained in the cases below: 602 685

1) The father and grandfather can rob from a son and grandson as often as desired, and as much property as desired. It is even possible to sell everything a son has. It is permissible also to sell the son into bondage, i.e., to surrender him into service for a year, and to spend the money received (balanyng uzin kyzmetke satyb zhese kham khallal').

2) A son can rob from his grandfather and father up to three times. The fourth time a fine is imposed.

3) A kinsman can rob another kinsman to the third degree of kinship (first cousins).

4) The dzhien asks his uncles (older and younger brothers of his father) for a gift, and if he does not receive it, he can rob them up to three times. If he steals too much, they take away the superfluous part from him, leaving him 1 or 2 heads of livestock. If he steals a horse which is a racer (bayge at) the uncle can demand its return in exchange for something else. If he steals for the fourth time, they tell him: "You have forfeited the rights of a nephew" (dzhien dikten ketting).

4:Grodekov--143 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•602 The wife who leaves her husband in a disagreement should not
685 take anything with her. This would be robbery.

Robbery is permissible between relatives more distant than the third degree, with the obligation of return in so far as possible in the following cases: a) for the payment of kalym. because the increase of descendants is /161/ a laudable affair; b) for the payment of a debt; c) in time of famine; d) for a necessary trip and for the pursuit of thieves. (1)

[626] 1. Sometimes when something is missing in a village they put a bakan (pole to raise the changarak/the hoop in the center of the tent top/ when putting up the tent) up in the middle of the village and ask the thief to place the missing object under the bakan, threatening otherwise to invite the mullah in to discover him. The mullahs have various devices for discovering a thief. They bake a flat cake, blow on it (dem salady), and give everyone a piece, and when the thief swallows his piece, he will choke on it. They put a bladder (kuuk) in the hand of everyone, in turn, and in the thief's hand it swells (kebedi). They blow on a metal pitcher, calling the names of everyone in turn. When the name of the thief is called, the pitcher begins to turn around.

685 Furthermore these same biis permit taking away a horse from a known thief who is setting out to steal, if there is proof of this. They add however, that ayb is paid if the horse is taken away without proof, even though it be from a man banished from the community for stealing or one deprived of good name (muttakham). Taking away game caught by an eagle is not robbery but is taking the "chiralga" gift by force; therefore they require it to be returned without ayb. If the taking of the game were done secretly, then it would be stealing, and ayb would be paid. Finally, it is permissible to steal in return for stealing, i. e., baranta.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the words of the honorable Kazakhs, Umbet Galiev and Nurman Sarchinov, of the Kazalinsk uyezd, that stealing from the son and from the father is not permitted. In general such an act results in punishment for the younger persons, and ayb or shaming before the village for the older.

674 Horse stealing is more predominant than stealing of other livestock because horses are easier to arouse (chapchan). It takes

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [609]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [154]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

"FAMILY RELATIONS"

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The organization of Kazakh society by kin groups, bound together by strong ties of blood relationship into disciplined and cooperative units, has both interfered with Soviet planning and increased the extent of Kazakh suffering. The resistance of one person involves all his relatives in the ensuing punishment. At the same time these large family groupings do not fit into the Soviet conception of social and economic organization. The Soviets have, in fact, an explicit policy against "family relations." This phrase has two meanings, one literal, the other figurative. Literally it means nepotism, the use of his position by a man in power to obtain a good post for a relative. Figuratively, it denotes personal relationships on the job, relationships which the Soviet regime feels may permit one person to cover up the failings of another, and which may even become conspiratorial.

In Kazakh society all action and decision take place within the framework of very literal "family relations," and this pattern inevitably is carried over into Soviet-sponsored activities. The bulk of the membership of a collective farm in Kazakhstan today is likely to comprise a single group of blood relatives, its leaders the older men of the group. This is particularly true of those areas in which herding remains important. The retention of kin group solidarity, where it has been permitted, has had two important effects. It has eased the adjustment of the Kazakhs to collectivization, while at the same time making possible maximum cooperation between collective farm members in covering up violations of Soviet directives and policy.

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The problem becomes even more acute when Kazakhs are drawn into industry and into the Party and government. They naturally try to surround themselves with their relatives. Paradoxically, Soviet policy has often tended to foster this tendency; political affiliation, like everything else among the Kazakhs, tends to be a family matter, and a willingness to cooperate with the Communists is confined to certain—usually a very few—families in a given locality. Yet, political (Communist) reliability is necessary for admission into governmental, Party, and technical fields. Hence if Kazakhs are to be utilized at all in these activities, the chances are good that many of them will be related, whether through deliberate nepotism or not. And with this go all the hazards the Soviets see in "family relations."

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SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

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In general, the Kazakhs participate only to a restricted degree in higher-level activities, particularly those which the Soviets feel are vital for the building and consolidating of the USSR—industry, transport, the Party, and government. There appear to be two reasons for this. The first is that the Slavs do not extend to the Kazakhs equal opportunity for training and advancement. Experiences reported by Turkic soldiers captured from mixed units in World War II suggest that they are generally looked upon as inferiors. Furthermore, in a society in which political

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times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

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However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

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The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

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These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

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During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 305 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [597]

[1]Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (106), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2]Ivanin, 1864, pp. 3-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 140-241.

biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2] Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3] Kharuzin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Izrastsov, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4] Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

642 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [408] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [600] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, [602] a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Ariatov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
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632 recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various auls, or persons belonging to different families, auls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 86, AH1 Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an <u>aul</u> generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the <u>bii</u> himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

596 could make no such allotment; the herd belonging to such a family was too small to allow for such a division.[98] Therefore it was held in common supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom allotment during the lifetime of the father was made on the occasion of the marriage of the son, lived and herded in common with his father.[99] Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated, for example, if one brother died without male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.[100]

The general position of the family in the social structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situation before the law. The criminal law of the Great Horde, as codified by Grodekov, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law; and to the private delict in the somewhat more cumbersome terminology

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[98] Ibid., 2; Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[99] Izraztsov, 3.

[100] Ibid., 70.

[Great Horde]

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of Radcliffe-Brown.[101] The rustling of cattle (baranta/ barymta) was permitted in the following circumstances, according to information received by Grodekov from the biis of the Great Horde:

1. By the son from the father, or the son's son from the grandfather, regardless of how many times or how much property was involved. On the other hand, the father had the right of seizure of the entire property of the son; the father had the right to indenture his son for annual terms, and the money thus earned was applied to the father's estate, i.e., the family property.

2. Stealing between sons of brothers could not be punished:

3. The sister's son might request aid from the uncles (mother's brothers). If this aid was not forthcoming, the sister's son (dźien) might make up to three seizures on the property of the mother's brothers. If he made seizure beyond that number of times, the difference was taken away from him. If he should steal a courser, the maternal uncle might require a return of like value. If the sister's son stole a fourth time, the maternal uncle might tell him: "Thou losest the rights of a nephew."

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4. Among kin related beyond the third degree (those with a common father's father), seizure was permitted, with the obligation to repay, however, as soon and as

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[101] Durkheim, Division of Labor, 112 ff; Radcliffe-Brown, Primitive Law.

[Great Horde]

602 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for
685 payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be
593 directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

604 Important to note, although its fuller implications
601 must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his dzien.[1] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk zē/dzē) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

[1] [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

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Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

671 602 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

[154] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[155] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

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was made in Kazakh legal practices. A number of distinctions likewise existed in the punishments for taking a life. No provision was made for repressive punishment, the only practice known was restitution if it was determined that a wrong had been committed. The penalty involved was the payment of a whole or a part of a kun or wergeld. The basic kun, mentioned above, was 200 baital (baital is a horse in good condition, or the equivalent). This might vary somewhat; for example, the kun in the vicinity of what is today Alma Ata was 200 horses, 100 sheep, and a camel, or roughly 225 baital (five sheep equalled one baital, a camel equalled five baital) toward the end of the 19th century. The taking of a woman's life, other than one's wife, required the payment of half a kun.[156]

If a man was killed in a fight or in a raid, only a partial kun was paid. Of significance to the kinship system in relation to the criminal proceedings is the fact that there was always voluntary aid by the kin of a murderer, even if the murderer were wealthy, and could afford the amount himself. On the other hand, if the murderer and his kin could not make up the sum among them, wider circles of kinsmen were called in, contributing in proportion to the degree of closeness of kinship,

[156] Israatsov, 12.

681 provided the man was of good standing in his community.[157]
602 If the sum could not be made up by these means, it was
613 made up by giving the daughter in marriage to a descendant of the victim, provided the daughter was not yet betrothed. It was stated, although how much meaning may be attributed to it is far from clear, that the making over of from two to four daughters could stand in lieu of a kun.[158]

The implication of such payments and the participation of the kin involved is that it is one lineage which is indemnifying another lineage for the loss of a member. The fact that a daughter could be given in partial quittance of a wergeld indicates that the offending lineage recognized that it had endangered the continuity of another and the daughter offered was a means of meeting that danger. The Turks of the Orkhon-Yenisei, it will be recalled, offered a daughter in payment for the putting out of an eye; it is possible that this practice had a similar meaning.

The recipient of the wergeld, i.e., the injured lineage, distributed it in a significant fashion: on receipt of the full amount, the kin of the victim (the sub-lineage as a rule) took one-half, which it further

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[157] Ibid., 13.

[158] Ibid., 14.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
•602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [on the bii, cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

622 guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be re-
602 quired to support him in the payment of the indemnity.
695 Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after
613 the Russian conquest, and represents a certain harden-
177. ing of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this harden-
69 ing was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh
177. society in the previous era. The power of the bii's de-
69 cree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up
695 by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system,
602 a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. We may observe how considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and how legal data are significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

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602 We have dealt thus far with relationships of the law to the system of consanguinity; but there were also important relationships to the affinal system. One such relationship has already been mentioned, the fact that a husband and his kin were obliged to pay the full kun to the family of the wife if he killed her. Now the children of the murdered mother in this case got nothing,[162] and the reason for this is clear. They were reckoned in the paternal kin group, and thus suffered doubly: from the loss of a mother, and from the burden of the wergeld which they had to bear as part of the father's line.

On the other hand, if the wife was murdered by a stranger, the kun was divided equally between the wife's father's kin and the kin of the husband. If a betrothed girl was murdered, the father of the girl and his line received the entire kun, and the family of the affianced youth was presented with a choice, either to accept a sister of the victim, or to have the kalym returned and seek elsewhere for a wife.[163] The ambiguous situation of the woman could not be expressed more sharply in Kazakh life than by the process of division of the kun[1/1] if her life was taken: she was regarded as belonging fully to no group, neither to the husband's nor to the father's.

[162] Israztsov, 14.

[163] Idem.

[1/1] [i.e. Wergeld; cf. cat. 11b, AH1 Mongolia, p. 448ff. --Analyst]

[Great Horde]

695 602 The role of affinal kinship in the legal process may also be deduced from the fact that in addition to support by one's agnatic kin (father, son, brother, father's brother, etc.), one could also call on one's wife's sister's husband to take the oath on one's behalf, provided that his loyalties had not already been engaged on the other side. Cognatic kin, too, played a role: the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son (maternal parallel cousin).[164] The relationship of the mother's brother nagaǎy to sister's son or dǎien has already been mentioned in respect to the payment of the kalym, or debts to strangers, and so forth. It is simply a further pursuit of the same principles to observe it in the restitutive process of the law as well.

602 The new kinship relationships that are brought out here relate to the closeness of mutual support between husbands of sisters, those who are badǎa to each other, and sons of sisters, those who are bǔle to each other. A quite different principle is to be observed in these relationships: the avunculate, nevertheless, implied no systematic restructuring of the system of agnatic relationship. In the case of children of sisters, those who are bǔle to each other, it is quite clear that there is indeed a systematic attack on the agnatic principle, because in addition to the mother's brother

[164] Ibid., 51.

[Great Horde]

602 relationship, a man must now be aware of, respond to the economic and legal implications of, a relationship through the mother's sister. In the light of this, we must re-examine the lines of consanguinity, and we find that the agnatic line no longer satisfies all the relationships involved, or even the major proportion of them. Descent is significant in the light of the data here presented through the grandfather in general, and not through the father's father alone. A man can call on me for help if he shares a common grandfather with me, and conversely, I can call on him. This is a cognatic relationship, and not at all an agnatic one, which in the present context is of considerable theoretical interest.

67a 681 593 A final relationship between the kinship system and the law on the steppe which is to be discussed is the legal personality of the family. The family was a person before the criminal law of the Great Horde, as it was in other parts of the steppe. Thus, if a father killed his son, no legal proceeding could be undertaken against him; nor could the law intervene if the son killed his father. The family unity could not be invaded, that is, by outside forces. Again, if the father was alive, and a brother killed a brother, the legal process could not intervene; and even if the father were dead and the sons had moved apart, only a small sum was paid to the family of the victim, more a token payment than a true wergeld.[165]

[165] Ibid., 15-16.

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lack-
621 ing a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, sulu, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

622 The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a
[428] family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

695 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means
● 682 of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-
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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Middle Horde]

695 602 584 nence, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 695 428 The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

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[170] Ibragimov, 237.

[Little Horde]

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The decision as to the time for betrothal conversations, and the decision as to whom to request as a wife rests on the unconditional discretion of the father.[185] Neither of the betrothed has any say in the matter, nor have their mothers, for authority is patriarchal. In the initiation of betrothal arrangements, a go-between, a close kin or friend of the boy's family, is sent to the family of the girl.[186] Why a go-between? It is insufficient to say that there is a stern taboo on contact between boy and the family of the bride, and that therefore a go-between is necessary. Such a taboo existed, and took the following form: the affianced youth could not show his face to his prospective father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, nor to any older agnatic kin of the girl's father until the day of the marriage itself. The future son-in-law either had to hide himself quickly or run to the side if he should encounter them by chance. This was explained by the Kazakhs as (1) a reflection of respect for one's elders, and (2) the attitude of a debtor who has not acquitted himself fully of his debt.[187]

However, this taboo does not explain why the youth's

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[185] Altynsarin, 103; Balliuzek, 69; Karuts, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[186] Balliuzek, 71; Altynsarin, 104.

[187] Altynsarin, 108.

[Little Horde]

584 father preferred not to represent his son. The under-
602 standing of the role of the go-between and its necessity
involves the entire relationship between the two affinally
related families. The wife-givers lost a daughter and
her dowry, they acquired bridewealth in exchange; they
also gained prestige, as Leach has put it, for the hus-
band and his family regarded the wife's kinsmen as occu-
pying a socially higher position than their own, compar-
able with the Kalmuks (Aberle) and the Ordos (Mostaert)
as well. In the case of Adai's lineage,[1] one of the com-
ponent sub-lineages was senior to the other, but this
seniority was a matter of collateral ranking of lineages;
it had nothing to do with the affinal relations involved
here, even though the same people were involved. The af-
final 'prestige debt' was wiped out between the two sub-
lineages over the course of time, through the normal ex-
change of daughters in marriage; it was a reciprocal re-
lation, whereas seniority is not a reciprocal relation
at all. The youth's family went to the bride's family
as seekers, they were as a social group in an inferior
position to the future wife's family, not the would-be
husband alone. The sending of a go-between is an ex-
pression in a modified and less stringent form of the
general avoidance practice between future son-in-law and
wife's family, for the youth's family was the debtor, and
not the youth alone, they were the wife-seekers, the payers
of respect.

1 [Chapter 16, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467--Analyst]

[Little Horde]

584 parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire kalym which he had already received, and pay an indemnity in addition.[199]

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements was the amount of kalym, and the amount of dowry. The kalym was paid over 585 602 a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the kalym payments.[200] A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted. The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.[201]

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[199] Balliuzek, 87-88.

[200] Karuts, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 37-38.

[201] Ibid., 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

[Little Horde]

583 If a man really abducted a daughter from her family, his family was required either to furnish a daughter in exchange from its own midst or from among the closely related families, or to pay a full kalym for her. If the girl herself was returned after the abduction, an indemnity was imposed on the family of the abductor, since the girl could no longer command a full kalym.[202] Abduction for cause, however, such as delay in surrendering the bride after the kalym had been paid in full, could not be punished.[203] The requirement of the full kalym for an abduction was in itself a kind of imposition of an indemnity, for it placed a great economic burden on a family which ordinarily demanded years to get rid of, an indemnity which in the case of an unlawful abduction had to be paid in a short term.

596 602 From the data on the payment of the kalym,[1] it may be seen that the family was patriarchal in authority, patrilineal in descent, and patrilocal in residence. There is a certain amount of evidence that the family of the groom paid a psychic capital in the form of prestige and respect to the family of the bride, in addition to the material goods which exchanged hands. The taboo on face-to-face contact between the youth and his pro-

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[202] Balliuzek, 82.

[203] Ibid., 79-80.

1 [Cf. especially, Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 477ff. -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

596 spective wife's elder male kin is but one aspect of
602 this respect relationship, another being that of the function of the go-between, and the initiation of the betrothal proceedings by the family of the groom, who came as supplicants for the daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, a family did not wish to have daughters, it desired sons, even though it might gain some prestige
[181] by marrying the daughters off. The emphasis on sons[1] is a correlate of the patrilineal orientation of the entire society, its patri-centrism in values.

595 The Kazakh family of the Little Horde, as elsewhere on the steppe, was polygynous if it could afford to be. On the Mangyshlak peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century it was estimated that 50 percent of the marriages were monogamous and the other 50 percent consisted of two wives, although the Kazakhs were permitted as many as five in theory. The motivation for seeking a second wife was accounted to be childlessness[204] and is exemplified in the proverb, "The more mares the more colts."[205] The Kazakhs were fully aware that the solution of one problem, the need for children, precisely, male issue, in turn raised another issue, that of possible conflict between the wives. The wives therefore were kept in separate tents;[206] again, a man rarely married a second wife without the prior consent of the first.[207] [2]

[204] Karutz, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42.

[205] Altynsarin, 103.

[206] Karutz, loc. cit.

[1] [cf. especially, cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 478 -- Analyst]

[2] [for text note cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 482 -- Analyst]

602 system of generation up-grading and down-grading in the
614 terminology.

Let us now consider the problem of the end in view of the genealogist. This man was Samoilovich's informant, the sul and lineage elder, M. Chamov, who was establishing a direct senior descent from the lineage founder, Karatai, and the senior descent of the Karatai lineage in the Ergenekti clan; in his conception, the line proceeded directly from Ergenekti to Kekzhardy and thence to Karatai, and no allusion to any cadet line whatsoever was made. This he did by asserting that Boranchy had indeed called Kekzhardy sta, but in the sense of Fa Fa, and not Fa Ol Br, a claim which was certainly in keeping with, and not contradicted by the system of kinship terminology. Thus a genealogy is propounded not merely to establish a descent group as such, nor merely to validate a claim to membership in that descent group, but also to assert certain rights of the descent group as over against other possible claimants in the matter of seniority, and the correlative leadership, prestige and precedence. Moreover, the genealogy is closely related to the ritual number seven, or twice seven. Again, the lineage of Karatai is composed of a number of sub-lineages, including the Sargaldak, Dölöt, Shong-murun and Kendje-Chagyr; of these the Sargaldak is proposed by Chamov as the senior one, that being Chamov's own

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

113, 171, 681, 604 Kazak RQ2

[For a Kalmyk parallel with Kazak legal private seizure of property, and the inheritance rights of maternal nephews, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 274-279.]

602 685 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 593 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

• 604 601 Important to note, although its fuller implications must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his dźien.[1] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk sē/dsē) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

[1] [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Amoloyat]

[Great Horde]

604 601 nological usages on the one side and inheritance practices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the dzien relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilateral relations highlighted in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is only a seeming one, not real. The matrilateral relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

596 We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, was more likely to attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and kept its members together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conforms more closely to a corporate entity than does the poor one; it survives the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed, 596 671 however, to another criterion of the corporate entity: they were a single personality in the eyes of such legal mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the aksakal or bii stepped in only with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all.

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601 there is a clear confirmation of the order of succession[1] in the kinship terminology. In fact, the close correlation with a particular--and relatively rare--application of the kinship terminology should become a classical case of a behavioral correlate of kinship terminology. In a manner parallel to that of the Kalmuks, brother's son and son's son bear the same term, the term in Kazakh being nemere.

604 428 The avunculate, the relations between mother's brother (nagaŷ) and sister's son (dźien), likewise played a role in the transmission of real property.[1] The latter could call on his maternal uncle for support in paying his bridewealth, for the payment of a debt, and so forth. If the maternal uncle failed to fulfill a socially recognized obligation, the dźien could effect a seizure on the stock of his nagaŷ's stock up to three times, and the nagaŷ had no basis for protest. If the dźien exceeded the three sanctioned seizures, only then could the nagaŷ tell him that he had forfeited the rights of a nephew.

601 428 Just as the nemere term has a definable social correlate, so does the dźien concept: both are related to the mode of acquiring a wife, transmitting inherited property, establishing respect and authority.

Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk

[1] [Cf. cat. 114 AHI Mongolia, pp. 431-432 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde]

428 In the transmission of the property from one generation to the next, the rights of the dzien, the sister's son and the daughter's son, to the property of the mother's brother and his mother's father were recognised. In the Little Horde the dzien had the right of free seizure (baranta) up to three times from his nagasy or mother's brother, whether by agreement with the nagasy or without his knowledge. The dzien could not be punished unless he abused his rights by seizing beyond the customary three times.[221] This is the avuncular relationship and neither here nor elsewhere was it a smoothly working principle. The mother's brother did not volunteer to transfer a part of his property to the sister's son; the latter had to make seizure to obtain it. In principle it is different from the bulk of Kazakh (and Kalmuk) consanguineal relations; these are agnatic. The avuncular relationship in question here is a matrilateral relation, which, added to the patrilateral, form a limited cognatic pattern. Thus a problem of the dynamics of transition from the principle of agnatic to a partial application of the principle of cognatic kinship is posed. The problem further is that the mother's brother is not a voluntary participant in the relation, but seeks to protect his property against the seizure by the dzien, warning him that after the third time he

[221] Balliuzek, 109.

[Little Horde]

428 604 loses his rights as such. The same relationship, with its inherent conflicts, is found among the Kalmuks.[1] Another aspect of the problem is the unforeseeable nature of the baranta. It is not merely that the nephew comes silently and unbeknownst to the uncle to drive off his portion; it will also be recalled that marriage residence is patrilocal, and the brother may not reckon with the existence of a sister's son who appears from afar to demand what is his. Such a seizure may disturb whatever prior arrangements the nagaly may have made. An act of seusure is a violent act, and per se is disruptive of social peace. The entire relationship is a disharmony built in to the social structure.

428 The principle of apportionment to the elder sons during the lifetime of the father and that of ultimogeniture continued in force in the Little Horde at the turn of the century: "The inheritance on the death of the father goes to the unmarried sons still living in the paternal aul, or if all are married, to the youngest, who remains with the father. The elder married sons will have been established during the father's lifetime and have no more rights in his property."[222]

597 Adoption was generally practiced among close kin alone,[223] which recalls the practice elsewhere of adoption

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[222] Karuts, Kirgische Hochzeit, 42; Karuts, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 113.

[223] Balliusek, 96.

[1] [Cf. cat. No, AHI Mongolia, p. 274 ff. — Analyst]

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps 595
to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has
not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent 586
back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed 593
with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children.
Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may
remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has 589
no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic [587]
marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband).
If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of
the husband.

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses 581
that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is
great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the
line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for 587
thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male 596
head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the [581]
extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no 596
one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is
the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, [561]
the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable
and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are [593]
ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority
or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to [605]
the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother
does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second
brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order.
A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother,
and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls [593]
them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, 642
in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are
modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, 171
the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoïlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoïlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 585 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgiziy i Kara-kirgiziy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61] permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed [621] or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumale, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

/207 cont. /

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. [782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually, she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1] Ilichwin, 1950.
[2] Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3] Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4] Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçЫ (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamЫr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamЫr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamЫr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamЫr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[11] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 608 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe", like the real mother.

* * * *

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 582 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

429 degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative"
[582] /rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

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572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

settled by embracing with bared breast - kushaktaskan. I. Ibragimov states that they embrace each other across an unsheathed sword or across the Koran, which they kiss afterwards.

The children of tamyrs who continue the friendship are called ata tamyr. Spouses are called syuyak tamyr (hereditary friends). Other tamyrs are called "verbal" auz tamyr, as distinguished from the forms of strong friendship described above. Also they do not embrace. Torgai also ascribes to verbal friendship or simple acquaintanceship the friendship which is confirmed by squeezing the palm of the hand, barmak ustaskan. The proverb - friends always argue, people of the the same age are always hostile - (tamyr tube dau kurdas tube dzhau) - bears witness to the instability of the verbal friendship.

According to Torgai, this friendship / takyrstvo/ resembles the [408] custom of being considered as the representative /posazhennyi/ of the bride's father or groom's father (ukul ata) and the titular son or son-in-law (ukul kuyau, ukul bala). (1) One of these offers himself in

1. Ukul is a corrupted form of Arabic vakil.

this relation in order to receive a gift. After this they visit each other to receive gifts. When the titular son-in-law appears before the representative of the bride's father, the latter /42/ serves him breast meat (tus) just as he would his real son-in-law. But a good son-in-law, remembering that he is only titular, should not sit down in the place of honor /tur/.

According to bii Sultan, the ukul kuyau like a verbal friend, is only called son-in-law, but does not take a bride from the titular father-in-law. The latter may also be unmarried. The titular (tutingen) son-in-law lives with the titular father-in-law until his wedding, and then usually departs to his relatives. He also receives inchi, but less than the others who receive allotments. However before the allotment the father-in-law asks him if he and his wife will remain living with him. In case of a refusal, the former gives him a horse and a tent packed on a camel, and if there is no tent, then only blankets (tu sek orny).

Most young men usually have confidantes, "arifdas." It is permitted to take pleasing objects between them without asking permission. They give each other various trifles. Confidantes usually give bands for coats, and belts which they have made by hand. When young men meet their confidantes in private they touch their

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept K [556] only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill [554] according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

[Inner Horde]

614 this function was taken over by the lineage. Here we can say that the clan could continue to be the unit of exogamy in those cases where it was co-terminous with the lineage, and was so even in the 20th century, as indeed it had been at times in the past. But the lineage, or sub-lineage, was the normal unit of exogamy and had been before Kharusin's day, and continued to be afterward.

614 [611] 608 The clan was no longer[1] responsible for the crimes of a clan-member; that it had been in the past is shown by the wergeld relationship, regarding the collection of the wergeld for transmission and its distribution on receipt. It was possible to change clan affiliation; indeed this exemplifies beautifully the principle of the fictive descent, whereby on joining another clan one was given the genealogy of the new clan, the conditio sine qua non for membership in the new clan. One of the most frequent reasons for leaving one's clan and joining a new one according to Kharusin was to escape punishment; but this reason is self-defeating, since the clan of asylum might not want responsibility for the fugitive and could demand the return of the new arrival to his old clan; in fact the notion contradicts Kharusin's point that the clan had no responsibility for its members' activities.[238]

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[238] Ibid., 44-45.

[1] [i.e. in the 19th century. Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 496-498 -- Analyst]

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçЬ) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 110.

8:Kostenko -40-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ
Sart RN4

K 203 574 khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

K 177 Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable K [811] rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand especially easily an analytic type of exposition. K [609] They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101 The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess

2: Hudson
61, 178

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalisation which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

2: Hudson
61

RQ2 Kazak RQ2--2

Law and trial procedure - pp. 67-69
Customary hospitality - pp. 72-73
Fraternization or sworn brotherhood - pp. 73

NATURE OF KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS

Nearly all ethnographic accounts which touch upon the social organization of the Kazak describe them as divided into a number of tribes which are subdivided into sub-tribes or gentes and these again further divided into yet smaller groups.[1] How far this process of subdividing may extend is indicated by Rudenko's study of the Naiman group of Kazak in the foothills of the Altai in which he lists 760 named groups extending, in some cases, through a series of 17 strata of subdivisions.[2]

As a first step in analyzing Kazak social structure it is necessary to consider the nature of the named groups, their relation to one another and the significance of the several orders, or magnitudes, of subdivisions. In such a consideration the problem of terminology immediately intrudes. Any discussion of the subdivisions would seem to involve the application of type names to the various strata and the possibilities are soon exhausted.

In this difficulty recourse might be had to employing the native terminology. In attempting to do so, however, it becomes apparent that many Kazak, and all of those with whom I worked, had but one inclusive term or variations of one term for all the magnitudes of social groupings usually described in the literature as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and their branches. This term was given by Tlenshiev in Kazak as urЪv. Asfendiarov[3] in Russian writes uru and a few lines later both uru and uruk. Begaliev and Gavrilov do not give urЪv but define ruv[4] as Russian "rod"—race, family, clan, generation; or "plemia"—tribe, race, family. The form urЪq they translate[5] as "family, posterity." Vladimirtsov[6] defines urux or urug̈ in Mongol as "descendant, offshoot of a given gens." In Yakut, according to Seroshevskiĭ,[7] uru means "relationship in general."

My informants agreed that this word or a cognate is the term which is applied in Kazak to all types of social groupings usually understood as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. Tlenshiev understood the use of the Russian plemia (tribe) as referring to a more inclusive group than rod (gens) but said there were no such distinctions in Kazak. The absence of such terms is confirmed by Asfendiarov who writes:[8]

It is curious that among the Kazak there is only the single indefinite term uru which signifies

[1] See, among others, Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 304; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 514; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 144; Samoïlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

[2] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, table facing page 334.

[3] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

[4] *Kazakko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 202.

[5] *Idem*, 252.

[6] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 59.

[7] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAkuty*, 507.

[8] *Idem*, 100.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 tribe and sub-tribe, gens and sub-gens . . . . Among the Mongols of the period of Chingis Khan the tribe was designated as irgen, the gens obox and relatives by the word uruk. But among the Kazaks is preserved only the extremely indefinite term uru.

Samoïlovich likewise states:[9]

> According to Chopaev [his informant] there are no strictly distinct terms in Kazak corresponding to our tribe, clan, generation, etc. One and the same term is applied in different senses. European tribal terminology applied to Kazak is arbitrary and misleading.

It is, however, not unlikely that some Kazak groups had more precise terms to designate the various magnitudes of social groupings. Rudenko, in a very confused statement, says:[10]

> The sub-group sök is defined by blood relationship as far as seven ancestors. The gens, ruu, is divided into a series of lines, byr top . . . . Furthermore, sub-groups are indicated by the name of an ancestor and finally divided into sök.

[104] One fact at least is clear from this: the Kazak of the Naiman, Karatai and Karakerei groups with whom Rudenko worked in the region of the Altai had in addition to uru or ruu at least two other words, sök and byr top to designate social groupings based apparently on blood relationship. The occurrence of the word sök in this sense among the Altaian Kazak however is suggestive of influence from other Altaian groups because Potanin reports[11] that the gens among the Altaian Tartars was known as sök. The word is also found in Kazak, as in other Turkic dialects[12] in its primary meaning of "bone" and in Kazak occurs frequently as aq syjek (White Bone) and kara syjek (Black Bone) referring to the nobility and common people respectively. Insofar as the nobility, who were all in theory descended from Chingis Khan, may be considered as forming in themselves a gens, the term syjek might be applied in the sense in which it is used by the Altaians, but such usage was not customary among the Kazak with whom I was acquainted.

The words byr top mentioned by Rudenko mean literally "one group," "one crowd," which might well be used to designate sub-divisions of a gens as he indicates, but I know of no further examples of this except perhaps one parenthetical remark by Grodekov[13] in which he says: "They migrate in groups (tap-tap) of a greater or less number of kibitkas [the felt tent of the nomads]."[14]

Czaplicka, after studying the Russian literature relating to all the Turkic groups of

[9] *Zapretnye Slova*, 1[illegible], note 6.

[10] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59–60.

[11] Potanin, *Ocherki Severo-zapadnoi Mongolii*, 4: 1–2, as cited by Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 54. I have been unable to obtain Potanin's work.

[12] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 4: 571.

[13] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[14] In many accounts the felt tents are called "yurts." I have avoided this use of the word because in some places it meant not the dwelling but the land occupied by a group. (See page 81.)

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Central Asia, emerged with very unsettled notions of the nature of their gens and tribal system and its divisions. She writes without apparent conviction:[15]

> It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia. There seems to be a conception of a political group called, among both the Kirghiz and Kazak *uruk* or *ru* . . . possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*, while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kazak *taypas* or *tayfa*. . . . An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a sök (clan).

Here Czaplicka seems to have run afoul of the terminology problem as she designates both the ru and the sök as "clans" but does not connect them. One may sympathize with her difficulty but need not linger over the terms which have already been touched upon. As for the other two, el now occurs in Kazak meaning, according to Begaliev and Gavrilov,[16] "people, population, country, native place, country in distinction to city," but in Turkish of the eighth century, on the basis of the Orkhon inscriptions, apparently meant a "tribal union"[17] in general agreement with Czaplicka's information.

The word tajpa is defined[18] as "group, mass," or as an adjective "compact." The form tayfa would not occur, in Kazak proper at least, where the sound "f" is lacking. I have not found this word used among the Kazak with the meaning which Czaplicka imputes to it and she does not state her source. According to Vambéry[19] the term is used by the Turcoman for a division of a tribe.

The question of the presence or absence among the Kazak of distinct terms applied to various strata in the series of group divisions and subdivisions is not, however, of primary importance to an understanding of the nature and function of the groupings. This may be gained as well with one term as several. For purposes of discussion I shall ignore the possibility or probability of other terms being used in various localities and accept the statement of my informants that only one such term was used by the Kazak to cover all the divisions usually considered as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. For this term I shall use the word uru as written by Asfendiarov[20] which closely approximates the form used by the informants. It may be defined as meaning a group of kinsmen related through the male line, but varying in its application from a comparatively small one of close relatives to a very large one of many thousand who may actually be related only very distantly or by courtesy of tradition.

This concept of the uru may be illustrated by the traditional account of the structure of the Great Orda as given by the informant Kargabaiev to illustrate his own position in

[15] Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, 40.

[16] *Kazakshko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 106.

[17] Bernshtam, *Rodovaia Struktura*, 563–66. See also Koz'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 55.

[18] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazakshko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 225.

[19] *Travels in Central Asia*, 348.

[20] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

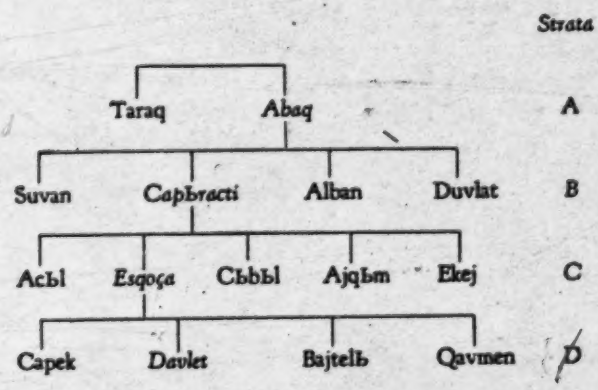
61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.

Great Orda



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capbracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of Capьracti and the grandson of Abaq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins.

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata.

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the Capьracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (Acьl, Esqoça, Cьbьl, Ajqьm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions.
[576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups; thus
61 at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analyst]

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE

NOMADIC UNITS

621 In considering the economic aspects of the uru group as a functioning unit we encounter a new term, aul. Roughly it is possible to say that the aul was co-extensive with the uru in the sense of a group living together. One of my informants in the initial stages of a discussion of this point said "the aul is an uru and the uru is an aul." This, however, was no doubt an oversimplification for the benefit of the ignorant but curious ethnologist, because further [61] inquiry reveals one fundamental distinction. The members of an uru were all blood relatives in the male line, or assumed to be such, while an aul might contain various individuals from outside the blood group. A man might change his aul simply by going to live in another, but could not change his uru. In the old days, according to Kargabaiev, they corresponded closely because then it was very unusual to go and live among strangers. In any case it appears that a majority of the members of an aul would be members of the same uru.

The aul may be defined as a "mobile village"[1] or nomadic encampment. Here again, however, the problem of subdivisions appears because the term aul is applied by different writers to groups of differing magnitudes. As will be explained in more detail later, it was customary for the uru group and its alien associate members who passed the winter living as a compact unit to split up with the coming of spring into smaller groups for the pasturage of their herds. These smaller groups consisted of perhaps half a dozen kibitkas, usually belonging to one family, while half a mile or a mile away would be another such group of kibitkas, with numerous other similar clusters of habitations scattered over the whole area customarily occupied by the uru group. The point at issue is whether the single clusters may be called auls or whether all the diffused and scattered camps taken as a whole constituted an aul.

My informants used the word in the latter sense. According to Tlenshiev the small group of five to ten kibitkas would not be an aul but an yj (family or house). An aul would normally consist of several hundred kibitkas. This is also the sense in which Kargabaiev used the word. His aul was named Karastaq ("black place," i.e., where the snow never lies) and comprised about 500 kibitkas and approximately 3,000 people. It is interesting to note here that the name of his aul was not the same as that of his uru, Davlet. Usually, however, the two seem to have been the same, the aul taking on the name of the uru to which the majority of its members belonged, which was, as explained above, the personal name of its traditional founder. In this case, however, Karastaq is a place name which had been adopted by the aul.

According to Grodekov the average aul comprised about 300 kibitkas but the number

[1] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 312.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking 61
Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of 592
the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many 592
families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives 513
might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and all others in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.

[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 34.

[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Pondneev on pages 77–78.

[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 70.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered
62 in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[46] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgiziy i Karakirgiziy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61] [621]

permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [561] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbe, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçb) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgiziy i Kazakirgiziy*, 110.

SUMMARY

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The present evidence indicates that many, or most, Kazak groups used the single term uru to designate the several magnitudes of social groupings usually described as tribes, subtribes, gentes and sub-gentes. This term is applied to a group of kinsmen related through the male line but must be considered from two points of view: first, as establishing points of reference in a genealogical series consisting of any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote, and second, as referring to a specific group of comparatively closely related individuals living together as a functioning unit.

In the latter sense the uru corresponds closely to the aul, the basic nomadic and economic group with its own more or less well defined area of migration and an internal organization based on a patriarchal-feudal relationship with marked class distinctions. Such local uru groups also tended to function as exogamous units.

These uru-aul groups were loosely joined into a number of unstable political unions and confederacies, which, however, did not necessarily correspond to the traditional genealogical relations of their constituent units.

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Radeshko *et al*, 1930, pp. 305 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

173 of Fortes, the native history which counterfeits history.[8]

173 186 The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their own men of letters, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.[9] This myth further affirms the Turkic descent from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally, that is, from this ancestor they take their name. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to their own: the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgazi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,[10] and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are an Islamic people.

173 61 The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgiz and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a

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[8]Fortes, Dynamics of Clanship, pp. xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

[9]Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

[10]Idem; cf. Richurin, I, 222 (280).

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common genealogy and origin. It is to this tradition that Kharusin and Aristov have reference when they assert the common origin of the Kirgiz. Fortes in a recent statement has ably demonstrated the role of a genealogy as a kind of origin myth in a unilineal descent group, of which the Kazakh-Kirgiz are one.[11] These genealogies supply a charter for the descent group, the charter supplying the foundation for Fortes' theory of the unilineal descent group as a corporate structure. To make this theory applicable to the Kazakh-Kirgiz, as well as to other Asiatic pastoral societies, it need only be added that all descent lines, from the maximal, i.e., Turkdom as a whole, to lesser descent lines, such as the Kirgiz, etc., and still lesser, such as clans, lineages within clans, and even extended families, all bear certain marks of corporate structure, such as the genealogical charter. However, a clarification is necessary: the mythical nature of the charter lies only in the larger corporate entities: the clan, the nation (i.e., the Kazakh), or the Turks as a whole. The lesser structures or descent groups, such as the lineage or the extended family, lack this mythological component. The clan, the nation, etc., being larger, require longer genealogies, whose more distant reaches are lost in ob-

[11] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 25.

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security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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Turkic savants, such as Abulgasi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a completely genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, [567] the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69] [795]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

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The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭök (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

[Great Horde]

613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 ●61 The evidence of Izrastsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izrastsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dsuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

•61 565 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line of common descent through the father is sök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

61 565 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a vertical cleavage. A sibk might be identical with a byr top in any given instance, but the principle upon which it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was derived from the superposition of one layer of society upon another, and was a means of building the social hierarchy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage formation without aristocratic and commoner estates is found in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 127 177 Two expeditions to the Niaman division of the Kazakhs of the Middle Hordes were undertaken by a number of Turkic specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concentrated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakhstan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan, Baranov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilovich because here the degree of acculturation (such was not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1) why the following data are incorporated at all, and

[301-cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
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1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

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2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the
619 powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which,
611 during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).
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2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

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The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

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1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
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2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2] Samoilovich, in Radloff et al, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Makanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.

[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central [611] feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the [186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been [175] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5]Radlov, Obrazetsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6]Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7]Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AH/Mongolia, Cat. 116, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

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curity, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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lineage to its horde is the relation of a son to the father in the case of the senior line of the horde."[12] That is, hordes act as persons, lineages act as persons, senior lineages are as father to filial junior lineages, mutually ranked according to the principle of primogeniture operating among the founders. In the same passage, Valikhanov finds operative among lineages and hordes the relationship of uncle to nephew, the significance of which will be left to later discussion of cognatic relationships. It is interesting, although not by itself decisive, that another characteristic of corporate structures, their status as persons, is also implied by Valikhanov.[13] It is not decisive because evidently Valikhanov is consistently arguing by analogy from relationships within the family, such as fraternal, filial, paternal, avuncular-nepotal, etc., in order to account for relationships among descent groups. But it is consistent with the total picture that such an analogy is available, and in fact necessary for the Kazakh philosopher to account for his system of social relations.

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[12] Valikhanov, 286.

[13] Lévi-Strauss in his article, Social Structure, discusses the use of native as opposed to scientific models of the social structure of a society. Valikhanov affords an instance of a native model with a significant advantage, that he has described a conceptual scheme which integrates family, lineage, and other relations. The five Confucian relations likewise are called to mind as examples of native models of this order.

[Great Horde]

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.[73] Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 400-403 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

622 The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulat-
582 ing marriage settlements, although he had little authority
692 over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

622 Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th
611 century, when strong acculturative influences were insti-
177 tuted, the principle of descent in the paternal line con-
63 tinued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great
631 Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts
692 called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izrastsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

[92] Izrastsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63
632 recognising and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various suls, or persons belonging to different families, suls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. ab, AHl Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an sul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Little Horde]

631 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd) Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd). [628]

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in 588

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).

576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A thie

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

vice of the aksakals (yakhsy ksiler) (communicated by Kunakbai). 612
When the kinship is more distant, if they do not give livestock they give something cheaper or else food. /115/ An aksakal makes a collection from the people (yurtchilik) for the benefit of the poor, even against people's will. A collection is also taken from the people for influential people, to pay their private debts. (1) Poor people who

1. From the affairs of the Syr-Darya Regional Administration, it is evident that also under Russian domination, collections are made from the population for influential people, with the permission of Russian authorities. Thus, one of the uyezd chiefs presented for the approval of the military governor a judgment of the volost deputies of the Dzhulek volost for the sacrificing of one ruble from each tent to cover the debts of the volost administrator Ayake Bikdzhanov. He received an answer from the military governor that he did not consider it "suitable to approve officially a collection of one ruble from each tent on behalf the volost administrator Bikdzhanov." (Instruction of 17 March, 1876. No. 2727). In 1878 it was permitted to take a voluntary contribution from the Kazakhs of the Dzhulek volost, of an amount not exceeding seven thousand rubles for the payment of the private debts of the same Ayake Bikdzhanov, in view of his exemplary fulfillment of official duties during more than ten years and the extremely poor position of the family remaining after him. (Proposal of the military governor to the chief of the Perovsk uyezd, 21 August, 1878. No 4127).

beg support from their rich relatives and do not receive it, steal from them or borrow what they wish for a time or forever. Prizes for races are divided by the clan of the winner. The seeking of wergeld among kinsmen ends with a wergeld "of kin", i. e., a small wergeld (karyndas khun).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd, assist- 612
ance is asked of relatives, under the name of nemeurin or dzhylulaye 135
kan, under the following circumstances: 1) when someone is deeply in debt; 2) when someone has been ruined because of a false suit against him; 3) when someone is required to pay a wergeld. (2)

2. He who wishes to turn to the people for general help, invites representatives of the sections of the clan to him,

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feasts them, and then makes a speech to them, in which he tells of his failures, or his straitened circumstances, ending by pointing to their ancient custom, established in times long forgotten, when people like themselves helped each other. The suppliant never fails to bring in the proverb: "If water is taken from a lake with spoons, the water does not decrease. In the same manner a community which shows help does not become poor" (kisyk tap algan minen' kul' tausyk mas bergek mek musaparge il' tausul' mas). To this they reply: "If one man spits, nothing comes of it, but if a whole community spits, a lake is formed" (ber tu kurse ber bular kak tukurse kul' bular). And thus the question is resolved for help to be shown by the general people.

However, help in the payment of debts, as bii Sultan and Khalmakhammed were obliged to admit, is always shown in proportion to the influence (kadryna yarasa) of that person in the community who has become indebted So that if an uninfluential but good man went in debt for a large sum and turned to his kinsmen, their contribution would cover only a small part of the debt.

/116/ According to Torgai, it is necessary to distinguish dzhilu and yurtchilik. Dzhilu is the forced contributions of friends, kinsmen and relatives, in case of fire, plundering of the village by enemies, the payment of wergeld and hunger. Yurtchilik is putting the debts on the people. In both the dzhilu and the yurtchilik, reciprocity is a condition of this contribution. But in the yurtchilik they are almost forced to pay, under the pretext that in the time of their fathers and grandfathers there were cases of reciprocal yurtchilik, or by threatening to cut off the hems and thus to end the mutual giving of yurtchilik (yurtchilik kylmaska itek kesti kylamyz). Incidentally the hem is not cut off. This is only a metaphor.

The poor person who asks for support says to the rich man: "Give me the grass of your livestock" (malyngnyng shubin ber magan), i. e., remunerate me for my right in common with you for that grass on which your livestock are grazing. Support, in the form of a collection from the people under the direction of an aksakal, is arranged when all the livestock of the poor man have been slaughtered. Anyone who refuses to contribute loses the right to support in his turn, when a similar disaster happens to him.

This support extends even to the service of mating bulls. If

the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i.e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts. 476

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

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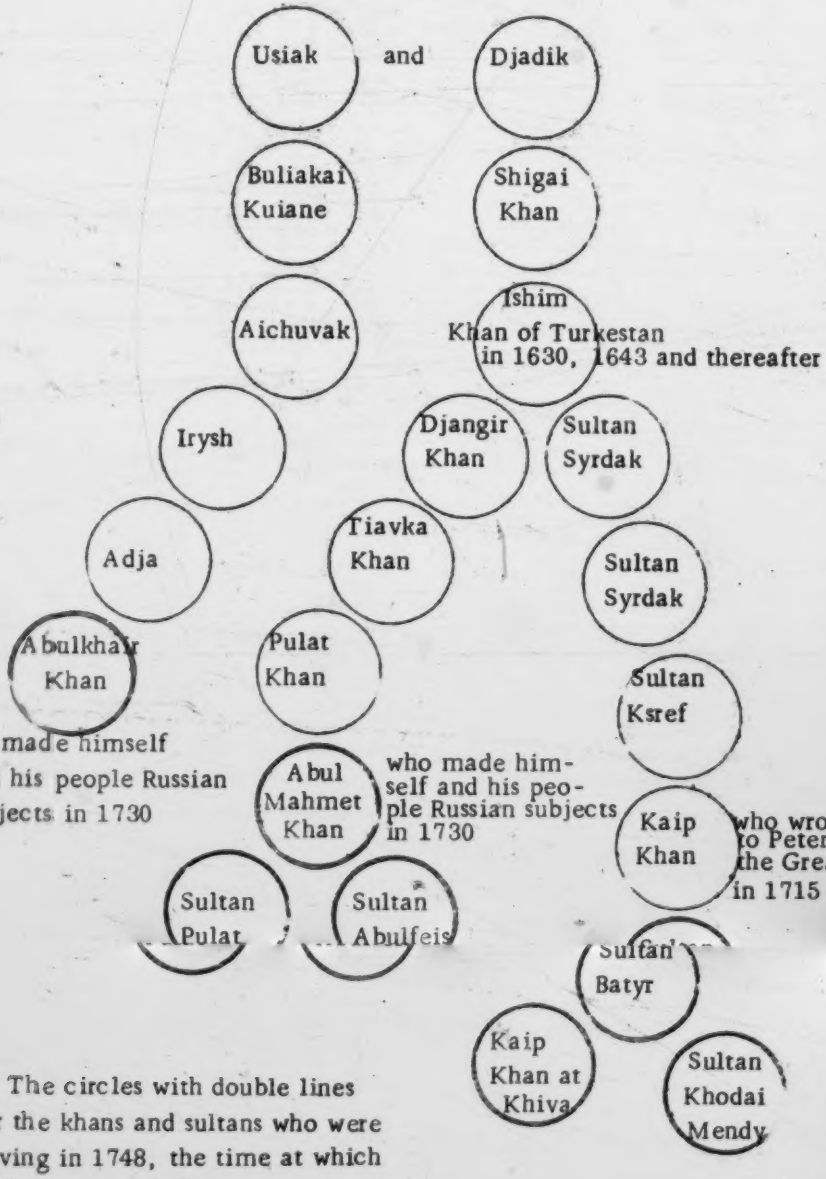
Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



[636
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Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

173
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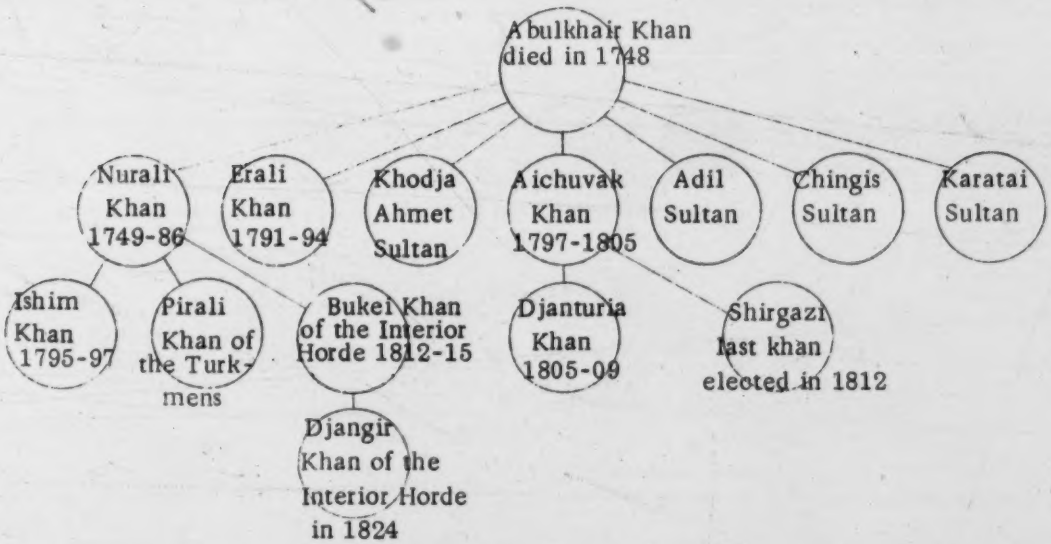
Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas Plate 8

or

212
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619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the
C93 hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal
[622] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[582] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
921 branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
614 However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader
[695] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he
[622] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[692] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alyasarin, 1870, p. 104.

[1] [For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

621 under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration [627] of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era.

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying 582 outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during 613 the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great [621] distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and [494] under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with 595 Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the [627] family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the 596 deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to [587] Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons.

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the prac- 595 tice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; [587] similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system.

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet 665 ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for train[illegible] in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encourag[illegible] so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect.

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to under- 177 stand the background of this position, has important consequences in the

[1] Ibid., p. 86.

[Great Horde]

619 Again, each clan had a war cry, or uran, whereby it iden-
[726] tified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an uran was the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.[77] The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

613 The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation[1] as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter--the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the 19th century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations

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[77] Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy,... to invoke aid...there is a special signal called uran and consisting of the names of the clan ancestor or of later distinguished ancestors...." The English "hurrah!" is a derivation of the term uran.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 389, for these criteria--Analyst]

[Great Horde]

•613 which it counted back to its founder. One of its most important, if not its most important, functions was to define the unit of exogamy. Otherwise put, the lineage was co-terminous with the exogamic unit, which counted usually, but not always, seven generations.

Grodekov maintained that marriage was forbidden between patrilineally related kinsmen up to the seventh generation. His informant, one Khalmahammad, was a local elder and judge in the Great Horde. Others informed Grodekov on the contrary that marriages took place between couples in the related fourth or even the third remove, reckoned exclusively in the paternal line. In his same statement he mentions that the Kara-Kirgiz used to reckon the prohibited degree of marriage to relation through the father in the fifth remove; whereas in his day, the 1880's, the Shariat permitted marriage even in the second degree.[78]

If these were the only data available, it would indeed appear that the Kazakhs had once had a rule of exogamy forbidding marriage between agnatic kin descended from an ancestor who was fewer than eight generations removed from the prospective spouses, a rule which had then broken down into a more chaotic picture under acculturative conditions. But the record is complicated,

[78] Grodekov, 27.

[Great Horde]

613 and Grodekov's observations are not universally true. Thus, in another part of the Great Horde, during the same period, the 1870's and 1880's, Izraztsov notes that marriage between those removed in the eighth or ninth degree of kinship was rare, if not forbidden, and as a rule, such marriage was avoided by any consanguines related in the male line.[79] There is more than a mere difference in generation count between these two more or less contemporary reports of the rule of exogamy in the Great Horde. There is a difference in principle. The second record cited indicates no fixed number of generations, but rather a fluid situation and the dominance of a central tendency instead of a definite practice. Moreover, we learn an interesting bit of folklore from Izraztsov: the Kazakhs explain their aversion to marriage between kin who are related by fewer than eight or nine removes from a common male ancestor through the belief that such marriages would be without issue.[80]

In the same district in which Grodekov drew his data, an observer in the 1920's noted that the units of exogamy were the named sibs. Now this could not be the case if Grodekov had made an observation of general validity. Without disparagement to Grodekov, who was an accu-

[79] Izraztsov, 70.

[80] Idem.

[Great Horde]

W3 rate and detailed ethnographer, especially in matters of law-ways, it may be pointed out that a rule of seven prohibited degrees cannot work in named units, because the head of the lineage would be shifting downward every generation, always seven generations behind, so that in the last analysis, if there had been n generations, there would have been n-minus-6 lineage heads, and the name of the unit would be changing every generation.

A later visitor to the Great Horde, Shmidt, writes that all the exogamic units he noted were the named sibs. In fact, the situation was more complex, because of the enormous strain and reshuffling that had taken place in Kazakh life through acculturation over two or even more generations. His notations were the following: in his district, near Chimkent, there were two clans of the Great Horde, one, the Sergele, the other, the Shegir. The Sergele was divided into nine lineages, each one identified by a name; but there were only six exogamic units among the Sergele, for three former lineages had combined to form one sib, two had combined to form another, and only four lineages were large enough to constitute independent exogamic units. As for the other clan, the Shegir, while theoretically of equal status with the Sergele, it was itself an exogamic unit, because all the former lineages had combined into one, the sib itself. And the same might be said of the clans

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613 and lineages of the Middle and Little Hordes as well.[81]

Levshin's material, which dates from the 1830's, falls in line with the Grodekov picture, for Levshin likewise describes lineage exogamy. Thus a Kazakh of the Great Horde in the 1830's married outside his lineage, and preferably outside his clan as well.[82] This is the earliest relevant body of data, but it is unfortunately the most schematic, with only the barest outlines of the exogamic picture. Nevertheless, taking it in conjunction with later and fuller reports we may infer that the Kazakh lineage in the 19th century was the exogamic unit, and if the latter was subject to considerable amount of variation as to the number of generations it comprised, and if a named unit was only sometimes discovered, it was because the lineage itself was not a fixed entity. The lineage is to be regarded as an operational concept, functioning principally in the establishment of the limits of prohibited marriage, and was subject to local variation. The exogamic principle among the Kazakhs was subject to a certain amount of variation, within limits, for none of the versions of the rule are far from each other. And the variations may be explained by local conditions, such as male to female ratio, population trends regarding fer-

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[81] Shmidt, 314.

[82] Levchine, 364.

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•613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 61 The evidence of Izraztsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmiks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izraztsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

raztsov

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

•613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

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613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

613 622 554 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller, sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

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583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
672 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
672 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
• 673 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's[1] jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

[1] On the bii or "elder", cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

671 lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and
672 legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was
673 a matter of membership in specific corporate structures, the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

676 In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

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586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

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Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

601 602 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

[154] Izrastsov, loc. cit.

[155] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

681 was made in Kazakh legal practices. A number of distinc-
602 tions likewise existed in the punishments for taking a
613 life. No provision was made for repressive punishment, the only practice known was restitution if it was determined that a wrong had been committed. The penalty involved was the payment of a whole or a part of a kun or wergeld. The basic kun, mentioned above, was 200 baital (baital is a horse in good condition, or the equivalent). This might vary somewhat; for example, the kun in the vicinity of what is today Alma Ata was 200 horses, 100 sheep, and a camel, or roughly 225 baital (five sheep equalled one baital, a camel equalled five baital) toward the end of the 19th century. The taking of a woman's life, other than one's wife, required the payment of half a kun.[156]

If a man was killed in a fight or in a raid, only a partial kun was paid. Of significance to the kinship system in relation to the criminal proceedings is the fact that there was always voluntary aid by the kin of a murderer, even if the murderer were wealthy, and could afford the amount himself. On the other hand, if the murderer and his kin could not make up the sum among them, wider circles of kinsmen were called in, contributing in proportion to the degree of closeness of kinship,

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[156] Izrastsov, 12.

681 provided the man was of good standing in his community.[157]
602 If the sum could not be made up by these means, it was
613 made up by giving the daughter in marriage to a descendant of the victim, provided the daughter was not yet betrothed. It was stated, although how much meaning may be attributed to it is far from clear, that the making over of from two to four daughters could stand in lieu of a kun.[158]

The implication of such payments and the participation of the kin involved is that it is one lineage which is indemnifying another lineage for the loss of a member. The fact that a daughter could be given in partial quittance of a wergeld indicates that the offending lineage recognized that it had endangered the continuity of another and the daughter offered was a means of meeting that danger. The Turks of the Orkhon-Yenisei, it will be recalled, offered a daughter in payment for the putting out of an eye; it is possible that this practice had a similar meaning.

The recipient of the wergeld, i.e., the injured lineage, distributed it in a significant fashion: on receipt of the full amount, the kin of the victim (the sub-lineage as a rule) took one-half, which it further

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[157] Ibid., 13.

[158] Ibid., 14.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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177.69

[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be re-
602 quired to support him in the payment of the indemnity.
695 Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after
613 the Russian conquest, and represents a certain harden-
177. 69 ing of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this harden-
ing was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh
177. 69 society in the previous era. The power of the bii's de-
695 602 cree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up
by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system,
a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the
bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or
less the same as before. The number of degrees of kin-
ship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they
were the same relationships which had been more vaguely
defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire
proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to
the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that
the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian pro-
vincial administration would respond to a judgment of
a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see
how vital the principle of kinship remained in the proc-
esses of adjudication, even under conditions of accul-
turation. We may observe how considerations of kinship
operated in the legal process; and how legal data are
significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal
system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

[Little Horde]

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

582 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's.[179] Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

582 613 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[179] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

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exogamy around the turn of the century. It was forbidden to take a wife from one's own kin group. According to Karutz, all the Kazakhs on Mangyshlak peninsula at this time were descended from a certain Adai who migrated to Mangyshlak from the northern part of the territory of the Little Horde. Adai had two sons, Kudaike and Kelembede, who were the founders respectively of two exogamous lineages, of which Kudaike's was the senior in rank. Karutz's informant was descended in the tenth generation from Kelembede, and hence was in the cadet lineage and had to seek a wife among the women descended from Kudaike.[180] A case might be made out for the analysis of this kin structure as a sib; indeed the Adai descent-group is typologically transitional between lineage and sib; but the sub-lineages are ranked, exogamous, and the basis for both ranking and exogamy is a detailed genealogy. Exogamy here is not on the basis of name alone; hence the classification as lineage and the implied clan structure.

The requirement to take a wife removed in the tenth degree from oneself is the most extreme rule of exogamy found among the Kazakhs. It can only be regarded as the result of special conditions operating: a group of people who had migrated to a new locality had preserved the unity of the group intact over eleven generations, re-

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[180] Karutz, Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit, 37.

[Little Horde-Mangyshlak Kazaks]

•613 582 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic [101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal line- [616] age and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukei Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

[Little Horde—Mangyshlak Kazaks]

•613 at a point in the past put at eleven generations by his descendants he moved with his family to a new locality. We are not told where his immediate descendants looked for their wives, and must infer that for several generations they formed a single lineage with a taboo on inmarriage. Possibly Adai and his descendants could take wives from the people where Adai's original kinsmen had taken their wives. In any case, with the passage of generations, in the course of lineage time, his descendants came to recognize themselves as Adai's line of descent, as a distinct entity. The final stage in the process was the formation in the course of further generations two sub-lineages, ranked as senior and junior, tracing descent from the two sons of Adai. These two sub-lineages, in conformity with the minimal criterion of degrees of relationship, came to reckon themselves as mutually exogamous, and were permitted to intermarry. Because of favorable conditions of lineage stability, possibly based on their isolatedness, these minimal criteria were made maximal, for ten generations is the longest count we have. We cannot say whether the entire lineage was endogamous, whether, that is, they formed two inter-marrying moieties, but we can point out a classical instance of lineage fission, and a further process of splitting into minimal or sub-lineages formed in the time-process itself, i.e., in the passage of the

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

● 613 generations.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the workings of another structural principle: the ranking of the minor or sub-lineages according to the priority of birth of the founder by virtue of the principle of differential inheritance and succession.

The Village in the Little Horde

621 Meyendorff made a journey from Orenburg in the southern Ural mountains to Bukhara in the year 1820. In the territory of the Little Horde he encountered a village which was the camp of a great Kazakh chief. By comparison with other villages, Meyendorff accounted this one a large village, containing fifty tents, grouped in clusters of from three to six tents each. He passed through this aul in the month of October, presumably when these pastoralists had gathered together in their winter camp after the summer dispersal.[181]

Radlov has reported that the typical Kazakh aul was composed of from fifty to seventy tents;[182] here it is

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[181] Meyendorff, 14.

177.62 621 [182] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 518. By Radlov's day there had already taken place the administrative reform mentioned above, namely, the reorganization of villages into volosti integrated into the Turkestan governor-generalcy. By then, too, the office of village elder had become appointive, and was no longer an expression of prestige through birth or wealth alone.

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
625 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Ḥaïr. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak süök, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak süök, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

●613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. cont. of AHI Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

● 618 162 aristocracy as a lineage, they numbered eighteen. Of these, ten numbered between 120 and 900 families; four numbered between 1100 and 1500 families; three contained between 2600 and 3200 families, and one had 5000.[230] These lineage figures indicate the range in the number of people who considered themselves close agnatically. There is the consanguineal tie recognized by all Kazakhs, and that which is recognized by members of a given horde. There is finally a consanguinity vaguely recognized between a member of a clan bearing the name Kongrad among the Uzbeks, and the Kongrad clan of the Kazakhs. But closeness of relationship in the paternal line such as is found within lineages and measured by the functions that such a grouping has, is not found among the larger units. One might marry outside one's clan, or even outside one's horde; but the real exogamic unit was the lineage, whether major (maximal) or minor (minimal); the lineage members supported each other and their bii in humble matters, such as the supplying of an oath-taker or a witness in a dispute, supporting the judgment of the bii, helping to pay a major or minor indemnity; making common cause against rustlers or feuding parties; dividing and sharing pasturages; and so forth. For these reasons, it was important to know how many kinsmen a man had for purposes of the daily life of the community;

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[230] Idem.

[Inner Horde]

613 162 and it was likewise important to know what the range was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

233 613 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

[1] [cf. est. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for Content -- Analyst]

233 613 herding ratios comparable to those of the Mongols:[232]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	12%	10%	6%

Another series of herd ratios for the Bukei Horde for the period 1849-1850 is comparable to these:[233]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	9%	14%	5%

These data bear evidence to the fact that we are dealing with the same type of society. Moreover, we see changes in ratio indicating changes in herd strength, indicating the perils of steppe life, that the pastoralist is at the mercies of natural forces. Thus, three severe winters (1846-1849) caused an over-all drop of 25 percent in the herds.[234] And we gain thereby a closer understanding of the factors making for instability of life on the steppe; the rise and fall of herds is a factor making for the dissolution and recombination of social groups in pastoral societies.

Clan and Lineage of the Inner Horde

613 The clan in the Inner Horde was divided into lineages called taifa, and the lineage in turn was divided into sub-lineages (or major lineages into minor ones)

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[232] Ibid., 40.

[233] Ibid., 11.

[234] Ibid., 12.

[Inner Horde]

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
[177.61] this connection is that taifa[7] is of Arabic origin, introduced into the Turkic social organisation through the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is a binome composed of the words for father and for child, thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patrilineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in
[614] the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga. These tamga were not property marks, they were clan signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions, becoming the named units to which people attributed membership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand, many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the clan leader was selected by the central administration. The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa,

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

7 [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 496, bot. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
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601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally,[1] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
564 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭŏk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177.56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1 [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff.--Analyst]

601 614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), sŭk, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the sŭk were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The sŭk might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the sŭk corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

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[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff.--Amelyet]

[AHoi Kazakhs]

613 have been the statement, for example, of Cham, M. Chamov's father. Chamov himself would have to marry outside his ata, those who shared with him a common ancestor in the ascending paternal line in the person of Sary, the son of Sargaldak, the sŭŏk founder; Sary was the founder of the ata in question, he being in the seventh ascending generation from Chamov. However, it would be dangerous to infer a universal rule from these data, for we have seen that the exogamic principle has been subject to considerable variation throughout the steppe, and among the Kazakhs as well.

613 177.61 563 A number of marks of acculturation are to be observed in the genealogy and commentaries on it.[1] First of all, the concept of the sŭŏk has changed: no longer is there a distinction between ak sŭŏk and kara sŭŏk;[2] whatever social distinction there was, was made between rich and poor Kazakhs, on the basis of wealth and not of birth; Rudenko's comment that family and social life among the Kazakhs was very archaic and conservative in form[264] to the contrary notwithstanding. Again, a Russian system of patronymics was instituted, whereby the Kazakh Chamov was called thus because his father bore the name Cham, thus establishing a system of family names which had never existed before. A follow-up ethnography would probably show a considerable rigidifica-

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[264] Rudenko, op. cit., 66.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [i.e. nobles and commoners. Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 500-501 -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sök, of the byr top.[265]

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pastures, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dzien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Anol, st]

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one of the uezdy is the Karkaralinsk, occupied in the main by the Shorkarakesek lineage, and with a minority from another lineage, the Karaul. These Karaul members are settled likewise in three other uezdy. Now the descent is still agnatic primarily, and residence is patrilocal. Nevertheless, one of the Karaul sub-lineages reckoned its descent through the daughters of the sub-lineage founder, one Botyshor, and are known as the Botyshor džien (Botyshor's daughter's sons). They live among the Karaul lineage, not among their patrilineal kinsmen who would have been Botyshor's kuyeu (Da Hu). These džien nevertheless preserved their patrilineal affiliations, at least in the reckoning of kinship.[266]

Significantly, group membership is determined now by administrative district in which one dwells or one's group dwells. This in itself has had the consequence of extending the džien relationship to a field where it had not been remarked before: in addition to various functions related to inheritance and the distribution of the parental estate, and to the paying of the kalym or bridewealth, the džien relation is now seen to be a means for establishing residence, descent, the occupation of common pasturage, etc. A sub-lineage such as the Botyshor džien asserted their right through kinship with the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

[266] Rudenko, op. cit., 59.

613 177.61 601

same district with, their cognatic kinsmen. This does not mean that descent has come to be traced bilaterally; it is necessary to differentiate, for the purposes of this analysis, between bilateral and cognatic descent and kinship. Except for the lacuna of one generation, that necessary to establish the relationship with the Mo Fa line, descent is still reckoned patrilineally, and the dźien likewise maintain their own agnatic relationships; although how long the latter will survive if they are not closely correlated with actual functions is questionable. From all this, it may be concluded that the extension of the dźien relationship to the residence and pasturage unit is a consequence of acculturation, and not a spelling out of innate dynamics of Kazakh development. Nevertheless it is consonant with tendencies already set in motion, at least in the 19th century if not earlier, to assign ever wider functions to the dźien, a nonagnatic relationship.

613 Lineages continued to change place of residence and fuse with other lineages in the 1920's, forming a sub-lineage süök among other component süök of a byr top (major lineage) and retain its original name. Thus, for instance, a group of Argun Kazakhs moved in among the Karatai byr-top of the Ergenekti ruu of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde. These Argun continued to be identified as such, that is, the sub-lineage which they now formed was known by that name, but they

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 would also be known by the name of the Karatai sök with which they have been fused. These Argun sub-lineage members form an exogamic unit, offering daughters as wives to other sök of the Karatai byr top and receiving wives in turn. Again, sub-lineages were formed by descendants of slaves taken from the Torguts, the Kalmuk, the Uriankhai, the Teleut, now fully incorporated. Thus, another sök of the Karatai was the Sumar sök, descended from a slave named Sumar captured from the Kalmuk.[267] Lineages may extend their membership, incorporate members of other corporate entities, whether Kazakh lineages, hordes, or non-Kazakh nomadic groups such as the Kalmuk, including the admission to lineage membership of the line of freed slaves; the numerical significance of this principle is not to be underestimated because of the large proportion of people taken in war, raid, etc., and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

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The Aul of the Altai Kazakhs

621 Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads

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[267] Rudenko, op. cit., 59-60.

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101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 619 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again 631 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 631 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ The Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

/199 cont./

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.

● 614 /200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes
619 the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun',
614 Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/214 cont. /

000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[175] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified colonization of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
179 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
178 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
565 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
291 and especially in the years of
492 "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

492 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
614 (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

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1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

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622 is the most honored and respected person. whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master.
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however.
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house. since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children. the preparation of food and clothing. going out for the
livestock near the village the making of articles for domestic
use. the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order.
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family. and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law. she is the simple property of her
[968] husband. and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last. however. has already
begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is. for example. among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land. or with a clan that
is influential in elections. or. finally. to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous.
and an agreement is possible while they. the groom and bride.
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels. horses. cows. and smaller animals). and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money. and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money. for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

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of the modern Iranians, who conquered nameless aborigines five hundred years before the present era. The Scythians were later overwhelmed by Huns coming from the east, who were followed by Greeks under Alexander the Great, Persians (Parthians, Sogdians, Bactrians), Mongolian hordes (Hephthalites), Avars, Arabs, Turks, and Turko-Mongols again in successive onslaughts, and finally by Russians in the 19th century.

The predominant life pattern of these peoples is nomadic pastoralism. The classic habitat of nomadism is the Asiatic steppe, and the classic practitioners are the Turks and Mongols. In the course of the past thousand years, many herders have gone over to farming as a more efficient form of land utilization wherever climate and soil factors have permitted it. Farming enables more people to get a living out of less land than does herding. The fertile valleys and oases of Central Asia, coupled with the example of earlier Asiatic peoples, have encouraged many of the Turks to make this transition. Indeed, the history of Asia can be interpreted as a history of the relations between herders and farmers, each of whom needs and trades for the products of the other; conquests and wars result from the breakdown of this traditional symbiotic relationship.

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The various peoples of the region have archaic forms of social organization. However ancient and extensive their states and empires, it is the tie of blood which unites a people. Theoretically, all Kazakhs are descended in the male line from a common ancestor, as are the Uzbeks and the Mongols. The societies and nations of the region are composed of an intricate web of relationships which are partly blood ties and partly political ties. The fact of descent from the ancestor of all Kazakhs determines a man's "Kazakhhood"; the fact that all Kazakhs once formed a single nation likewise determines his membership in Kazakh society.

The modern era of relative chaos on the steppes of Asia began with the death of Tamerlane and the collapse of his empire early in the 15th century. He ruled over the last of the great empires which had drawn their strength from nomadic warriors and had dominated Central Asia for so many centuries. His death marked the end of this long period of political integration; instead of one great and inclusive Turkic nation on the steppe, there began the age of particularisms which continued down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century. Parallel processes were at work in Europe at this time, but, unlike Europe, the local patriotisms and local loyalties on the steppe had no fixed territories, boundaries, or capital cities.

All the great cities of Central Asia lie outside the steppe in the surrounding fertile valleys. These cities—Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar—were once world-famous for their splendor, and their mention still leaves a ring of ancient glory. They were centers of learning, of administration, of trade and caravan entrepots, of bazaars, of arts and handicrafts. During the chaotic period from the 15th to the 19th centuries they failed to achieve domination over the steppe, nor did the herdsmen of the steppe win power over them. Thus the period between the recession of the great nomadic empires and the Russian conquest and engulfment was a time of intermittent wars and uneasy peace. These troubled

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are [567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From 602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan [565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal [622] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing [588] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

[92] Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. [614] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader [590] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he [622] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the [592] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altyasarin, 1870, p. 104.

[1] [for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 1-11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

241 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 596 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] [241] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S [622] upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S 563 Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 614 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted S K 563 233 361 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] [668] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site S K [622] still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) S N 563 responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] [594] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      - Sikhym
      - Jamys
      - Tümir
      - Shymyr
      - Botpai
      - Kurulus
      - Büsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      - Sirgüli
      - Ysty
      - Otakshy
      - Jalair
      - Shapas
      - Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      - Kara keshk
      - Shar Jitim
      - Janshar
      - Tört aul with aa) Atygai
        - bb) Altai
        - cc) Terbish
        - dd) Tabakty
      - Borshy
      - Karpak
      - Basüntin
      - Agysh Kalkanam
      - Kanjygaly
      - Kosugan
      - Kök shal
   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      - Bulatty
      - Türs tamgaly
      - Baganaly
      - Sadyr
      - Ergünükti
   c) Tribe Kypchak
   d) Tribe Kirüi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kurüi with the clans:
         - Jantykai
         - Jadyk
         - Shirüüshi

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Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itängmän
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kiräi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata köktingulу (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitä
Tört kara
Shümököi
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jätti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptä
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Telätä
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

[Little Horde]

161 1876 and 1885; the Lesser Horde contained 150,000 to 160,000 families,[175] and the Inner Horde about 30,000. This represents about a 20 percent increase over the figure given for the Little Horde alone in 1830 of 177 160,000 families by Levshin.[176] The Little and Inner Hordes were closest to European Russia, and had been the longest of all in close contact with the Russians; the degree of acculturation was not different in any marked manner from that of the Middle Horde Kazakhs. Because of the readier accessibility of the Little Horde, however, we have fuller data on certain aspects of their social structure and kinship relations than we have for the more distantly situated hordes.

•614 The clans of the Little Horde, as those of all the other hordes, were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent from a common ancestor; this ancestor sometimes gave his name to the clan; otherwise the clan name was drawn from the stock of names which are associated with glorious events, great traditions designed to inspire the Kazakh warriors to emulate those who bore that name in the past. One clan name in the Little Horde was Yappas, a derivation from the name Japhet, the son of Noah, who appears ever again in Kazakh etymologies; other clan

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[175] Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304. The lower estimate is that of von Hellwald, 20. Schuyler and Lansdell gathered their materials through interviewing local officials.

[176] Levchine, 300.

[Little Horde]

614 names are Argun, Kipchak, Kirei, all of which occur elsewhere in Kazakh clan lists, and which take their origin in the traditions associated with Chingis Khan. These names also appear in the Secret History of the Mongols, and continue to evoke a militant morale among the steppe dwellers.[177]

614 701 The close association of the clan with military organization implied by these considerations is further evidenced by the identification of the clans with their uran, the clan passwords or countersigns, which consisted either of the name of the eponymous clan ancestor or of an illustrious warrior generally among the clan forebears, and was used to cheer the warrior in battle, invoke the aid of clansmen in the fray, or to celebrate a victorious outcome.[178] The clan was closely associated with war, and had among its most important functions the constitution of a military unit.

614 The clan had its special tamga which it stamped on the left thigh of the cattle of the clansmen. These were not property signs but were simply means of distinguishing among the cattle of various clans. The clan embodied the same structural principles found at work throughout Kazakh society, in larger-scale units as well as smaller: it was based on the principle of agnatic re-

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[177] Balliusek, 164.

[178] Idem.

[Little Horde]

614 lationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

613 The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle; the lineage is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit, and a corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

582 In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only in a family which shared a common ancestor in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report of the 1870's.[179] Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

582 613 The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of

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[179] Altynsarin, 104.

[Inner Horde]

613 called ata-bala. An important acculturative note in
[177.61] this connection is that taifa[1] is of Arabic origin, introduced into the Turkic social organization through the intermediation of Islam.[235] The term ata-bala is a binome composed of the words for father and for child, thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patrilineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in
[614] the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan uran was for-
[422] gotten, together with the clan cattle-brand or tamga. These tamga were not property marks, they were clan signs.[236] Lineages had come to take over clan functions, becoming the named units to which people attributed membership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand, many clans might be combined into one unit.[237] by the process of fusion.

177.61 The clan had become an administrative unit under
614 the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; the clan leader was selected by the central administration. The clan was no longer collectively responsible for the debts of a member as it had been in previous times ac-
614 cording to Kharusin's report. On the other hand, the clan had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when

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[235] Radlov, Opyt Slovaria, s.v. taifa.

[236] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, column 48.

[237] Ibid., 41-43.

1 [i.e. a "lineage" of the Inner Horde; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p496, bot. -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 this function was taken over by the lineage. Here we can say that the clan could continue to be the unit of exogamy in those cases where it was co-terminous with the lineage, and was so even in the 20th century, as indeed it had been at times in the past. But the lineage, or sub-lineage, was the normal unit of exogamy and had been before Kharuzin's day, and continued to be afterward.

614 [611] 608 The clan was no longer[1] responsible for the crimes of a clan-member; that it had been in the past is shown by the wergeld relationship, regarding the collection of the wergeld for transmission and its distribution on receipt. It was possible to change clan affiliation; indeed this exemplifies beautifully the principle of the fictive descent, whereby on joining another clan one was given the genealogy of the new clan, the conditio sine qua non for membership in the new clan. One of the most frequent reasons for leaving one's clan and joining a new one according to Kharuzin was to escape punishment; but this reason is self-defeating, since the clan of asylum might not want responsibility for the fugitive and could demand the return of the new arrival to his old clan; in fact the notion contradicts Kharuzin's point that the clan had no responsibility for its members' activities.[238]

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[238] Ibid., 44-45.

1 [i.e. in the 19th century; Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 496-498 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 619 601 Another principle of social structure is illustrated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

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[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
619
601 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
[177.61] decline generally,[1A] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

43 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭŭk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177. 56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among
619 the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Elata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the
614 genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŭŏk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 524-526--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

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I	Naiman	VIII	Oletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekshardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Boramchy	XII	Emu
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	M. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylized manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, M. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; M. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

1 [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]

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genealogies of these people compiled by outstanding investigators in the past, Aristov and Tynyshpaev. According to Tynyshpaev, Ergenekti had two sons, Kekzhardy and Karatai, whereas Samoilovich reports them respectively as father, son and grandson. Above we have seen that in Kazakh kinship nomenclature, Fa Ol Br may bear the same term as Fa Fa, ata; and Fa Yo Br may bear the same term as Ol Br, aga. There is thus really no contradiction between Tynyshpaev and Samoilovich; it is solely a matter of what the end in view of the genealogist was, and which generation he took as his point of reference. Let us consider first the generation reference point: assuming that Kekzhardy was senior and Karatai the cadet; in this case, the son of Karatai, Boranchy, would call Kekzhardy ata regardless of whether he was his Fa Ol Br, i.e., Karatai's Ol Br, or Karatai's Fa, i.e., Boranchy's Fa Fa. This is viewed from the standpoint of the next descending generation, i.e., from Karatai. Assuming, on the other hand, that Karatai was senior and Kekzhardy the cadet, Karatai would have been called aga by Kekzhardy; likewise, Karatai's son, Boranchy, would have called Kekzhardy aga, Fa Yo Br, so that the denotation of the term would coalesce from the viewpoint of the generation succeeding Boranchy. This telescoping and expanding of the genealogy ad libitam is made possible by the intricate

603 system of generation up-grading and down-grading in the
614 terminology.

Let us now consider the problem of the end in view of the genealogist. This man was Samoilovich's informant, the sul and lineage elder, M. Chamov, who was establishing a direct senior descent from the lineage founder, Karatai, and the senior descent of the Karatai lineage in the Ergenekti clan; in his conception, the line proceeded directly from Ergenekti to Kekzhardy and thence to Karatai, and no allusion to any cadet line whatsoever was made. This he did by asserting that Boranchy had indeed called Kekzhardy sta, but in the sense of Fa Fa, and not Fa Ol Br, a claim which was certainly in keeping with, and not contradicted by the system of kinship terminology. Thus a genealogy is propounded not merely to establish a descent group as such, nor merely to validate a claim to membership in that descent group, but also to assert certain rights of the descent group as over against other possible claimants in the matter of seniority, and the correlative leadership, prestige and precedence. Moreover, the genealogy is closely related to the ritual number seven, or twice seven. Again, the lineage of Karatai is composed of a number of sub-lineages, including the Sargaldak, Döilöt, Shong-murun and Kendje-Chagyr; of these the Sargaldak is proposed by Chamov as the senior one, that being Chamov's own

[Altai Kazakhs]

601 614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1/A] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), sŭŏk, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the sŭŏk were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The sŭŏk might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the sŭŏk corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

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[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

1/A [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff. --Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏk, of the byr top.[265]

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dźien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff.--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 233 component extended family or close-kin groups for the summer movement.[274] These auls, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 [556] The auls of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All 621 ●614 these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sök founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

233 The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.[277] The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.[278] The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass-growth is favored by the snow-melt.[279]

621 233 A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an <u>aul</u> might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter and summer camp is from about 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps <u>kokteu</u> and fall camps <u>kuzou</u>.[280]

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[277] Rudenko, op. cit., 72.

[278] Ibid., 8.

[279] Ibid., 72.

[280] Ibid., 4-8.

[Great Horde]

000 Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.
161 Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest of all the hordes during the 19th century.[63] Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 440,000 individuals in the past third of the 19th century.[64]

616 In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces
619 of a dual organization, the division of the horde into an eastern wing and a western. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into ten clans.[65] It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, and the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organization, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the functioning of the principle of exogamy to this unit.[66] However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term dual organization is the lack of distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically,

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[63] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 235.

[64] Aristov, Opyt vyiasneniia, 398-400.

[65] Radloff, op. cit., I, 235.

[66] Lowie, Primitive Society, 118.

[Great Horde]

616 619 and reflect a mode of organization in the imperial past of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 631 171 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the two great divisions is in its turn dually organized. The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Middle Horde]

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[W4]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǎy yüz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

631 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Little Horde-Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history
582 of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic
[101] minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal line-
[616] age and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,[1] but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukei Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the i[illegible] livestock (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 7

7 [Not translated -- A.]

4:Grodekov--7 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

576 The order of seniority is observed: 1) at the division of military booty (oldzha). Even though the man who first captured the booty may wish to take the lion's share of it for himself, those who are senior by birth usually take their share first; 2) in entering the house (nukhtagasyb kiredi, they enter in order) and in sitting down in their places. The most honorable place is opposite the entrance; 3) at the opening of a festivity (tui bystagan), they argue as to who, as senior in the clan, will begin the singing (ulen), for this one customarily receives a gift; 4) in the quality of the food served.

•618 The seniority among the hordes, clans and lineages goes by direct
576 line. The last clan of the Great horde has precedence over the most senior clan of the Middle horde, etc. This is justified by the fact that the ancestor was senior (atasy ulkun). (2)

2. Among the Mogols the khans are succeeded by their youngest sons, i. e., those who have not received allotment. Even now the youngest sons, as inheritors of the father's tent (ulkun ui), acquire greater fame from the fact that they arrange the funeral and the wake. Guests and petitioners for the usual gifts and sacrifices come to them. Finally, they enjoy great respect already during their father's lifetime. They are only obliged to honor their elder brothers. After the death of the father the guests appear first in the home of the youngest son in order to honor the memory of the father (arvakh siileimiz, we honor the soul), but for counsel they turn to his elder brother.

The Dzhalair clan is now considerd the senior clan of the Great horde. At feasts when the food is served they ask if there is someone there from the senior clan Dzhalair (nukhtagasy Dzhalair barma?), in order to serve him first. At weddings the Dzhalairs begin the singing, and if none of them are present the Oshakty begin it.

618 /8/ There are indications, however, that at the beginning this clan was not the oldest in origin. Umurbek, bii of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, transmits the following story: Once Dzhalair rode out with orders to take horses from adversaries. Having stored up a large number of halters, (nukhta), he succeeded in driving in far more horses than his comrades. As a result of this, he received the nick name of nukhtagasy, which from that time on began to be used in the sense of elder in the clan. Nukhta-agasy means master or chief of the halters. /The informant/ Torgai, who admits that Dzhalair might have been younger and became senior as heir of his father's changarak /tent ring, i. e. tent/, repudiates

this story, however, on the basis that nukhtagasy does not come from the word nukhta. The Kazakhs of the Oshakhty clan maintain that Oshakty is older than Dzhalair, although the latter has precedence as the lawful (nikeli) son. Yupar Baibishe, the mother of all the clans of the Great horde, from the lust which she conceived for a man who was walking beside her husband, bore a son without relations with him. She thrust the baby into the hearth (oshak), for which reason the people who found him gave him the name Oshakty. After him she bore a lawful son Dzhalair. 618

It is customary to give certain food to the honored person, i. e. of the senior clan (nukhtagasy), the eldest in the clan or lineage (aksakal), finally the khodja, mullah, etc. If there is some to give, the honored person receives tea, millcakes, fruit (1) and the following 576

1. Cf. supplement No. 3.[1]

pieces of meat: to the first, the head of the animal (2) or, according

2. The tastiest part of the head is considered to be the nose.

to other people, the head with a flank (ianbas) and a haunch (mykyn), or the head with a flank and hooves; to the second person the flank (ianbas); to the third the thigh-bone (ortan yilik, ortai ilik); to the fourth a leg from knee to shinbone (asyk yilik); (3) to the last the

3. Asyk is the knee pan.

shoulder (dzhaurin). The fat under the horse's mane is considered to be one of the very honorable pieces.

According to data from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, pieces of mutton have the following sequence in degree of honor: the orta yilik /9/ (the thigh bone of a front leg) goes to the young men; the asyk yilik (the leg, knee to shinbone, of a back leg) to women; ker yilik or kari yilik (the knee to shinbone part of a front leg) to the mistress of the house (baibishe); tus (breast) to the groom; iaurin (the shoulder and thighbone of a front leg) to the old men; tokpa (the thighbone of a back leg) to the grown girls (bui yitken kyzdarga); kiuimshak (the tail) to the women and girls.

According to data from the Kurama uyezd, the men receive: bas (the head), kabyrga (rib), umurtka (the vertebrae), bakai (the hoof and the bones over the hooves of all four feet), and the yilinchik (a little

1 [not translated -- A]

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The [695] clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, [628] but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a [587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from [429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and 618
debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships.

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and 631
Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic 618
population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle.

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the 631
Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, 618
data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, 178
from whom the following answers have been received.

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division [695] to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
[579] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[696] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

The vagueness and imprecision of the borders of the volosts and villages also adds to the importance of the clan origin. There are cases, quite often, in which Kazakhs belonging to one volost or one village occupy land for farming and winter camps in other volosts and villages. The organization of the land and the exact determination of the borders of the volosts and villages will have an enormous influence on the destruction of the clan principle. When every village has its own allotment of land then a transfer of tents will take place only for economic considerations and not to collect a majority of votes for one's kinsmen. 618

2) In the opinion of the chief of the Turkestan uyezd, the administrative division of the Kazakhs into villages and volosts has not by any means achieved its goal, and the clan principle is strongly maintained, as before. This is assisted, among other things, by the fact that the volosts were organized by clans or by branches, and all the transfers of Kazakhs from one volost to another were caused by a desire for clan unity.

3) The chief of the Kazalinsk (2) uyezd states that the division

2. On the transfer of the Kazakhs from volost to volost to their kinsmen, and on the force of the clan rulers in the steppe along with the volost administrators, see the article by E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti" /From the life of the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya region/, in Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, No. 17. In 1887 Mr. Aleksandrov writes: "Up to the present time a weakening of the clan principle has not been perceptible. In this respect the law of 1867 has not had the force of a destructive action."

into volosts and villages with elected functionaries, has suppressed to a considerable degree the striving of the kinsmen to play the leading role or to influence the administration by the people. /16/ A land demarcation of the volosts would have had a still greater influence on the suppression of the clan principle. Even now Kazakhs of one clan but in different volosts, even in those very far apart, for the most part nomadize together on lands which they consider to be of the clan. For this reason they often do not allow villages to use the land although the latter have a greater right to it because of their permanent residence in those places and their revival of irrigation canals. [423]

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4) The chief of the Kurama uyezd reported that there were no strong Kazakh clans in that uyezd, since its residents had already come here in small groups or singly during the Moslem rule. In transferring from volost to volost, the strong clans do not willingly separate their members, and the latter also are not anxious to break away from their clan. Those who do transfer are mostly the poor from broken clans. The Kazakhs who have strong kinsmen live more prosperously, because the rich help their poor kinsmen in difficult moments, and often pay assessments for them, while the poor pay for this in their turn by their labor. With the breaking up of the clans the poor, being left to their own devices, grow poorer from year to year, having no strong hand indirectly leading them. According to the opinion of the chief of the uyezd, the morality of the Kazakhs belonging to a large clan is considerably higher than the morality of the newcomers from broken clans. This is explained by the fact that the clan administration has not lost its importance even now, and the chief of the clan in the midst of the Kazakhs has even more influence than the Russian administration.

5) The Chimkent uyezd is occupied by Kazakhs of the Great horde, and the nomadic life is retained in absolute purity among them. Here every Kazakhs knows well what his clan is, his lineage and even his sublineage. The clan principle has been retained in full force, and with it the power of the kinsmen. The right reserved to the nomads to transfer from volost to volost has made it possible for the Kazakh clans to unite, and at /17/ the present time some single clan predominates in every volost. The volost administrator is elected from this predominant clan, and he plays the role of kinsman at the same time. The village elders are also elected primarily from the chief clan. Not one of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd has territorial boundaries, and the tent proprietors in most of the volosts are scattered over the entire uyezd. Although the elective principle has weakened the power of a single kinsman in an entire lineage, it has brought with it the formation of a small clan aristocracy, the atkamnars. (1) The atkamnars are mostly former officials of volosts,

1. Atkamnar literally means "rider of a horse", and in a figurative sense, a rich person.

or biis, or officials of villages, or even of groups of fifty. Since persons influential in the clan are elected for all these posts, 20 to 150 tents of adherents and relatives remain around them even after they havebeen replaced. The atkamnar is considered the patron of

his adherents. He acts as their representative at elections and in court cases.

In confirmation of what has been said, we enter below a list of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd, with an indication of the number of tents in each clan within the volost.

Aktash volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	889 tents
		Sikym	93 tents
		Seuvan	38 "
		Total	1,020 tents
Akmolinsk volost	Clans:	Sty	956
		Oshakty	228
		Kangly	16
		Kongrad	2
		Total	1,202
Arys volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1,160
Aksu volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	884
		Chimir	841
		Sary Aisiun	40
/18/		Dzhagalbaily	62
		Sikym	139
		Argyn	9
		Botpai	3
		Total	1, 978
Bairkum volost	Clan:	Kongrad	1, 462
Bishtamgaly	Clans:	Sirgeli	156
		Sty	900
		Oshakty	289
		Dzhalair	134
		Total	1, 479
Buraldaev	Clans:	Chimir	1, 053
		Sikym	8
		Abdan	9
		Total	1, 070
Karabulak volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 036 tents
		Shenshkyly	65
		Sirgeli	90
		Chimir	1 28
		Total	1, 319 tents

4: Grodekov--17 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kázak RQ2

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Karamurt volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 344 tents
		Shaprashty	94
		Abdan	80
		Argyn	20
		Kangly	15
		Sty	19
		Botpai	20
		Oshakty	10
		Kirgiz	20
		Sirgeli	15
		Total	1, 637tents
Kazykurt volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	1, 421 tents
		Auban	150
/19/		Sikym	50
		Sty	47
		Total	1, 368 tents
Kungei-Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	849
		Dzhalair	162
		Total	1, 011 tents
Mailikent volost	Clans:	Chimir:	1, 312 tents
		Kangly } Shenshkyly }	413
		Dzhanys	50
		Botpai	251
		Total	2, 026
Sarykul volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1, 455 tents
		Argyn	19
		Kerei	17
		Total	1, 491
Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 827 tents
		Kongrad	12
		Total	1, 839 tents
Tilik volost	Clans:	Sty	1, 599 tents
Chayan volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 034 tents
Chilik volost	Clans:	Naiman	705 tents
		Argyn	249
		Kypchak	152
		Hodja	154
		Total	1, 160 tents/sic/
Chul volost	Clans:	Sikym	900 tents
		Dzhagalbaily	156
		Total	1, 056 tents

4:Grodekov--18 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 631 618

Dzhanys volost	Clans:		
		Chegyr	416 tents
		Dzhanys	603
/20/		Sirgeli	11
		Total	1,030 tents

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

* * * *

The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat. 171 171

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the exchange of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with the meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife", the fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the expiatory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established (among the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the repetition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

/27/ CHAPTER III.

602 Degrees of kinship. -The authority of the parents. -Age of majority. -The clan of the mother. -Adoption. -Guardianship. -Blood brotherhood.

An unknown person receives questions first of all about his clan (Ne el sen? Syuyaging ne?). If the inquirer is of the same clan, then he asks about the lineage, then the sublineage, etc., down to the group, after which the direct descending list of the ancestors begins. Each is supposed to know his ancestors. "He who does not know seven ancestors is a backslider," says the proverb (yete atasyn bil'megen murted). (1)These inquiries serve as a testimonial of the

1. We were able to ascertain more than once that even children aged 10-11 knew their seven ancestors exactly.

individual. Guests are received graciously or rudely on the basis of the recognized degree of kinship. Kinship is reckoned, as they say, to the fortieth degree.

618 Transfer from one clan to another is impossible, but living and nomadizing with a strange clan is permitted.

582 Marriages are concluded between hordes, clans, lineages, etc. to the seventh "ancestor", i. e., the seventh degree of kinship inclusively, by the male line (2), and in the opinion of several people, to

2. Matchmaking takes place when seven ancestors have passed (yete ata utkensong). If anyone has a love relationship with a person more closely related than this degree of kinship, he is banished from the society (yurttan chygarady). Communication of bii Khalmakhammed, Chimkent uyezd.

the fourth and even the third degree. Among the Kirgiz, according to the statement of bii Kurpetay Dauletkulov, marriages are concluded to the fifth generation. At the present time, closer relatives marry, even from the second generation, for which they are reproached by the words: "You are spoiling the customary law." But they do not dissolve the marriage and do not impose a penalty. (3) Mullah Asan

3. In the Svanetiya "Even those whose kinship is reckoned at the twelfth degree cannot enter into marriage." (Vestnik Evropy, August, 1886).

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, let us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

* * * *

Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

[291 cont.]
descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he followed a different course. He lived near the border of the government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[295 cont.]

x648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

●[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 727] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the
619 powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which,
611 during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).

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2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

[303]

The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

101 361 221 619 [166 101]

Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

5: Levchine--188 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Tamghas

Plate 8

or

212
613
619

Marks Used by the Kirghiz-Kazaks
By way of Signatures and Seals

In the Little Horde

Descent Lines*	Marks or Stamps	Descent Lines	Marks or Stamps
Chikli		Mashkar	
Karakisiak		Tazlar	
Chumiakei		Cherkes	
Durt Kara		Tabyn	
Adai		Cama	
Djapas		Kerderi	
Alacha		Djagalbaiuli	
Berch		Kereit	

In the Middle Horde

Keipchasky		Uvaksky	
Naimansky		Kireisky	

[*The following are tribes according to the text.--Ed.]

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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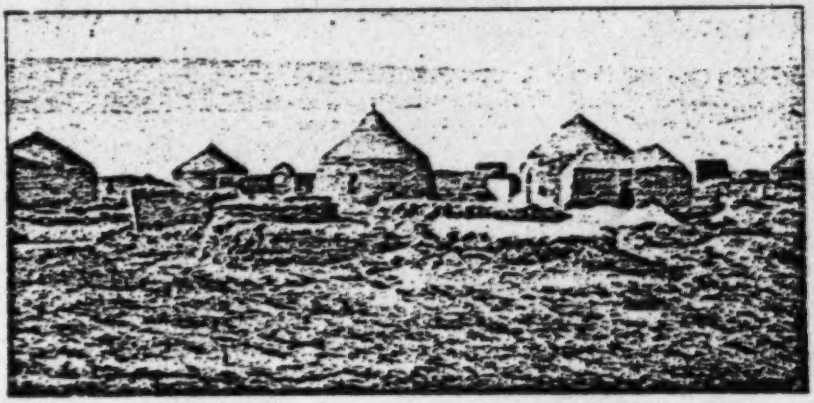

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
175 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of
643 peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again 619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political 631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 63 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ The Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later,

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK 175 631 648 /147 cont./

himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

KK [167]

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

K 175 648 [619] [167]

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

P.T. 172

/199 cont./

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.
614

/200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont./

101 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes
619 the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun',
614 Kundelen, Bultuk, Kökbörön, Tuyuchka, Kytabak, and other clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak constituted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a large number of those in the west split off and became part of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances, who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe, which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara, Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or Karakisyan/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/, Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar, Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt, Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly /Dzhagalbaily/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the present Astrakhan guverniya) after the Torgout fled from there. This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little Horde.

/200 cont./

101 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole
619 one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ The physical type of these tribes can be con-
101 sidered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would
619 be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the
142 region together under this type. It is evident from the clans
144 and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

128 In the description below of the physical type of the
141 Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

● 619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

649 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [622] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
   a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
      - Sikhym
      - Jamys
      - Tümir
      - Shymyr
      - Botpai
      - Kurulus
      - Büsh tün bala (the five equal children)
      - Sirgüli
      - Ysty
      - Otakshy
      - Jalair
      - Shapas
      - Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
   a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
      - Kara keshk
      - Shar Jitim
      - Janshar
      - Tört aul with aa) Atygai
        - bb) Altai
        - cc) Terbish
        - dd) Tabakty
      - Borshy
      - Karpak
      - Basüntin
      - Agysh Kalkanam
      - Kanjygaly
      - Kosugan
      - Kök shal
   b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
      - Bulatty
      - Türs tamgaly
      - Baganaly
      - Sadyr
      - Ergänükti
   c) Tribe Kypchak
   d) Tribe Kirüi with three sub-tribes:
      1) Abak-Kurüi with the clans:
         - Jantykai
         - Jadyk
         - Shirüüshi

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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/The Kazakh Nation/

Itäli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itängmän
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kirüi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisäk
Kitä
Tört kara
Shümökö
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherkäs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isän-tämir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jätti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Käptä
Tama
Tabyn
Keräit
Telää
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

● 619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of those who had followed

[42]Levchine, 299-300.

[43]Kostenko, 30.

167 that motivation to migrate in one case is ascribed to the fear of being forced to settle down.

Kazakh Clan and Lineage: General Considerations

● 619 It will be recalled that during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Kazakhs were united into one nation, with relatively well-recognized boundaries, under a single ruler. Even though the three component hordes had already been formed during this period, their separation in fact took place only in the 18th century. The resulting triple division was not fixed and permanent. First we note the separation again of the Inner Horde. Again, various tribes and clans were continually leaving and re-joining different hordes. According to Valikhanov, the Little Horde itself was formed by splitting off from the others (probably during the 16th century). Thus according to local tradition, the Great and the Middle hordes are the senior divisions.[45] This tradition supplies us with a datum regarding the over-all dual organization of the steppe societies.

619 167 Again there was much internal movement, as an instance of which the following may be cited: elements of the Kangly, Chaichkly, and Kereit clans of the Great Horde separated from that horde in the 17th century, and nomadized together with the Kongrad clan of the Middle

[45] Valikhanov, 290.

619 167 horde down through the 19th century.[46] The process of combination and recombination was not restricted to movements inside the Kazakh hordes, they also combined with non-Kazakh Turkic groups of the steppe, but the pattern was different. The clans were groups which usually bore the name of an eponymous ancestor, or recreated the name of an illustrious Turkic or Mongol group of the past days of glory. In both instances, whether through reference to an individual (mythical or actual) or to a group, the consciousness of unity over the course of history, and the affirmation of the unity of that history was asserted. In this way an unmistakable symbol was given to a Turkic clan or people, and its unity, real or fictive, mythological or historical, was established by tradition. Certain names, primarily the most glorious, recur again and again, among the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and so forth, which formed a small reservoir continually tapped. Clans bearing common names recognize an affinity with each other regardless of whether they belong to the same Turkic nation now or not.

619 The relationship established by bearing the name of a common ancestor, or of a previous group of common descent, was a weak one, but was related to certain rights of admission or combination with the distant

[46] Ibid., 286.

619 kinsmen. Thus, for example, a clan of the Great Horde, the Kereit, separated from the Kazakh federation and joined an Uzbek group which bore the name of Kereit. A small portion later returned to the Kazakhs, but this time established itself in the Little Horde. Those who made the move to join the Little Horde were thereupon given a fictive genealogy tracing descent from the eponymous founder of the Karaket clan in the Little Horde.[47]

619 563 Movement in a contrary sense, that of Turkic non-Kazakhs into the Kazakh society, also is recorded, and embodies the identical features. Thus a certain group of the Karakirgiz joined the Atygai clan of the Middle Horde, gradually merged with it, and became a lineage of that clan. In order to obtain the genealogical right to membership in that clan, the newcomers now traced their ancestry back to one of the twelve sons of a certain Daut, who was the clan-founder of the Atygai.[48] The author of this record was a native Kazakh, in the Russian service in the 19th century, and set down his traditions with care. Noteworthy is the fact that the concept of the genealogical right to membership is his formulation, and no one else's.

619 The clans had either eponymous founder-names, or

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[47] Ibid., 291.

[48] Idem.

619 they had names which harked back to the Chingiside era. Valikhanov draws an important implication from this: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union as a whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingiside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,[49] for they are properly speaking fictitious.

619 428 643 829 The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakh nobility who brought the original confederation to life are located by Kazakh tradition in the Little Horde.[50] We know that the Little Horde was not an original founding member of the confederation of hordes, but was rather the junior member. So reads the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov, and which must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the location of the original founder of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to regularize or legitimize the rank order of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to align the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through

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[49] Idem.

[50] Ibid., 292.

619 transmission via Khan Tiavka (c. 1700). This law decreed
428 that the right of succession to the father's status and
643 to his residuary possessions, went to the youngest son
829 or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.[51] N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code--the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan--and of the code transmitted by Khan Tiavka. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, not that of the father, the youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and
619 other incorporeal properties.[52] But the important thing
643 is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes
829 and decrees, but what the 19th century Kazakh believed them to be; what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a double fiction was applied. First,

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[51] Idem.

[52] Riasanovsky, Customary Laws, 7 ff; ibid., Fundamental Principles, 83 ff.

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there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

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The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[53] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

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[53] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

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173 are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

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643 As an instance of this,[1] portions of two Kazakh genealogies which purport to give the ancestry of a famous Kazakh Khan, Abul Hafr, who led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730, follow. The two genealogies are simply ten generations cut out of much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was composed by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's;[54] that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, fifty years later, in the 1920's.[55]

I	Kerim	I	Urus (1361-1376)
II	Tuigash	II	Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III	Kurenbai	III	Barak
IV	Djalyntus	IV	Djanibek
V	Bab-kasym	V	Usak
VI	Er-bulantai	VI	Bula-kai-kuyan
VII	Sabaz-batyr	VII	Ai-Chuwak
VIII	Er-djomart	VIII	Irysh
IX	Alpyspek	IX	Adja
X	Abul-Hafr	X	Abul-Hafr (1730)

[54] Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 394-395, note 2.

[55] Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

[1] [i.e. the validity of contradictory genealogies; cf. Cat. 619, p. 389-- Analyst]

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The two genealogies were collected fifty years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They give the ancestry of the famous khan, but one who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantay and Buln-kay-kuyan. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: The ten generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends fifty-four generations from Adam to Abul-Hair. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapys). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.[56] The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts nineteen generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the 19th century. The prestige

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[56] Aristov, op. cit., 394.

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of Abul-Haïr was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through fourteen generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the 19th century. Abul-Haïr becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by fourteen generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 9.3 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of the genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Haïr, making the head of the Botpay clan junior to no one, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.[57] Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle: in the account of Dikambay-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of eldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession

[57] Ibid., 395-396.

619 173 643 pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

619 181 173 This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguineal distance between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

649 181 173 social bodies.

These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh--and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

649 181 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

49 161 385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.[58] The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.[59] Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.[60]

49 161 178 Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which lineage size and clan size tended to vary. Some twenty to thirty years later, after the conquest of the region by the Russians under General Kaufman, a marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group set in. Radlov records figures for the administrative units that now replaced the clans, which although corresponding roughly with them, are in some instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families; twelve comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5350 and 12,000 families (or tents) strong.[61] In the inter-

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[58] Ibid., 395.

[59] Ibid., 396.

[60] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

[61] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 238-240.

619 178 241 vening decades,[1] the Russians had set up a system of administrative divisions which reorganized to some extent the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this time there was some increase in agriculture among them. As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration in the development of farming among them, and a tendency to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

In the inter-

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 619 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Mountains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 375. "Some of the Kirgiz have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their winter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This tendency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoralists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915, and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agriculture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47. The process of transformation as indicated by the above sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries had been making a transition from pastoralism to agriculture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 222-230.

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[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

000 Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well.
161 Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest of all the hordes during the 19th century.[63] Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 440,000 individuals in the past third of the 19th century.[64]

616 In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces
619 of a dual organization, the division of the horde into an eastern wing and a western. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into ten clans.[65] It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, and the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organization, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the functioning of the principle of exogamy to this unit.[66] However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term dual organization is the lack of distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically,

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[63] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 235.

[64] Aristov, Opyt vyiasneniia, 398-400.

[65] Radloff, op. cit., I, 235.

[66] Lowie, Primitive Society, 118.

[Great Horde]

616 and reflect a mode of organisation in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organisation has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgis, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yds or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Great Horde]

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hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1] However, in the case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extrapolated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

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Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

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642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state
[565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with
[567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata,
the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav-
[795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

•49 61 182 principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

619 565 The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭŏk (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

619 the Kalmuk, and other nomadic peoples of the Asiatic
565 steppe.

The Great Horde preserved this division by estates within the clan for several decades after the Russian. The Khan (i.e., the ruler of a clan confederation) and his kinsmen, according to Radlov, occupied a special position, forming a nobility. The nobles were called ak sŭk, the white bone, and the commoners kara sŭk, the black bone.[71] Grodekov, writing of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde during the same period, adds further details: the Kazakh nobles or white "bone" did not belong to one horde, nor to any one clan; they were not divided by lineages; they were essentially the descendants of Khans who ruled in the steppe: they formed a clan or series of clans by themselves; the nobility were those whose maternal line as well as paternal line were of the white "bone."[72] The estates were endogamous until the Russian conquest.

565 If this were the entire picture, there would be no problem; however, a certain difficulty has been touched on by Dingelstedt, a young aide on General Grodekov's staff in Turkestan. On social distinctions Dingelstedt writes, the Kazakhs have no classes; they all recognize each other as noble in origin. Their aristocratic price is great, because each must know the names of his ancestors;

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[71] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 515.

[72] Grodekov, 4-5.

[Great Horde]

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.[73] Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. 16, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 400-403 -- Analyst]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharusin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

[Great Horde]

619 Again, each clan had a war cry, or uran, whereby it iden-
[726] tified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an uran was the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.[77] The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

613 The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation[1] as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter--the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the 19th century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations

[77] Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy,... to invoke aid...there is a special signal called uran and consisting of the names of the clan ancestor or of later distinguished ancestors...." The English "hurrah!" is a derivation of the term uran.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 389, for these criteria--Analyst]

595 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practised only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.[124] While in Grodekov's version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radlov who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.[125]

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When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble. If the wives lived in the same encampment, it was the eldest wife who alone was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.[126]

619 While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her

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[124] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484; Izraztsov, 70.

[125] Radloff, op. cit., I, 484-5.

[126] Ibid., 484.

•49 58 lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering the taboo on sororal polygyny, etc., as among the Kazakhs [§87] themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the death of a man, the brother who survived him had the right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.[127] In these earlier rules, or version of the same rules, the levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radlov.

§83 The marriage arrangements were centered around the payment of the kalym or bridewealth by the family of the groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this, even with the worst of wills on the part of the father. It is the family of the groom which contributes to the kalym, moreover, and not merely the father. In a word, it is the groom's cognatic kin, and not his agnatic kin alone, who support him in this burden: his father, his brothers, his father's brothers--his agnatic kinsmen--and also his mother's brother.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion

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[127] Levchine, op. cit., 364.

[Middle Horde]

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Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

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The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kěy yüz, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

631 616 619 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 619 The elucidation of the functions of these greater divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

619 Khan Bukei[1] was of the highest nobility in the Little
565 Horde: Chingis Khan figured in his genealogy; and his more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hair, the last great Khan whose fame was recognised by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hair, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

161 He and his followers, who were changed in status from a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased naturally, through Russian support and the attraction of in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years, lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,[227] but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families,[228] which was the same number they had forty years later,
619 in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner
167 Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration--as opposed to nomadisation--brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans, villages, etc., had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

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[227] Levchine, 300.

[228] Ivanin, 6.

1 [i.e. the leader of the Inner Horde in the early 19th century. Cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 491.--Analyst]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
525 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Ḥaïr. His horde because of its recent formation,[1] small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak süök, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak süök, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[229] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karuts on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

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[229] Ibid., 11.

[1] [i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. 116, AHl Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 Another principle of social structure is illus-
619 trated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that
601 of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

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[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

[Inner Horde]

614 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of
619 the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan
601 [177.61] decline generally,[1A] as part of the acculturation picture,
are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the
growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss
of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

613 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's,
561 and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son.
However, it might rest temporarily with the first or
senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again
seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among
the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the
number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit
among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is:
the ak sŭŋk descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic
leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were
[177.56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent
of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were
not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had
a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the
white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a gene-
alogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognising the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognizable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory.[257] Moving somewhat southward,
to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Nai-
man have been moving back and forth across the Russo-
Chinese border; they may have been nomadizing in the
valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about
1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900
they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where
they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.[258]

The above data are objective in the sense that they
may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian
traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the
western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese
administrative records will show a movement across the
borders during the last third of the 19th century; or
Russian documents will support this account put together
from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev.
This little historical excursus may be verified, or it
may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any
case we indeed have a record which is in every way the
stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is sub-
ject to verification, its veracity and credibility may
be demonstrated or disproved.

[257] Margulanov, 330.

[258] Samoilovich, 303.

000 be demonstrated or disproved.

173 The point is that a record of this sort[1] is entirely
•619 different from the traditions of the Naiman themselves. The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai assert that the common ancestor of all Naiman was he who gave his name to the Naiman race. He had three sons, one of whom was an adopted son; nevertheless the claim of the adopted son's line to descent from the eponymous ancestor was not impaired by the fact of adoption. The genealogy collected by Margulanov follows:[259]

	Naiman			I
Ukresh	Rokban		Klata (adopted)	II
Telegetai	Sagurshi	Kelbuga	Kentuga	III
				IV

Naiman's great-grandsons, in the generation of Karagerei, are regarded as the founders of eponymous clans, of which only the seven descended from the sons of Ukresh are represented in the Altai region. It may be that adoption is imputed to the Klata line of the Shirsheit clan <u>because</u> they are not found in the Altai, <u>because</u> they are removed in space, hence only distantly kin; and the imputation of adoption may be the genealogical

[259] Margulanov, appended genealogies.

1 [Cf. cit. 175, pp. 524-525 -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among
619 the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Elata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the
614 genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sök) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

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[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 11b, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 524-526--Analyst]

KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE

NOMADIC UNITS

621 In considering the economic aspects of the uru group as a functioning unit we encounter a new term, aul. Roughly it is possible to say that the aul was co-extensive with the uru in the sense of a group living together. One of my informants in the initial stages of a discussion of this point said "the aul is an uru and the uru is an aul." This, however, was no doubt an oversimplification for the benefit of the ignorant but curious ethnologist, because further [61] inquiry reveals one fundamental distinction. The members of an uru were all blood relatives in the male line, or assumed to be such, while an aul might contain various individuals from outside the blood group. A man might change his aul simply by going to live in another, but could not change his uru. In the old days, according to Kargabaiev, they corresponded closely because then it was very unusual to go and live among strangers. In any case it appears that a majority of the members of an aul would be members of the same uru.

The aul may be defined as a "mobile village"[1] or nomadic encampment. Here again, however, the problem of subdivisions appears because the term aul is applied by different writers to groups of differing magnitudes. As will be explained in more detail later, it was customary for the uru group and its alien associate members who passed the winter living as a compact unit to split up with the coming of spring into smaller groups for the pasturage of their herds. These smaller groups consisted of perhaps half a dozen kibitkas, usually belonging to one family, while half a mile or a mile away would be another such group of kibitkas, with numerous other similar clusters of habitations scattered over the whole area customarily occupied by the uru group. The point at issue is whether the single clusters may be called auls or whether all the diffused and scattered camps taken as a whole constituted an aul.

My informants used the word in the latter sense. According to Tlenshiev the small group of five to ten kibitkas would not be an aul but an yj (family or house). An aul would normally consist of several hundred kibitkas. This is also the sense in which Kargabaiev used the word. His aul was named Karastaq ("black place," i.e., where the snow never lies) and comprised about 500 kibitkas and approximately 3,000 people. It is interesting to note here that the name of his aul was not the same as that of his uru, Davlet. Usually, however, the two seem to have been the same, the aul taking on the name of the uru to which the majority of its members belonged, which was, as explained above, the personal name of its traditional founder. In this case, however, Karastaq is a place name which had been adopted by the aul.

According to Grodekov the average aul comprised about 300 kibitkas but the number

[1] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 312.

might vary from fifty to a thousand or more.[3] Radlov, however, says[3] that the aul consisted 621
of six to ten families, and Lansdell[4] estimates ten in the Orenburg region but frequently fifteen or more farther south. Levshin is noncommittal and remarks[5] that the number of tents comprising an aul "... depends upon circumstances." Vladimirtsov,[6] in dealing with Mongol material, contrasts the aul (Mongol: ayil) manner of migration in small groups to an earlier practice of migrating in units of several hundred kibitkas, but one must be wary of assuming that similar terms in Mongol and Kazak mean the same thing.

In general it seems likely that the term aul does not apply to any definitely fixed group but signifies any kind of encampment. The size of these encampments varied considerably with the seasonal round in the economic life of the Kazak, which we may now consider.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

There were three important periods in the yearly cycle of Kazak economy, correspond- 221
ing roughly to summer, autumn and winter.

Summer (çaz) was the period of pasturage on the open ranges, involving journeys from one pasture to the next as the first became exhausted. In some places also this was the time at which hay was gathered as winter fodder for the herds. Autumn (kyz) when the shearing (kyzem) of the sheep took place, was the busiest period of the year for most Kazak. It was also the time to make preparations for winter, to finish storing away the hay, to repair the roof and walls of the winter habitation and, among those groups which had agriculture, to harvest the crops. The winter season (qɩs) was one of comparative rest and relaxation.

The dates for beginning the migration to summer pastures varied with the locality, the climatic conditions of the particular year, and the habits of the group. Generally it was about the end of May or beginning of June. This was the case with Tlenshiev's group in the Uralsk region and also with Kargabaiev's in the vicinity of Alma-ata. Rudenko writes of the Kazak in the southern foothills of the Altai:[7] "Some leave at the first show of green but most in the latter part of May or first of June. . . . The wealthy start earlier than the poor people." Kuftin however says:[8]

> The Kazak of the northern districts move out during the second half of March, but in the south at the end of February or beginning of March because of the necessity of passing the barren sandy tracts before hot weather while the steppes are still covered with fresh vegetation and there are no spiders and insects to harass the cattle.

[3] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[3] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513.
[4] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 319.
[5] *Description des hordes*, 312.
[6] *Obshchestvennyi Strol*, 37.
[7] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4.
[8] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 21–23.

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest. 221

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups. 221 621

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 221 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life. 565

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19] 233

[15] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 109–10.
[16] *Idem*, 110.
[17] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[18] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɩstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

POLITICAL GROUPINGS

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Kazak political groupings may be considered from the point of view first of local administration and second of larger units. The local political group was normally the aul, and consisted, as said above, of an uru in its functional sense of related family groups living and migrating together, plus individuals such as hired workers, slaves and relatives on the maternal side who belonged by birth to other uru but resided among the first. The larger units which may be called "tribes" consisted of rather loose and constantly shifting confederations of local groups and should not be confused with the term "tribe" as sometimes applied to the more inclusive genealogical strata. Closely related uru might be found in different and hostile tribal confederations. 621

Local administration lay in the hands of officials, or rather more accurately, outstanding individuals, known as bij and aqsaqal. It is difficult to distinguish accurately in practice between these two dignitaries; my informants tended to use the terms interchangeably. Strictly speaking the bij was a judge who administered the customary law, while the aqsaqal was the director and administrator of the economic life of the group. He supervised the occupancy of grazing lands and chose the routes and dates for migrations. Bij is sometimes confused with another title, bek or beg, which, according to my informants, was a general honorary term applied to rich powerful men, the owners of large herds.[1] Aqsaqal, meaning literally "white beard," is said by Begaliev and Gavrilov[2] to be used as "oldest in the gens," "elder," as well as "overseer," the sense in which I employ it. The process of the extension of its meaning here is obvious. Tlenshiev said bek might be synonomous with aqsaqal. 624 [92]

My informants also classed the molda[3] as an administrative official. To him were referred cases involving the shariat, or Moslem law, in distinction to those covered by the old common law.[4]

There are faint suggestions of a religious function having formerly appertained to the aqsaqal in his capacity of being in theory, if not actually, the oldest of the uru. Zaleskie[5] mentions "certain ceremonies and prayers" which he recited on the occasion of marriages, and Levshin[6] reports that before setting off on a war or raiding expedition the "chief

[1] See Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 310, who says that in the south bek is used instead of bij. Begaliev and Gavrilov distinguish between the two, defining bij as "judge" and bek as "feudal lord" or "prince" (*Kazakško-Russkij Slovar'*, 43, 46).

[2] *Kazakško-Russkij Slovar'*, 27.

[3] "Mullah," Mohammedan priest, teacher, learned man.

[4] Arabic: adat; Kazak: zaŋ.

[5] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 373–74.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered
62 in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes:

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbo, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 314.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 35.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçЫ) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Déscription des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643] a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[301 cont.]
643 173 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 631 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 631 611 [114] Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [033] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. [462] The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [560] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

[561] The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 648 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 [611] amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1] Izmaylov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the 62 family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic [119] village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were [568] tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with [554] many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

[592] Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. [582] Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this [595] allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions [562] rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society [181] together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father [171] is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1]USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2]Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3]Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike. 177 648 538

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn. 177 648

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2] 233 [24] [13] [221] [596] [342]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding 621 [177]

[1]Pravda, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2]Korbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

648 In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along 177 lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are 621 larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communi- 474 ties have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm 621 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining [563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[1]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[2]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[1]Korbe, 1950, p. 71.
[2]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 582 613 [621] [974]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1] Ibid., p. 86.

177 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close inter-
[621] nal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen.

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the govern-
[565] ment structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe
[182] peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native
[648] customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them.

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach,
[182] which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance.

[1] Krader (77), 1953.

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and [621] camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1]For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

The Village of the Great Horde

621 The aul or nomadic village (literally, enclosure) of the Kazakhs was a phenomenon of the winter season when its members gathered at the customary encampment after the summer dispersal.[86] These auls were generally [177.62] composed of closely related families: such at least was the case prior to the end of the 19th century, at which time they were transformed into sedentary units with fixed localities through Russian administrative dispositions and through the increase in agriculture. In certain cases the winter camps might be composed of several auls, forming a larger grouping for mutual cooperation and protection. The concentration of people often required the removal of the herds from the main winter camp, and hence more men would be needed to guard them, making common cause, and defending each other against marauders, both human and animal, of whom the steppe was full. But the close conjunction of many Kazakhs who recognized only vague authority relations among themselves required the constant recourse to the biis[1] in the resolution of disputes.[87]

[86] Dingelstedt, 214.

[87] Radloff, op. cit., I, 513-514.

[1] [i.e. elders; cf. cat.115, AH1 Mongolia, pp.411-412-- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

177 56 565 The reason is clear: the ak sŭ̈k or white "bone" had been the political rulers in the steppe in view of their descent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam. While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs it was important to maintain the quality of their estate by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their [556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for social distinction: we have seen how the bii was often chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by birth.[2]

The ak sŭ̈k no longer had any legal privileges; their principal mark of social distinction was in terms of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies, and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a political structure embodying principles of the consanguineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the kinship system upon which it was based remained in an altered form.

•621 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patrilineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

[95] Idem.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 414.-- Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff.-- Analyst]

621 by virtue of its fixed rules of admission (by birth or adoption); its perpetual life, or at any rate the survival of the life-cycle of its individual members; and its fixed locus of authority in the person of the village bii. The family community formed the core of the social grouping necessary for the nomads. Family members who stood in closest consanguinity were bound closely together through common, undivided ownership, which was a condition of life for small herds; isolated further kinsmen came to them and neighboring families connected through other relationships combined to form what Radlov has called the smallest social unit, the aul,[96] in its economic, juridical and other functions.

The Family in the Great Horde

596 The Kazakh family was an extended family: three generations of males, grandfather, father, and son, were combined in a family; such at least was the ideal case, the desideratum, achieved when conditions were favorable: the rich Kazakh of the Great Horde kept his family together and formed a veritable extended family.[97] An allotment was made to the sons on marriage among those families who could afford it, while the poor paterfamilias

[96] Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[97] Izraztsov, 3.

613
177.
69

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment,[1] after the reorganisation of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis,[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
695

[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aulq, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613 generations.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the workings of another structural principle: the ranking of the minor or sub-lineages according to the priority of birth of the founder by virtue of the principle of differential inheritance and succession.

The Village in the Little Horde

•621 Meyendorff made a journey from Orenburg in the southern Ural mountains to Bukhara in the year 1820. In the territory of the Little Horde he encountered a village which was the camp of a great Kazakh chief. By comparison with other villages, Meyendorff accounted this one a large village, containing fifty tents, grouped in clusters of from three to six tents each. He passed through this aul in the month of October, presumably when these pastoralists had gathered together in their winter camp after the summer dispersal.[181]

Radlov has reported that the typical Kazakh aul was composed of from fifty to seventy tents;[182] here it is

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[181] Meyendorff, 14.

177.62 621 [182] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 518. By Radlov's day there had already taken place the administrative reform mentioned above, namely, the reorganization of villages into volosti integrated into the Turkestan governor-generalcy. By then, too, the office of village elder had become appointive, and was no longer an expression of prestige through birth or wealth alone.

[Little Horde]

621 necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radlov's data are offered as being general for the Kazakhs; they are the result of his studies and travels in the latter third of the 19th century, presumably referring to the winter camps. Meyendorff's figure is for what he considered a large aul, nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radlov's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an even greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, in fact they tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter groupings of similar size, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an aul in the western steppe.

622 556 The relation of such an aul to the question of kinship has already been proposed: they were in general groupings of families agnatically related to each other. Meyendorff's account further points up the relationship between the Kazakh aul and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this aul which is that of a wealthy man." Again, we are endebted to Meyendorff for the observation that the village elder or aksakal was usually a man of substance, with a large family.[183]

[183] Meyendorff, 45-47.

[Little Horde]

622 Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village
556 head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view--in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

•621 Thus auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth as well as by men of rank through birth: the case of the aul of fifty tents mentioned above was the aul of a nobleman of the Little Horde. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff. These were in all likelihood family groups composed of a father, his wife or wives, who would then get separate tents, and his married sons and their children; possibly also tents of servants, or dependent kinsmen, etc. Karutz has given a schematic description of the Kazakh aul, identical with that of the Turkmen: The Turkmen and Kazakhs live in auls, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in aul formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an aul, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.[184] This is probably [illegible] of summer camps than winter, however, because of

[184] Karutz, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 65.

[Little Horde]

•62) the greater degree of concentration in the winter. Rad-
[103] lov has given the etymology of aul from agyl, enclosure, cognate with the Mongol ayil. The Mongol ayil was indeed a circle, according to the descriptions of Shchapov for the Buryats, Pozdneev for the Khalkha Mongols, and Vladimirtsov for the Mongols of earlier times. That of the Little Horde Kazakhs and of the Turkmen, their neighbors to the south, had apparently opened out; the same is true of the Kalmuk nomadic village.

The Family in the Little Horde

596 The data bring out a number of features shared by the Little Horde families with other Kazakh and Turco-Mongol groups. The family was agnatic, it was patrilocal in residence, and it was of the extended family type, that is, the family into which one was born was the same as that which one procreated on marriage. The extended family had a personality before the law, it extended beyond the life span of any individual member, and in general conforms with the conception of the corporate structure which has already been advanced here, apud Maine, Weber, and Fortes. The family was the unit of economic production and consumption, and it was the unit of production of children. It could become the

t of nomadic movement if it was identical with a vil-
ge. Otherwise, as we have seen, the village is the
t of nomadic movement.

615 These descent lines formed the aristocracy, while the commoners were the estate of the kara sŭk. The distinction maintained by the end of the 19th century was no longer that of purity of descent in a particular line, but rather by wealth, between rich and poor Kazakhs.[243]

621 576 Aul and Family: Aul-Family in the Inner Horde

The lineage was composed of a number of auls whose members were agnatically related to each other more closely than to other members of the lineage. Where possible, a single extended family might form an entire aul of five to ten tents. Such an aul would be composed of a father, his married sons, their children, sometimes close collateral kin of the father, and if possible, four generations of patrilineal descent. This, however, was more often the case in the past than it was at the end of the 19th century, when sons had a greater tendency to break away on marriage--i.e., on being apportioned by the father. Authority in the aul passed to the eldest son on the death of the father. Authority was patriarchal except when, on the death of the father while the sons were still minor, the senior widow held the authority in trust, together with the entire estate, until the sons came of age.[244]

[243] Ibid., 47, 52.

[244] Ibid., 110.

[Inner Horde]

621 596 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the aul, for the extended family, and in those cases, a fortiori, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The aul was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the kalym was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where [562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 would also be known by the name of the Karatai sök with which they have been fused. These Argun sub-lineage members form an exogamic unit, offering daughters as wives to other sök of the Karatai byr top and receiving [567] wives in turn. Again, sub-lineages were formed by descendants of slaves taken from the Torguts, the Kalmuk, the Uriankhai, the Teleut, now fully incorporated. Thus, another sök of the Karatai was the Sumar sök, descended from a slave named Sumar captured from the Kalmuk.[267] Lineages may extend their membership, incorporate members of other corporate entities, whether Kazakh lineages, hordes, or non-Kazakh nomadic groups such as the Kalmuk, including the admission to lineage membership of the line of freed slaves; the numerical significance of this principle is not to be underestimated because of the large proportion of people taken in war, raid, etc., and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

The Aul of the Altai Kazakhs

●621 Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads

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[267] Rudenko, op. cit., 59-60.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 556 [101] 433 The nomads in question[1] occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur, around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh, as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year round, and supported themselves by caring for their own farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.[268] Hence the following account of aul nomadism is to be understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy Kazakhs.[2] [177.62]

621 The aul in its several variations was entirely a kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh aul elsewhere, even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homogeneous kin group. This was not so among the northeasternmost Kazakhs. The auls of the latter fall into two categories: the fully nomadic auls, such as those of the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach aimak (Oirot Autonomous Oblast');[269] and auls which are entirely sedentary, such as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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[268] Ibid., 1-3, 62.

[269] Semeilovich, 312.

[1] [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 523ff.--Analyst]

[2] [For further data, cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 537-544--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

•621 of the Kereit. In the Kosh-Agach aimak there were approximately 100 auls of the Middle Horde Kazakhs who were exclusively herders, with a total of 505 tents, thus averaging five tents per aul. The range was between three and eight tents per aul. The total number of people was 2408 (1123 males, and 1175 females), an average of 4.8 people per tent and 24 per aul.[270] Each aul moved as an individual unit, each was composed of close kin which in effect was a large extended family. However, their larger social units were of mixed composition, and not of more or less close agnatic kin.[271]

621/101 In the vicinity of the Black Irtysh, the bulk of the Kazakhs were of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde; they comprised most of the herding population, they were the wealthy stratum, able to support herding. Their poorer neighbors, possibly more recent arrivals, were the Kazakhs of the Kereit division of the Middle Horde, more specifically, members of the Ashmaily clan of the Kereit. They lived primarily by farming and hunting, were very poor, had no horses, only a few cattle, sheep and camels, and lived a sedentary life. In contrast to the tiny mobile auls of the pastoral Kazakhs, these sedentary Ashmaily auls numbered up to 60 tents.[272]

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[270] Ibid., 311.

[271] Ibid., 312.

[272] Rudenko, op. cit., 61-62.

●621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
433 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the auls of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of auls of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the aul was small; if the aul was large, it broke up into

[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 233 component extended family or close-kin groups for the summer movement.[274] These auls, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 [55] The auls of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All

621 614 these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sök founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

233 The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.[277] The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.[278] The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass-growth is favored by the snow-melt.[279]

621 233 A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an <u>aul</u> might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter and summer camp is from about 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps <u>kokteu</u> and fall camps <u>kuzeu</u>.[280]

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[277] Rudenko, op. cit., 72.

[278] Ibid., 8.

[279] Ibid., 72.

[280] Ibid., 4-8.

2a) These nomadic movements have been described in detail for several reasons; first, the intrinsic interest in the patterns themselves; second, for comparative purposes, since similar data exist for the Kalmuks; third, because they are germane to the kinship problem being discussed in this context. A summer camp is a dispersed unit, kinsmen move away from each other; these are close kinsmen, pastoral, relatively well-to-do Kazakhs who still maintain their herds. Under normal conditions, the factors of size of the different units, wealth in herds and amount of pasturage, will determine how many close kin will remain together over several generations, and how far off they will disperse from each other. These factors together are determinants of kinship in general insofar as they decree how many human beings can optimally live together as herders; and they are determinants in particular cases of the variations imposed by necessity on the optimal arrangements. We have seen that nomadic <u>auls</u> contain between three and eight families (i.e., conjugal families); they contain from one to three extended families, which are actually one extended family. The number of conjugal families in the <u>aul</u> of a wealthy Kazakh, or of a leader of middle rank may attain from ten to fifteen; the <u>aul</u> of a great leader may have as high as 50 tents or families, but these are special cases. The fact remains that the ordinary Kazakhs live in kin-communities of a fairly

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621 limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom he must support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks; the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

622 The leadership of the sul, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the aksakal, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination was based on wealth; but in any case, his social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.[281] He settled disputes and con-
[793] ducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers, sacrifices, etc., was generally left to the aksakal.[282] Such then was the nomadic
000 village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We

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[281] Ibid., 66.

[282] Ibid., 50.

621 was that it [1] preserved a number of features of a time We
177.62 when acculturation was less advanced, giving ground in others: the growth of farming and the administrative reshuffling by the Russians were the main acculturative influences, but there were other minor ones, in technology for instance, which were not without an effect on the kinship picture. The increase in the gathering and storage of hay[283] influenced the nomadic cycle of the still-pastoral Kazakhs, encouraging some to continue to be herders, lessening the scope of movement of others, factors closely bound up with kinship. On the other hand, the scythes, etc., necessary for mowing, had to be purchased from the Russians, making for an increase in commodity exchange, closer economic interaction with the Russians, and an acceleration of the acculturative process once again.

Family and Marriage

596 The Kazakh family in the 1920's was an extended family and as such continued to form the innermost of a series of concentric circles of kinship; like the next outer concentric circle, the nomadic village, and like the outermost, the lineage, it was founded on an agnatically related membership, it was patrilocal, patriarchal,

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[283] Ibid., 24.

1 [i.e., the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs (Altai Kazakhs) --Analyst]

[198 cont.]

x648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[128] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged x46 their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this 662 time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg.

[595] But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he [222] wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

[201 cont.]

×248 ●622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [461] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[728] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master,
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however,
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the
livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic
use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order,
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[168] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[178] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already
begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that
is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous,
and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
[178] of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are [567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the 593 hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From 602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan [565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal 613 leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It [622] did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing [588] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or 42 branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans. [614] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader [595] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the [622] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the [595] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altynsarin, 1870, p. 104.

1 [for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[1]Izraitsev, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karets (73), 1910, p. 42.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

698 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [408] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [602] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Ariston, 1896, pp. 394-398.

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under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. [622]

582
The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 613 [621] [494]

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The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. [622]

596
The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. [589]

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The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. [589]

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The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect.

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Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the

[1] Ibid., p. 86.

S N 175 631 668 178 619 648 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is 241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain 596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount [241] of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed [622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself [634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by S Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form [441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition 614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted 563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among 233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose 361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun- [177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent [668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political S control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz [622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) S responsible to the Chinese officials.

N 563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The [594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

[Great Horde]

613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

613 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; 622 moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the 554 same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

[Great Horde]

622. 177. 62. The village head or elder was the aksakal (literally, white beard),[88] who was the senior male member of the highest ranking family as measured by birth in the village. His social position was somewhat comparable to that of the bii, his functions likewise, and it is only later, in consequence of Russian administrative reforms and regularizations that a clear-cut distinction is possible. Radlov reports that toward the end of the century, the bii was the village leader, being the senior member of the wealthiest family in the village, or the eldest male in that family which, in addition to its claim to priority by right of birth or wealth, had the largest number of closely related families in the village to back it up. The inference to be drawn is that the bii, who was a man who regulated affairs between village-kin-groups, now dominated over several groups who formerly had occupied different villages, but now to an ever increasing degree were combined in one. His functions remained the same, it is merely that the composition of the village had changed. By Radlov's day, the Kazakh aul which had an influential bii was usually a combination of several units which formerly would have been separate auls, or else it was one aul which was expanded by the addition of remnants of other auls in the form of families which had once combined to make them up.[89] In

[88] Levchine, 330.

[89] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 513.

[Great Horde]

622 a similar manner, we have seen this very process at work
177. in the formation of new lineages,[1] whether maximal or
62 minimal, or even clans, with the exception that the process here described involves the transformation of the village through new developments in administration and economy. Nevertheless, the acculturative pattern took on traditional forms, that is, the new village was built up by a process already encountered in lineage fusion. The bii, through his wealth, spiritual powers, sense of justice, and large number of kin (who were able to support his word if necessary by their very strength of numbers) thus continued to dominate the new forms of Kazakh life.[90]

622 At the end of the century, the bii[2] was regarded by
177. the Russians as a kind of official judge, beneath whom
62 was the aksakal, recognized as a popular judge who lived
692 within the village, regulated its affairs in an informal manner. The bii, in contrast, concerned himself largely with inter-aul matters, which is a formalization of the relative positions as they had been reported in the previous era.[91] One of the most important functions of the bii, whether in the matter of inter-aul, or intra-aul relationships, was the determination and resolution of conflict regarding the winter pastures.

[90] Ibid., I, 513-514.

[91] Sabataev, 66. Sabataev's observations bear rather on the Kazakhs of the Middle and Little Hordes, but may be taken to be relevant for the Kazakhs generally.

[1] [cf. especially Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 405 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulating marriage settlements, although he had little authority over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izraztsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

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[92] Izraztsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63
632 recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various suls, or persons belonging to different families, suls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 86, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an sul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seisure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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613
177.
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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]

[2] [on the bii, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

622 guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be re-
602 quired to support him in the payment of the indemnity.
695 Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after
613 the Russian conquest, and represents a certain harden-
177. ing of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this harden-
69 ing was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh
177. society in the previous era. The power of the bii's de-
69 cree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up
695 by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system,
602 a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. We may observe how considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and how legal data are significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

428 A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lack-
621 ing a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, sulu, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

622 The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a
[428] family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

695 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means
682 of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-
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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Little Horde]

621 necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radlov's data are offered as being general for the Kazakhs; they are the result of his studies and travels in the latter third of the 19th century, presumably referring to the winter camps. Meyendorff's figure is for what he considered a large aul, nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radlov's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an even greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, in fact they tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter groupings of similar size, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an aul in the western steppe.

622 556 The relation of such an aul to the question of kinship has already been proposed: they were in general groupings of families agnatically related to each other. Meyendorff's account further points up the relationship between the Kazakh aul and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this aul which is that of a wealthy man." Again, we are endebted to Meyendorff for the observation that the village elder or aksakal was usually a man of substance, with a large family.[183]

[183] Meyendorff, 45-47.

[Little Horde]

*622 Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village
556 head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view--in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

621 Thus auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth as well as by men of rank through birth: the case of the aul of fifty tents mentioned above was the aul of a nobleman of the Little Horde. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff. These were in all likelihood family groups composed of a father, his wife or wives, who would then get separate tents, and his married sons and their children; possibly also tents of servants, or dependent kinsmen, etc. Karuts has given a schematic description of the Kazakh aul, identical with that of the Turkmen: The Turkmen and Kazakhs live in auls, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in aul formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an aul, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.[184] This is probably truer of summer camps than winter, however, because of

[184] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 65.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom he must support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks; the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

622 The leadership of the <u>aul</u>, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the <u>aksakal</u>, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination was based on wealth; but in any case, his social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.[281] He settled disputes and con-
[793] ducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers, sacrifices, etc., was generally left to the <u>aksakal</u>.[282] Such then was the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We

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[281] Ibid., 66.

[282] Ibid., 50.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. 1

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

Radlov's statement summarizes the views of my informants, who said that when the bij died he might perhaps be succeeded by his son, but this was not necessarily the case. It might be by any powerful man who "would appoint himself and say 'I am bij'." (Here the informant was using bij and aqsaqal interchangeably.) In any given group it appeared that the successor to office would probably be chosen from among themselves by the five or six wealthiest and most influential members of the aul, who would normally be relatives of one another and heads of the principal family lines of the uru predominating in the aul membership. Meyendorff[8] notes that the office tended to become hereditary but he who was not able to retain it by merit soon lost it. After the Russian occupation local officials were elected subject to government supervision and approval, which may be the source of Czaplicka's statement[9] that the Kazak "clan head" is elected.

[623] It should be noted, however, that Pallas[10] refers to a "democratic council" which chose one of its members as war leader when planning a military excursion; Levshin[11] mentions assemblies of "relatives, friends and neighbors" called to discuss local questions, which might break up in a wrangle. It is difficult to estimate the nature and scope of these councils and assemblies but I shall revert to the question presently.

Within the uru-aul group relations between the bij and aqsaqal on the one hand and the people on the other were apparently more personal than strictly political or governmental. In discussing the nature of economic social groupings we have observed the patron-client relationship between the wealthy herd owners and their poorer kinsmen and dependents. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between economic and political ties and obliga-
[554] tions. The bij and aqsaqal were usually themselves the largest herd-owners of the aul, or representatives of them as a class. The basic economic and political groups coincided.

[7] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513–14.
[8] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 47.
[9] *Turks of Central Asia*, 49.
[10] *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.
[11] *Description des hordes*, 397.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

POLITICAL GROUPINGS

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Kazak political groupings may be considered from the point of view first of local administration and second of larger units. The local political group was normally the aul, and consisted, as said above, of an uru in its functional sense of related family groups living and migrating together, plus individuals such as hired workers, slaves and relatives on the maternal side who belonged by birth to other uru but resided among the first. The larger units which may be called "tribes" consisted of rather loose and constantly shifting confederations of local groups and should not be confused with the term "tribe" as sometimes applied to the more inclusive genealogical strata. Closely related uru might be found in different and hostile tribal confederations. 621

Local administration lay in the hands of officials, or rather more accurately, outstanding individuals, known as bij and aqsaqal. It is difficult to distinguish accurately in practice between these two dignitaries; my informants tended to use the terms interchangeably. Strictly speaking the bij was a judge who administered the customary law, while the aqsaqal was the director and administrator of the economic life of the group. He supervised the occupancy of grazing lands and chose the routes and dates for migrations. Bij is sometimes confused with another title, bek or beg, which, according to my informants, was a general honorary term applied to rich powerful men, the owners of large herds.[1] Aqsaqal, meaning literally "white beard," is said by Begaliev and Gavrílov[2] to be used as "oldest in the gens," "elder," as well as "overseer," the sense in which I employ it. The process of the extension of its meaning here is obvious. Tlenshiev said bek might be synonomous with aqsaqal. 624 [692]

My informants also classed the molda[3] as an administrative official. To him were referred cases involving the shariat, or Moslem law, in distinction to those covered by the old common law.[4]

There are faint suggestions of a religious function having formerly appertained to the aqsaqal in his capacity of being in theory, if not actually, the oldest of the uru. Zaleskie[5] mentions "certain ceremonies and prayers" which he recited on the occasion of marriages, and Levshin[6] reports that before setting off on a war or raiding expedition the "chief

[1] See Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 310, who says that in the south bek is used instead of bij. Begaliev and Gavrilov distinguish between the two, defining bij as "judge" and bek as "feudal lord" or "prince" (*Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 43, 46).

[2] *Kazakško-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 27.

[3] "Mullah," Mohammedan priest, teacher, learned man.

[4] Arabic: adat; Kazak: zaŋ.

[5] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 373–74.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. 1

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

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[11] *Description des hordes*, 397.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his rights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
[693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

[33] See: Izraitsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibragimov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gesuhnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riasanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 246–48.

602 The wife who leaves her husband in a disagreement should not
685 take anything with her. This would be robbery.

Robbery is permissible between relatives more distant than the third degree, with the obligation of return in so far as possible in the following cases: a) for the payment of kalym. because the increase of descendants is /161/ a laudable affair; b) for the payment of a debt; c) in time of famine; d) for a necessary trip and for the pursuit of thieves. (1)

[626] 1. Sometimes when something is missing in a village they put a bakan (pole to raise the changarak/the hoop in the center of the tent top/ when putting up the tent) up in the middle of the village and ask the thief to place the missing object under the bakan, threatening otherwise to invite the mullah in to discover him. The mullahs have various devices for discovering a thief. They bake a flat cake, blow on it (dem salady), and give everyone a piece, and when the thief swallows his piece, he will choke on it. They put a bladder (kuuk) in the hand of everyone, in turn, and in the thief's hand it swells (kebedi). They blow on a metal pitcher, calling the names of everyone in turn. When the name of the thief is called, the pitcher begins to turn around.

685 Furthermore these same biis permit taking away a horse from a known thief who is setting out to steal, if there is proof of this. They add however, that ayb is paid if the horse is taken away without proof, even though it be from a man banished from the community for stealing or one deprived of good name (muttakham). Taking away game caught by an eagle is not robbery but is taking the "chiralga" gift by force; therefore they require it to be returned without ayb. If the taking of the game were done secretly, then it would be stealing, and ayb would be paid. Finally, it is permissible to steal in return for stealing, i. e., baranta.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the words of the honorable Kazakhs, Umbet Galiev and Nurman Sarchinov, of the Kazalinsk uyezd, that stealing from the son and from the father is not permitted. In general such an act results in punishment for the younger persons, and ayb or shaming before the village for the older.

674 Horse stealing is more predominant than stealing of other livestock because horses are easier to arouse (chapchan). It takes

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[3] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[3] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[3]Tarazzov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[3]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Kuretz (73), 1910, p. 42.

631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [1 [see cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

placing a brand on a loose animal a fine can be imposed of half the 685
value of the animal. Placing one's brand on an animal with one for safe-keeping, is not considered reprehensible if such a one is returned on the first demand. According to Kyulbaev (of the Kurama uyezd), putting one's brand on a strange animal unnecessarily (bikerge), whether it is a loose animal or one received for safe-keeping, is punishable by a fine of 20 rubles. According to the Kirgiz Daniyar, placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered as clear (zakhir) stealing, and is punished in proportion to the penalties of the assemblies (siez kesimi menen) i. e., for one sheep 4 sheep must be paid and 4 rubles in addition.

The owner of the lost object usually appears before the person 685
suspected of the theft accompanied by two or more outside impartial 627
persons (khalis ksi), exceptionally, only one, and searches (tentedi) him. The outsiders serve as witnesses. If the suspect does not permit himself to be searched (tentkizbese), he is considered to be guilty.

When a thief is caught by the owner of the stolen livestock, he usually gives up or promises to give up everything which was stolen by a certain period of time, often according to a voucher, asking only that no suit be charged for the exaction of the usual fine. The owner may be satisfied by the return of his property and by taking away a horse or a coat, i. e., atton (1) from the thief, as a reward

1. Sometimes a horse and gun or some other object is taken under this name.

to the captor.

When there are several thieves, the one who is at hand is held 685
responsible. When only the father of the thief is at hand, a suit 672
directed against him is accepted by the biis for trial, on the basis of responsibility by reason of kinship.

/167/ If a thief rode a strange horse when committing the crime, the owner of the horse is a participant in the theft.

If the plaintiff confirms the fact that when the defendant was 685
caught the latter gave him money in order to end the affair, and if later the accused clears himself by an oath, the money in question is ruled to the defendant.

• • • •

According to the communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev, a 697
thief from a distant place, whom it would be difficult to find again,

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

* * * *

It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which led to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. 685

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

681 1. Among the Alagirtsy and Farsalag of the Vladikavkaz
627 okrug, if a wife is caught with a lover, her husband cuts off
684 her nose. Among the Kurtat and Tagaur peoples, the husband kills the adulterer who is caught (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, Pt. II, pp. 41-44).

and his own wife did not pay wergeld, while the murderer only of the former did pay wergeld. Taking the law into one's own hands exists even now. According to Lt. Colonel Pankratov, there was such a case during his service in the Chimkent uyezd. They placed a thief who was bound, on burning coals, and he was roasted there until the cords were burned through. A. E. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that an outlaw is bound with a lasso to the tail of a horse or a camel.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, before the coming of the Russians, they exacted a punishment 80 to 90 blows of the lash (durra) for adultery of a bachelor with the wife of another, and if he died under them, wergeld was not demanded. But if he was married, both he and the other's wife were killed, or else they threw the latter into a sack with /246/ a cover, or thrashed her in the sack with their feet. If she did not die after that, she was freed.

681 Mutilation by court order and execution were practised only by
684 the Kokandians. They were subjected to being torn apart by horses,
688 being hung from a gallows, (1) being stoned to death (sarsan, in place of the Persian sen sar)

1. The informant had not heard of hanging two men from both sides of a camel, as it is stated in Makovetskii, I, p. 69.

of the Persian sengsar) - this last for incest and renouncing their religion(2)-

2. According to Staff Captain Grombchevskii, among the Kashgar Kirgiz the following types of tortures and lynchings exist: 1) they tie a cord around the head around the forehead, which they begin to tighten; 2) they bind the arms behind the back, and by twisting the rope draw the elbows and the shoulder bones together; 3) they throw the bound thief in front of the entrance to a sheep pen and let the sheep walk over him. The victim of this faints from pain.

and to being impaled on a stake (khada). (3)

793

tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure. 796

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people. 871

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year. 875

The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided. 793 875

They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (chubti buzbaydy). 627

/252/ Wagers

The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The 526

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require [166] hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the 361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads 181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and 636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form 177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

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642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 454.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [See cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers, the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zan; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds.

[38] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riazanovskii, *op. cit.*, 57), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riazanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Quran*, 4.13-93.

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The [695] clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by [628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a [587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from [429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure- a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other
[675] arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. 562 [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature. [612]

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials. [231]

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father. 848

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd). [628]

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in 588

Folk custom not only permits but also obliges the persons who have suffered to avenge the crimes committed against them. The avenger is usually the person who has suffered, but a part or even the whole clan has a right to take part in the revenge. The entire clan considers itself obligated to avenge a case of the secret kidnapping of a girl by a Kazakh of another clan, or the driving away of a considerable number of livestock, which may belong to only one person, but one who is honored by his kinsmen. Also specific insults not only of an honored member, but of any Kazakh, which are made by a mob, call for armed defense and the resentment of the entire people. 628

The limit of the revenge is considered to be doing harm to the adversary on an equal level to the harm suffered from him. Then the hostile lineages or clans already take part in pacifying their members. But if the avenger does not cease to wreak damage on his adversary, he is subjected to fines of an atton or higher, and in extreme cases to corporeal punishment on the part of his kinsmen. The fines go for the use of the person suffering from superfluous revenge.

Peaceful agreements are permissable in every offense and crime. The fines in such cases (outside of court) go to the use of the person who suffered, or else, when they are considerable, they are divided among the closest kinsmen of the receiver.

Although custom does have the concept of more /143/ serious and less serious crimes, it does not divide them into criminal and civil crimes. 673

A crime which is committed with premeditated intent increases the blame. The commission of a crime with provocation, especially if it is called forth by the sufferer, lightens the blame. Circumstances which lighten the offense are: the thoughtlessness of the transgressor, or the honor and respect he enjoyed before the crime was committed. 672

The commission of a crime in the steppe in an open place by day lessens the offense. A crime committed in a tent at night increases the offense. Poverty does not lighten the guilt. It does not excuse thievery, for example, for the clan is held responsible. A clan which has not helped a poor man, pays all claims against him three times, each time compelling him to reform, and forcing him to make promises on his oath. (1) The commission of a crime in a state of drunken-

1. After the third time he is driven out. A poor man and a person without a clan gives up his daughter in place of money, and pays off the sum required of him from the 685

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[683]
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receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

Secret driving away of livestock is not called baranta, (2) but

2. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers, p. 366, it is stated: Baranta has several meanings: a) livestock; b) crime, in the sense of ordinary theft, taking away by force, and seizure of a strange object; c) military seizure, driving away or capture of people and livestock; d) punishment, in the sense of stealing and plundering according to the old Russian law, most recently the confiscation of property; e) the seizure of strange property before trial, to ensure the rights of the creditor, also in the case of lack of satisfaction for personal injury, material loss, etc.; f) measures for the assurance of the fulfillment of the court decree. g) the right of the relatives of a murdered man to rustle /"barantovat'"/ the property of the murderer before the carrying out of blood revenge. Finally h) the right of a prince to confiscate property from his subjects.

stealing. Also the word baranta should not necessarily be taken to mean a raid with the purpose of stealing without a special reason for it. For a raid to be able to be called baranta (barymta), it is necessary 1) to make the departure by day and not by night; 2) to have the raid openly announced as baranta; 3) for the raid to be aimed at obtaining satisfaction for some sort of loss, theft, murder, kidnapping of a bride or wife, offense, etc. (3) /171/ Baranta also takes place when

3. In the report on the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd (Prikaz po voennonarodnomu upravleniiu Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti / Order for the military-national administration of the Syr-Darya oblast/ of July 30, 1886) an example is entered from the books /171/ of the extraordinary session: the Kazakh widow Manteke Sundetova complained that the Kazakh Ismailov had taken her daughter by baranta /zabarantoval/ and that she had spent 100 rubles to hire people to pursue the kidnapper, and she asked that the defendant be required to pay 1280 rubles for the defamation.

the defendant does not permit the requirement of the bii to be exacted from him.

According to bii Kunakbay, baranta does not take place for only one offense, or for the rape of a bride without taking her away, etc., when no losses (chygyn) resulted because of this offense, etc.

628

Baranta is directed not only against the livestock of the adversary himself, but also against the livestock of any of his kinsmen, (1) even if it be his aksakal. In the first case the property

1. Compare the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers, Section VI, the customary laws of Rustemkhan of the 12th century, 81: "baramta is to be taken from those who are not divided from the clan of the accused"; 49: "A fine is required from anyone who does not allow the baramta on his own account."

taken by baranta is regarded as stisfaction, and in the second case as a pledge that in case of a court examination the stolen goods will be recovered or that satisfaction will be given in general.

A person engaged in baranta chooses the property on which he has a claim, with a small addition for difficulties and losses on the raid. But he is held responsible for extra damages inflicted during this raid, and for an immoderate seizure of property.

Baranta has existed only between various uyezds. Complaints concerning it have been presented in the name of the military governor, who has appointed an extraordinary session among the uyezds.

During the time of the Kazakh khans, baranta was little different from war. Even now baranta is called war (yau buldy). The attack did not pass without atrocities. They placed people in irons and bound them to trees regardless of the participation of the person bound, etc. Among the Kirgiz they bound people and cast them into the water.

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Suits concerning events which took place before a general peace treaty (salavat) between disputing clans are not accepted, or remain /172/ without consequence (baska kaldyrduk), with the exception of affairs concerning matchmaking and wergeld. The conquest of the region by the Russians constituted such a salavat, and even the fullest kind of salavat, for it was forbidden to examine even matters of wergeld and matchmaking pertaining to the Moslem period.

In the conclusion of a salavat they say: "utken uryul kalgan

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salavat", i. e., complaints were mutual and therefore were considered satisfied, and if complaints remained unsatisfied, these were forgiven. They cut an aladzhip[1] /cf. Chapter X/ for the consecration of the ending of old accounts, without appeal, and of full pacification, and now they give vouchers.

A partial salavat is forgiveness before a certain time (mundzhal). Disputes which went on before that time are forgiven (beregini suraymyz arigini suraymaymyz).

694

The presentation of a suit, several years (3 years, for example) after an event took place, complicates the examination. Therefore such a suit is settled by a testimonial oath. But if there are no witnesses the suit is not accepted for examination at all (kaldyrady) (the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds).

In the Kazalinsk uyezd suits are subjected to examination before the death of the defendants and likewise before the death of the plaintiffs. If heirs remain who know of the claim they can revive the affair. An affair which has been ended by salavat[2] cannot be reopened. But if the side which suffered presents a suit through a court after a salavat, the judge must convince himself of the salavat by witnesses. The confirmation of the salavat means a fine of atton for the person bringing suit, which goes to the judge, and the person who brings such a suit lacks the confidence of his kinsmen.

Limitation is recognized only in small crimes which remain undisclosed for not less than five years. But for murders and marital matters there is no limitaion. A groom, who has been absent without sending word, has the right on his return to demand the bride or the return of the kalym. If the former bride has married, a sister or niece is substituted for her. According to Torgai, suits concerning a bride and kalym are accepted for /173/ examination to the third generation, i. e., to the grandchildren. When there is a denial, they swear an oath, as is normal. Other suits are accepted only up to 5 or 6 years. Suits founded on vouchers are accepted up to 10 years, if the defendant could not be found earlier. After 10 years even wergeld is subject to salavat, i. e., limitation. Now a salavat is put down only after 5 or 6 years, with the condition that nothing was known of a murder in this time. Ten years are allowed, however, if something was known of it, but the murderer hid himself. If a thief was caught, released on bail and promised to give satisfaction, but fled, then a suit may be revived for up to 10 years.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 161--A.]

2 [Peace treaty between disputing clans; see cat. 116, pp. 153-154--A]

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the
619 powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which,
611 during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

[578
628]

1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
[579
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[315 cont.]

181 often as its own expense, and has used
152 every means of persuasion to induce
[636 certain individuals among them to settle
342] down, at least to provide an example.
But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical rela-
627] tions of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by
628 one individual against another, the participation of their families
578] in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes,
and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re-
[166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling
places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to
evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived
independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores
of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years
of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of
the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that
they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan,
Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River.
Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the
Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:
166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle
Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of
the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the
auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their
winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always
578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions,
during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva.
At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2]

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2] Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 140-141.

8:Kostenko -33-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

681 Among alomst all ancient peoples and among the Kazakhs there existed the law of retribution, that is, death for murder or rape - and mutilation for mutilation. But time and the prevalance of a new order have changed this custom. However, down to the Russian domination, ransom was permitted for murder. For the death of a man a thousand horses were usually paid, and half that for the murder of a woman. This ransom is called 'kun', and when the crime can be hidden from the Russian authorities this is done even today.

692 In general all legal judgments, civil and criminal, just as all public affairs, according to custom can never depend on the will of one person, but are always made with the agreement of several elders, beys or honored persons in general. These persons had and still have today the right to receive a tenth part of the property of the guilty person, or, if it is a civil matter, the same share from the payment
696 of retribution which they decide. The 'baranta'
628 is a completely unique crime among the Kazakhs. The beginning of these feuds was almost always legal, that is, they usually began from the unwillingness /347/ of one of the contesting parties to abide by the decision of the elders. In such a case the injured party had the legal right to obtain satisfaction by force, that is, to make raids, steal cattle and capture the people. It is self-evident that those who were plundered did the same in return, believing that more had been taken from them than should have been according to the legal judgment. Thus the stealing, robbery and murder committed by both sides confused the question more and more, and quarrels and feuds lasted in this way for decades, eventually even dividing clans.

8:Kostenko -34-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

628 At the present time these internal quarrels have almost all been ended, or, to be more precise, they cannot break out in the old form because the Russian forts and the Russian authorities prevent it. So the word baranta has gradually received a somewhat different meaning. Now it means either simply robbery, or else banditry, which is prosecuted very severely by the Russian authorities.

567 In earlier times the Kazakhs had slaves from all the surrounding nations of different religious faith. Even Moslems, - Shiites, e.g. Persians, who were considered heretics, were taken as slaves. Finally, since the religious principle is very weak among the Kazakhs, they took practically everyone who fell into their hands as slaves, without making a refined analysis of their trend of thinking. Now with the installation of Russian authority slavery on the steppe has gradually disappeared.

771 Religious instruction. The Kazakhs, as we know, are Moslems, and are usually considered Sunnites, although this is absolutely without foundation since, broadly speaking, these people are very undeveloped at the present time in regard to religion, and do not know themselves exactly to what religious sect they belong. Most Kazakhs have only a vague idea of the existence of two Moslem sects, Sunnite and Shiite. Not only that, the actual essence of the religion is completely unknown to them. This is probably explained partly by their nomadic form of life, and partly by the fact that they have lived and live still surrounded by peoples of various religions: Christian, Moslem and pagan, who are all equally antagonist

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. 631
They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in 643
gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12]

> ". . . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting [644]
of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling

[12] *Idem*, 395–96.
[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.
[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.
[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.
[16] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 393.
[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 82.
[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 452.
[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 94.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɨm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɨq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be 643
divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking [644]
sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[26] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for 646
the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[27] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[28] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated 631
above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during 642
the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[29]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingiside in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 622–22.

[27] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[28] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 25.

[29] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barānta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 454.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [See cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and 618
debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships.

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and 631 618
Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle.

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the 631 618
Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884, 178
data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, from whom the following answers have been received.

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division [695] to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the

631 618 178 [672] kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to [672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of [579] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few. [694] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 618 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist, although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

The vagueness and imprecision of the borders of the volosts and villages also adds to the importance of the clan origin. There are cases, quite often, in which Kazakhs belonging to one volost or one village occupy land for farming and winter camps in other volosts and villages. The organization of the land and the exact determination of the borders of the volosts and villages will have an enormous influence on the destruction of the clan principle. When every village has its own allotment of land then a transfer of tents will take place only for economic considerations and not to collect a majority of votes for one's kinsmen.

2) In the opinion of the chief of the Turkestan uyezd, the administrative division of the Kazakhs into villages and volosts has not by any means achieved its goal, and the clan principle is strongly maintained, as before. This is assisted, among other things, by the fact that the volosts were organized by clans or by branches, and all the transfers of Kazakhs from one volost to another were caused by a desire for clan unity.

3) The chief of the Kazalinsk (2) uyezd states that the division

2. On the transfer of the Kazakhs from volost to volost to their kinsmen, and on the force of the clan rulers in the steppe along with the volost administrators, see the article by E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti" /From the life of the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya region/, in Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, No. 17. In 1887 Mr. Aleksandrov writes: "Up to the present time a weakening of the clan principle has not been perceptible. In this respect the law of 1867 has not had the force of a destructive action."

into volosts and villages with elected functionaries, has suppressed to a considerable degree the striving of the kinsmen to play the leading role or to influence the administration by the people. /16/ A land demarcation of the volosts would have had a still greater influence on the suppression of the clan principle. Even now Kazakhs of one clan [423] but in different volosts, even in those very far apart, for the most part nomadize together on lands which they consider to be of the clan. For this reason they often do not allow villages to use the land although the latter have a greater right to it because of their permanent residence in those places and their revival of irrigation canals.

•631 618 4) The chief of the Kurama uyezd reported that there were no strong Kazakh clans in that uyezd, since its residents had already come here in small groups or singly during the Moslem rule. In transferring from volost to volost, the strong clans do not willingly separate their members, and the latter also are not anxious to break away from their clan. Those who do transfer are mostly the poor from broken clans. The Kazakhs who have strong kinsmen live more prosperously, because the rich help their poor kinsmen in difficult moments, and often pay assessments for them, while the poor pay for this in their turn by their labor. With the breaking up of the clans the poor, being left to their own devices, grow poorer from year to year, having no strong hand indirectly leading them. According to the opinion of the chief of the uyezd, the morality of the Kazakhs belonging to a large clan is considerably higher than the morality of the newcomers from broken clans. This is explained by the fact that the clan administration has not lost its importance even now, and the chief of the clan in the midst of the Kazakhs has even more influence than the Russian administration.

5) The Chimkent uyezd is occupied by Kazakhs of the Great horde, and the nomadic life is retained in absolute purity among them. Here every Kazakhs knows well what his clan is, his lineage and even his sublineage. The clan principle has been retained in full force, and with it the power of the kinsmen. The right reserved to the nomads to transfer from volost to volost has made it possible for the Kazakh clans to unite, and at /17/ the present time some single clan predominates in every volost. The volost administrator is elected from this predominant clan, and he plays the role of kinsman at the same time. The village elders are also elected primarily from the chief clan. Not one of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd has territorial boundaries, and the tent proprietors in most of the volosts are scattered over the entire uyezd. Although the elective principle has weakened the power of a single kinsman in an entire lineage, it has brought with it the formation of a small clan aristocracy, the atkamnars. (1) The atkamnars are mostly former officials of volosts,

1. Atkamnar literally means "rider of a horse", and in a figurative sense, a rich person.

or biis, or officials of villages, or even of groups of fifty. Since persons influential in the clan are elected for all these posts, 20 to 150 tents of adherents and relatives remain around them even after they havebeen replaced. The atkamnar is considered the patron of

his adherents. He acts as their representative at elections and in court cases.

In confirmation of what has been said, we enter below a list of the volosts of the Chimkent uyezd, with an indication of the number of tents in each clan within the volost.

Aktash volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	889 tents
		Sikym	93 tents
		Seuvan	38 "
		Total	1,020 tents
Akmolinsk volost	Clans:	Sty	956
		Oshakty	228
		Kangly	16
		Kongrad	2
		Total	1,202
Arys volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1,160
Aksu volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	884
		Chimir	841
		Sary Aisiun	40
/18/		Dzhagalbaily	62
		Sikym	139
		Argyn	9
		Botpai	3
		Total	1, 978
Bairkum volost	Clan:	Kongrad	1, 462
Bishtamgaly	Clans:	Sirgeli	156
		Sty	900
		Oshakty	289
		Dzhalair	134
		Total	1, 479
Buraldaev	Clans:	Chimir	1, 053
		Sikym	8
		Abdan	9
		Total	1, 070
Karabulak volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 036 tents
		Shenshkyly	65
		Sirgeli	90
		Chimir	1 28
		Total	1, 319 tents

4:Grodekov--17 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Karamurt volost	Clans:	Sikym	1, 344 tents
		Shaprashty	94
		Abdan	80
		Argyn	20
		Kangly	15
		Sty	19
		Botpai	20
		Oshakty	10
		Kirgiz	20
		Sirgeli	15
		Total	1, 637tents
Kazykurt volost	Clans:	Dzhanys	1, 421 tents
		Aiban	150
/19/		Sikym	50
		Sty	47
		Total	1, 368 tents
Kungei-Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	849
		Dzhalair	162
		Total	1, 011 tents
Mailikent volost	Clans:	Chimir:	1, 312 tents
		Kangly } Shenshkyly }	413
		Dzhanys	50
		Botpai	251
		Total	2, 026
Sarykul volost	Clans:	Kongrad	1, 455 tents
		Argyn	19
		Kerei	17
		Total	1, 491
Sirgeli volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 827 tents
		Kongrad	12
		Total	1, 839 tents
Tilik volost	Clans:	Sty	1, 599 tents
Chayan volost	Clans:	Sirgeli	1, 034 tents
Chilik volost	Clans:	Naiman	705 tents
		Argyn	249
		Kypchak	152
		Hodja	154
		Total	1, 160 tents/sic/
Chul volost	Clans:	Sikym	900 tents
		Dzhagalbaily	156
		Total	1, 056 tents

Dzhanys volost	Clans:	Chegyr	416 tents
		Dzhanys	603
/20/		Sirgeli	11
		Total	1,030 tents

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

* * * *

The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat. 171 171

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the exchange of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with the meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife", the fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the expiatory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established (among the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the repetition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peo-
●631 ples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away
727 from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[149 cont.]

175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
● 631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
●631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

176 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[A3] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[287 cont.]

*648 This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali. [554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[63] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[296 cont.]

*[648] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [714] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[297 cont.]

x648 After his death the Little Horde was without a khan for more
[43] than two years. In 1812 his brother Shirgazy, who is still alive
[1832], was elevated to that position, but he no longer rules the
horde, because it too has been divided by the government into
● [63] three districts, whose chiefs are independent of the khan.

[43] At the same time as the elevation of Shirgazy, that is, in
1812, Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, was appointed the khan of the
Kazaks who had come with him from the left bank of the Ural
into the government of Astrakhan and had since then been given
the name of the Bukei Horde.

Bukei died in 1815, leaving several sons, of whom the
eldest, Dhangir, was appointed khan in 1824. He is still governing
the Kazaks who live in the government of Astrakhan.

This is the end of the list of the Kazak khans who have been
recognized and confirmed by the Russian government. We do not
include among them Barak, or Batyr, or Kaip, or his son
Abulgazy, for, as we have said previously, they were not elected
except by a small number of their partisans. The last, in spite
of his title, was according to eyewitnesses (1), almost reduced

1. See the memoirs of Dr. Bolshoi, who
was taken prisoner by the Kazaks in 1803.

[298] to a state of mendicancy. His power and influence over the
people was so weak after Batyr Syrym, that we would not even have
mentioned him if he himself, his brothers and his children, among
whom Sultan Arungazi must be particularly distinguished, did not
continue to stand out for their hereditary hatred of Abulkhair's descent
578 line. We have followed the constant progress of this mutual hatred
between the two families for a whole century. Our readers know
that it already existed between Abulkhair and Kaip at the beginning
of the last century.

It passed from them to their children, and to their grand-
children, and great-grandchildren, among whom it still continues
today and who will carefully transmit it to their descendants,
perhaps for another century or even more.

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 173 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 631 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 631 611 [114] Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 619 611 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which, during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

578 628

1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]

●631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).
619
611

2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

[303]

The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

175 /144 cont./ After the death
643 of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
631 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of
175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again
619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political
631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648
175 In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the
619 designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and
63 Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic
614 tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak,
[101] Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 648 619 631 /144 cont./ the Younger and Middle Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sovereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects. He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthening his power, which was tottering because of the enmity between the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 648 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Historical Turkestan RL2

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populations. -- The size and growth of the cities. -- The density and large numbers of people in the Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements. -- The distribution of the population by sex, class, and religion. -- The ethnographic make-up of the population. -- General remarks on the "Sibiriak," Belorussians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and other nationalities in the region. -- The Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The Ural Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The peasants. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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The Kirghiz krai occupies a total area of 1,606,687 versts, which is equal to one-third of all of European Russia (including Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus), or one-third of all of Western Europe, while the area of each of its oblasts is equal to the area of the principal states of Europe.

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Administratively, the Kirghiz krai comprises four military oblasts: the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, and Turgai oblasts. These oblasts were established in 1868 from the lands of the Siberian and Orenburg Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the lands of the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies for greater convenience in administering the Kirghiz /Kazak and the Kazak /Cossack/ armies, and at the same time great changes were made. The "Statute on the Siberian Kirghiz /Ustav o Sibirskikh Kirgizakh/," which had determined the life of this borderland until then, was abolished, and a new "Temporary Code for the Administration of the Steppe Oblasts /Vremennoe Polozhenie ob Upravlenii v Stepnykh Oblastiakh/" was introduced (now somewhat changed). By this code the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands were recognized as state property and put at the disposal of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ only for communal use, while considerable changes were introduced in the administration. The power of the sultan was abolished, as well as the orders from the districts. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ were allowed an administration of their nationality (elected from

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/175 cont./

their midst). The yassak tribute /per capita fur tribute/ was changed to a collection from each kibitka and various other reforms were introduced.

/176/ The military and civil administration was entrusted to the military governors of the oblasts from this time on. In addition to this, the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, together with neighboring Semirechye, formed (in 1882) the Steppe Governor-Generalcy. The small administrative divisions for both the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are the uyezds.

The Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts are divided into five uyezds each, and the Ural and Turgai oblasts have four uyezds each, so there are 18 uyezds in the entire region. In addition, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are broken up into volosts. There are 55 volosts in the Akmolinsk oblast, 84 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 60 in the Ural oblast, and 54 (?) in the Turgai oblast. The volosts are subdivided in turn into nomad villages /aul/, and these are divided into kibitkas (yurts). Elected Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the volost elders -- head the volosts, and they are directly subordinate to the uyezd chief. In addition, the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army is an independent administrative establishment within the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, as is the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ army in the Ural oblast.

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[631]

The Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army was founded by the first military colonists of the region -- the "serf Kazak /Cossack/," including various kinds of military men -- policemen, Don Kazak /Cossacks/, Ural Kazak /Cossacks/, Bashkir, Tatars, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, etc. The well-known Kasak /Cossack/ writer Usov has characterized the Siberian army in these words: "It was not the independent product of the land colonization of the borderlands, like the Don and Yaik Kazak /Cossack/ armies, but came forth fully armed from the hands of the administration and was completely indebted to the government for its existence. This feature has made an impression on all its later history. Throughout its existence, the government, without the

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Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1]See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.

[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 305 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.

[3] Khorezin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

[Great Horde]

616 and reflect a mode of organization in the imperial past
619 of these peoples. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other than to the other wing only insofar as the entire society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kara-Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the On (right) division, and the Sol (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the On or right is much greater than the Sol or left. They are variously organized internally; the On is further subdivided into six groupings, the Sol into seven.[67]

619 In the Great Horde we note that only one of the
●631 two great divisions is in its turn dually organized.
171 The indigenous term for the Great Horde is the Ulu yüs or Great Hundred.[68] The concept of hundred in the Altaic steppe society relates to politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the 19th century had a series of sub-divisions imposed by the central Khanate into tens, forties, and

[67] Radloff, op. cit., I, 230-231.

[68] Ibid., 235.

[Great Horde]

619 hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1] However, in the
●631 case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extra-
171 polated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

619 Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the
642 Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

1 [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. -- Analyst]

[Middle Horde]

631
619 Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no
[616] trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.[167] That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest, that these names are archaic is even more so. Four of these names have a great historical tradition, occurring both in the ancient Turkic records and in the Secret History of the Mongols; these are: the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman and the Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the Secret History, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia.

58 The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet
[177] come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families: a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age twenty at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son became of age. But the relationship was a

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[167] Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, Zametki, 350. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 326, mentions only five of these federations, omitting the Uwak.

101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kazakh kǎy yŭs, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde
631 during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

[Little Horde]

•631 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version
616 given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports
619 simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 The elucidation of the functions of these greater
619 divisions of Kazakh society,[1] the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 — Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity
177.4 which can best be shown by examining units smaller than
565 the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 The chaotic situation in which the larger descent
422 groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŏk, of the byr top.[265]

613 Acculturative influences, both economic and po-
177.61 litical in manifestation, have acted to deprive the
601 Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy
[631] of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the dŭien relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff. --Analyst]

Ki Kazak RQ2

177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳirghīz" or Ḳirghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the Ka 175 separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the articles ABU 'L-ḲHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Ḳhān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Ḳhān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th^ century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Ḳhān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Ḳhān ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th^ century the power of the Ḳhāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of Ka the suzerainty of the Ḳhāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of [631] the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *ǰüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu ǰüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kiçi ǰüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta ǰüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th^ century this division was already an accomplished fact. Ḳhān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Ḳhān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white [648] horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Ḳhair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th^ century; but it was not till the xix^th^ century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ [565] were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Ḳhān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Ḳhān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

P. 1026-A

8:Kostenko 132-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
RL1

The town of Vernyy (Alma Ata)

361 After the Russian occupation of the
632 Trans-Ili region in 1853, the fortress town
of Vernoe (Alma Ata) was established in the following year, 1854, with the aim of consolidating the Russian domination of the Great Horde. It was founded on the spot where the town of Almata, which means 'apple', had been, a town known for its trade and as a station on the great road to China in the Middle Ages frequented, among others, by the Genoese merchants.

At first the fortress town of Vernoe was the administrative center for the Alatau okrug, subordinate to the military governor of the Semipalatinsk oblast'. After the establishment of the Turkestan military okrug, however, the fortress was made the capital town of the Semirechie oblast' and began to be called Vernyy. The natives and many Russians call Vernyy "Almata", as it was formerly called.

361 /418/ Vernyy lies on even sandy clay place, just at the foot of the Trans-Ili Alatau mountains, along the small Almatinka river.

133 The Almatinka has its source in an unusually picteresque spot in the mountains, and flows very swiftly, roaring and foaming along its course which is sprinkled with large rocks in many spots. After it emerges from the mountains it retains its swiftness and the special quality of the river bottom even though flowing through level country.

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

622 The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulat-
502 ing marriage settlements, although he had little authority
692 over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

622 Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th
611 century, when strong acculturative influences were insti-
177 tuted, the principle of descent in the paternal line con-
63 tinued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great
622 Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts
692 called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izraztsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

[92] Izraztsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63
632 recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various auls, or persons belonging to different families, auls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 86, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

5: Levchine RQ2 Kazak RQ2

636

[For the role of the Kazak as dependents of the Russians, see category 116, pp. 23-163.]

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peo-
631 ples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away
727 from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[141 cont.]
175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.
648
662

3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22.

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[153 cont.]
[175 [166 724] [721] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [148] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [136 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[148 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

[156 cont.]
[662] a power over the Great Horde which he did not possess, to make himself important in the eyes of the Russian court and thus to acquire influence over the entire Kazak nation.

Empress Anna's letter patent of July 10, 1734 proves Abulkhair's deceit. First of all, this letter is presented in the name of various beys and elders and not in the name of Djulbars, who was then commander of the entire Great Horde, as is known from several documents and Rychkov's History of Orenburg. Furthermore, in the letter patent it says: "Our subject Abulkhair Khan has reported to us as a faithful subject that he has already accepted you among the ranks of our subjects, and for this purpose he has sent your deputies Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr to our court." These words are founded upon Abulkhair's writings and the oral declarations made by his son, but neither the one nor the other promoted anything but falsehoods. On the one hand, it is recognized that Abulkhair, who lived a long distance from the Great Horde, could never have any influence upon it. On [636] the other hand, we see that this horde never took an oath of loyalty to Russia and was not counted among her subjects. In the third place, it must be noted that the head of the Orenburg expedition, Kirilov, who received this letter patent at the moment of his departure from Petersburg, did not even send it to its destination. It is probable that he felt this move to be [577] indecorous when he arrived at the border and was able to appreciate the truth of the circumstances mentioned in this document.

The second proposal to admit the Kazaks of the Great Horde as Russian subjects is much more probable than the first, though little more sincere. This was made in 1738, not by a man claiming to be chief of the Great Horde but by Djulbars, the true and legitimate chief of this horde. Having learned of the founding of a Russian city at the mouth of the Ori River and the opening of trade with the Kazaks of the Middle and the Little Hordes, he sent to ask for the same benefits, and to help [157] attain his end, he proposed making not only his own people Russian subjects, but also the neighboring nations, if it was

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
[132] which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[236
342]

1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

579 their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical rela-
627 tions of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by
628 one individual against another, the participation of their families
578 in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re-
166 quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:
146 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always
578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[316 cont.]

361 well as that of the neighboring states, and especially of Russia,
181 it is to be desired that they not change their condition of being
● 636 rich herders for that of poor farmers, since their steppes seem,
177 as it were, to be made for nomadic peoples. Good order and peace will not be made to reign in their tribes by establishing villages. There will be no success in making them appreciate the fortunate results of peace except in training them in obedience and especially in observing rules of strict equity with regard to them.

5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chart I

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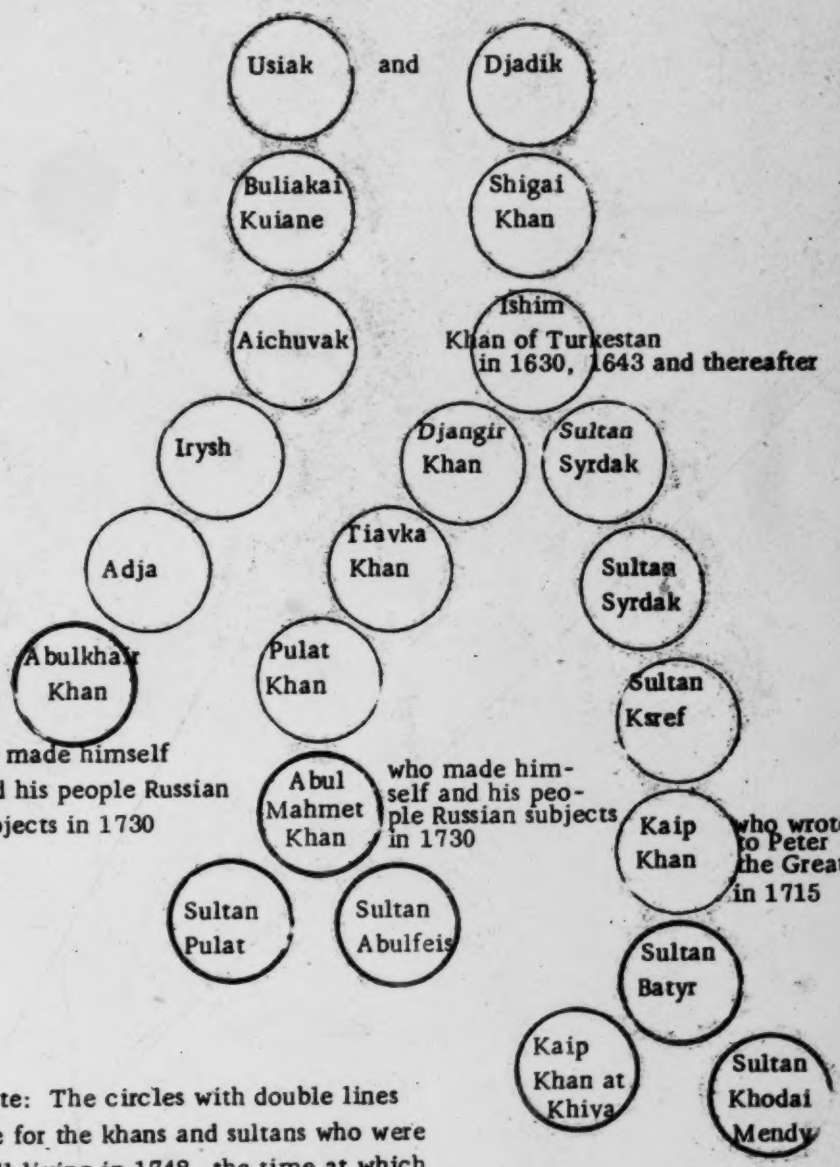
643
613

Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



[636
648]

Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

[187 cont.]

X 648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

[793 778 641]

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

[431]

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

*648 [191 cont.]
Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to
[728] make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince
[654] Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul
[574] Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

*648 After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter,
641 Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

[192 cont.]
648 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu
641 of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this
[439 meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should
723] escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to
[721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193]
662 and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor.
152] But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɨm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɨq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be 643
divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were
presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others.
The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking [644]
sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear
which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[25] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for 646
the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature;
Levshin[26] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the
elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not
clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their
words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any deci-
sions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[27] was told that the
meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated 631
above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during 642
the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is
the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions.
There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials.
Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for
example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The
two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to
their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be
subject to two different khans.[28]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[25] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 2: 621-22.

[26] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[27] *Kirgizy i Kazakgizy*, 25.

[28] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kazgulaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [See cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

[283 cont.]

*648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

● [442] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

*648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

*648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[1]Izraïlevov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Karaïs (73), 1910, p. 42.

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband. 595 586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled. 581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2] 587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3] 596 [561] [593] [605] [593]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels, 642 171

[1]Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2]Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3]Iarostsov, 1897, p. 11.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

● 642 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [428] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [622] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, [602] a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1]Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

161 taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the 19th century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

619 The Kazakhs have been divided into three hordes or
175 chief administrative-political units which have been in-
642 dependent of each other since the beginning of the 18th century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner horde. Thus, during the 19th century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802,
167 and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.[42] There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.[43] Again, many of those who had followed

[42]Levchine, 299-300.

[43]Kostenko, 30.

[Great Horde]

619 631 171 hundreds (cf. chapter on Kalmuks).[1] However, in the case of the Kazakhs the concept Hundred has been extrapolated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

619 642 Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and so forth, even maintaining international relations. The Kazakh state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuk or of a Khalkha Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western.

1 [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 208ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

619
642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

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178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

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182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12]

> ". . . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling

[12] *Idem*, 395–96.
[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.
[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.
[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.
[16] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 393.
[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 82.
[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 451.
[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 94.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɒm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɒq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[24] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[25] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[26] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[27]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[24] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 622–22.

[25] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[26] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 25.

[27] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[648
439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[143] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[147 cont.]
175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
●643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[721] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[114] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

176 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]
175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
●[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[165 cont.]

Chapter V. Historical Studies of the Kirghiz-Kazak Middle and Little Hordes from 1730 until our Times (1832).

*648 The events which have taken place among the Middle and Little Hordes since their union with Russia are so interrelated that it is impossible to separate them. For this reason we are combining into a single description the historical account we wish to give our readers concerning these two hordes from the year 1730 until our times.

At the end of Chapter III we said that the Kazaks who refused to submit to Russia at a time when the public interest would have forced them to do so later became subjects of Empress Anna for the personal advantage of a single individual.

*648 643 This individual was Khan Abulkhair, of whom we have already spoken. He was chief of a large part of the Little Horde, and his power extended over some tribes of the Middle Horde, and he had the well-being of his people in mind. But he thought [662] still more about means of consolidating his power and rising above his rivals and enemies, especially above Khan Kaip, who also ruled over a part of the Little Horde.

The situation of the Kazaks in 1730 favored Abulkhair's ambitions. His subjects were enervated by frequent losses of men and goods; hemmed in on all sides by their neighbors, who warred against them; and expected [166] new misfortunes at every moment; and they were ready then for any sacrifice. The Khan knew how to profit from their frame of mind, and he announced to them definitively that there was no way out except voluntary submission to Russia.

*648 662 ... At fi this proposition was rejected, but Abulkhair no doubt knew how to point out, with such paternal solicitude and persistence, the misfortunes which menaced the Kazaks without the support of Russia; he depicted them so vividly and his arguments were so convincing that they were irresistible. When Abulkhair's adherents had compared the remote advantages they

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[199 cont.]
*648 of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent
662 him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

●[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

[644 431] Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

[576] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

[206 cont.]
×648 him in the name of the Empress (1) to make Abulkhair refuse it,

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 21, 1745.

but the latter would not have paid any attention to his advice if other circumstances had not prevented him from acceding to the wishes of the Khivans. Nurali received a letter from the son of the Shah of Persia inviting him to come to him. This prince considered the khanate of Khiva his property, being the conqueror. Nurali was on the point of departing for Khiva when his wife, whom he had left in that city, sent word that the Persians were only inviting him there in order to put him to death (2). This news kept

2. Continuation of the history of Orenburg by Rychkov, events of 1745.

him back with his father.

[643] Meanwhile the leaders of the Middle Horde, who had had no relation with Russia for nearly two years, approached the Russian border and renewed their assurances of devotion to the Empress. Abul Mahmet left Turkestan to join his horde and sent a messenger to St. Petersburg to volunteer his services; later he renewed his oath of loyalty. Sultan Barak did likewise. He also sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

[668] The Kazaks were not yet at peace when disturbances took place in the Volga Kalmuk horde. The rumor spread that a large section wished to leave Russia, on the invitation of Galdan Tsyren, to join their compatriots, the Dzungars. This rumor, which was confirmed in fact 26 years later, was false at this time, but it disturbed the government, especially when the news had been received from the Ural that a large number of Kalmuks had crossed over from the Russian bank to the Kazak side, and [207] when reports from Siberia stated that the Dzungarian [726] armies had reached the Irtysh /River/ in some places. Subsequent [727] events showed that the passage of the Kalmuks across the Ural

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[679 the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of
643] Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[212 cont.]

[648] [643] This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle [661] Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Al- [668] most all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it [643] was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she liked the Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this

[562]

1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

Y 648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the
[431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

1648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X 648
[664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[221 cont.]
x648 ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[431] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[721] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[727] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[644] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[726] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[727] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely
[169] took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[443] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[222 cont.]

[648] acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been [643] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai [662] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely [721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu [166 727] Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[224 cont.]

×643 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
[661] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[661] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had
578 been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
[643 661 651] that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 722] presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 662] river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes. Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power [illegible] Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs w[illegible] Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[240 cont.]

[648] not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very [439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[442] [443] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

[248 cont.]
x 648 secure hostages from Ablai to guarantee the freedom of the
[661] Russians sent to him.

x 648 Khan Nurali, who was proud of his relations with the army
662 of the Afghans and with China, wrote directly to the Empress in 1764, both to inform her of the invitation sent him by all the Moslems of Central Asia to take part in the war against China and also to acquaint her with the distinguished reception his embassy had had in Peking. These two circumstances inflated his vanity, and in his dreams of [249] his importance, he thought he could exact several concessions which he had already been refused. However, these repeated demands had no more success than they had had the first time. He was sent thanks from Russia for the news he had provided about the Afghans, and several gifts were added with a reply which was as polite as it was lacking in satisfaction. His horde did not remain calm, however, but con-
[721] tinued its raids against the Volga Kalmuks as much as against the Russian settlements on the border, nor did they renounce their usual dissensions, which are not worth a detailed description. Thus passed the years 1765 and 1766. In 1767 Russian troops punished them in a clear manner, by pursuing the brigands to the very middle of the horde.

x 648 There is no doubt that this chastisement made Nurali
662 violently angry. Since he needed Catherine's good graces, how-
● 643 ever, he hid his resentment for a long time. He was afraid that after his death the position of khan might pass to another family, and asked that a successor or deputy be designated while he still lived and that the Russian government ceremonially elevate his eldest son, Ishim, to this new post. This was a new desire, but it was not in opposition to Russian views. It was true that Russia could designate one of Nurali's brothers as khan of the Little Horde if she chose. But since there was no reason then for preferring them above other sultans and since the Empress Anna, when she promised Abulkhair to preserve the post of khan for posterity, did not fix any rule for the choice of his successors, Nurali's wish could be fulfilled. Also the particular qualities of Sultan Ishim were no obstacle to the accomplishment of his

[249 cont.]

father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

While studies were being made on this subject and the correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by

him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by

e marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by
sing them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

K *648 C 648 K C [669 662] [257 cont.] undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K [643 651] At this same time an event took place in the interior of the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [illegible] 259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through [illegible] e high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little orde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

[643]

x648 [260 cont.]
[739]

subject on December 17, 1775, the geodetic specialist Vasiliev drew a map of the environs of the Emba and the rivers which flowed into it.

execution, as had all the others which had been made previously.
[721] It can be seen in the reports from the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorf, to the Empress in the months of March and April, 1776 that the Little Horde had once more begun acts of hostility against Russia, and although after the Russian troops entered the steppes in 1774, the border authorities had been forbidden to send troops beyond the Ural, yet Khan Nurali himself had asked for armed assistance to bring his restless subjects to their senses.
[662] Sultan Ablai, on the contrary, was then becoming more powerful, older, and wilier from day to day. Having had more experience than any of the contemporary Kazak princes and being known for his intelligence, dreaded by his subjects, and distinguished for his ties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of China (2) /sic/,

2. The best known among them was Sultan Dair, son of Barak, who complained to the governor of Orenburg that Ablai had unjustly usurped the title of khan.

he had every possible right to the post of ~~chief of the~~ Middle Horde. Sure of his ability, he knew how to attract followers by his importance and his prudent behavior. He threatened his enemies with his power and acknowledged himself now a subject of Russia and now that of China (3), depending on the occasion,

3. Some Kazaks who came within our borders stated that Ablai spoke Chinese.

being in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can
ng in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can
ice this especially after the year 1771, when he made less
ort to conserve appearances of an external submission to Russia,
having become less hypocritical, he openly took the title of khan.

[261]

x648 643 The Russian government asked him by what right he had taken this title, and he boldly replied that he had acquired it by his victories over the Torguts and, after the death of Abul Mahmet, not only by the choice of the Kazak hordes but also by that of the residents of Turkestan and Tashkent. He added that following the example of his independent ancestors and the khans who were his predecessors, he wished to live in Turkestan near the tomb of Khodja Akhmet (1). It was then too late to remind

1. The Kazaks regard Khodja Akhmet, who is buried in /the town of/ Turkestan, as the greatest saint after Mohammed.

Ablai of the obligations of a faithful subject. But it was necessary at least to sustain the idea in the hordes that no one could become khan in one of them without the consent of Russia. The Empress ordered that an officer be sent to Ablai to induce him especially to request the confirmation of his new position from the Russian government.

[661] He consented to this proposal and promised to send his son, Sultan Tugum, to St. Petersburg.

On November 25, 1777, it was officially announced to him that the Empress had agreed to his request, if he would transmit it in writing rather than orally. It was ordered to return his son from the border to the horde in the opposite case.

Ablai made not the slightest opposition to sending a written request. Consequently, Sultan Tugum, who conveyed it to St. Petersburg, was received most graciously, and his father was confirmed as khan by a certificate on October 22, 1778.

This certificate was sent to Orenburg, accompanied by a robe of honor, a saber, and a hat, and Ablai was invited to present himself to receive them and to swear the oath in Orenburg, Troitsk, or on the Siberian line. But when he refused to come, the Russian government consented to his taking the oath in the horde in the presence of a Russian officer, who would then

[261 cont.]

×648 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[262 cont.]
*648 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
[64] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
*648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
● 673 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobi in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[264 cont.]

~~648~~ 643 The election of Vali by Ablai's Kazak subjects and his confirmation by Russia did not prevent another khan from appearing in the same horde. He was chosen by the Naiman descent line and confirmed by the emperor of China. The descendants of the ancient Naimans, who had blended into the mass of the Kazak people of the time, obeyed, at the time of Ablai, Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet and brother of Pulat, the khan of Turkestan. And although he had had some relations with the Orenburg authorities and had even requested a stipend, he was nevertheless a subject of China. He died in 1783, leaving a son named Bupu and a son-in-law, Khan Khodja, son of Barak, whose acquaintance we have already made. One of these princes was to inherit Abulfenz's authority, but each had his partisans, who could not come to an agreement on the choice and who set the entire Naiman descent group in commotion with their quarrels. The majority of the votes were in favor of Khan Khodja, however, so that this prince became the sovereign of the former subjects of Abulfenz, and the troubles were ended. When the emperor of China learned this, he sent him a certificate as khan by one of his high officials. The ministry in Peking considered this a necessary measure because it regarded the entire Middle Horde as subjects of China and because it had named Ablai a Chinese prince. When it was seen that Ablai's son Vali was submitting [662] himself to Russia, he was speedily replaced, for the dignity of the empire, by another Kazak prince who was submissive.

~~648~~ With the exception of Vali, the other sons and close kinsmen of Ablai had few relations with Russia. Some of them proudly acknowledged themselves to be subjects of China.

This was the behavior adopted by Sultan Chingis, who [265] marched in 1784 with an army raised in the steppes to put down a revolt which had broken out in Tashkent. Another brother of [686] Khan Vali, Sultan Tyz, who was also devoted to China, is known to us only for his hatred of the Buruts.

Tyz was not the only one to attack his bloodthirsty neighbors. [721] Several sections or branches of the Kazaks who lived near the Chinese borders continued to maintain the war against the Buruts

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643] a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[273 cont.]
x648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
●643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote 152] that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [728] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, ● 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[276 cont.]

he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

×648 [277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to
668 this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to
643 recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

×648 The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head,
177 and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge
643 themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

×648 Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas.
[579] First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva,
[177 [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open
643] hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[278 cont.]

*643 promise given to Abulkhair by Empress Anna to choose khans
177 only from among his successors. Third, Nurali had on his side
●643 not only his kinsmen but also the most powerful princes of the Middle Horde, the most important of whom was Sultan Khudai Mendi, a man as distinguished for his intelligence as for the large number of his followers and the authority he had acquired over them.

*648 Vali Khan took a great interest in Nurali's fate and argued
664 vigorously with the Russian government (2) on his behalf, and he

2. See Baron Igelstrom's report of December 18, 1786.

also wrote the same thing and warmly defended the descendants of Abulkhair, whom he called the father of all the Kazak khans subject to Russia and the first creator of the submission of the Little Horde (3). Finally, in 1787 a large part of the national

3. See another of Baron Igelstrom's reports, that of September 29, 1787.

assembly expressed the desire to see Nurali returned to the horde, out of respect for Abulkhair, who was considered a saint by many Kazaks. All these circumstances spoke in Nurali's favor, but they did not promise peace among the Kazaks in the future. Therefore, the execution of the latest intentions of the Russian government, to introduce in the Little Horde an organization conforming to that of the interior guberniyas continued unabated.

*648 Meanwhile Batyr Syrym regained his freedom and once again
662 began to influence the people in accord with the plans of the
177 Orenburg authorities, which he seconded as long as they were not contrary to his own views. Under the guise of devotion to Russia and gratitude to the local authority which had chosen him as its instrument, Syrym helped Baron Igelstrom greatly in the reforms which he made in the Little Horde in 1787, which we are about to describe.

[279 cont.]

×648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from ●643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him ×648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg gov- [721 578] ernment. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

●[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

[284 cont.]

×648 successful, because the sultans, and especially the descendants of
646 Abulkhair, were trying to please the Russian government, having
721 been informed of the Empress' intentions to re-establish the post of khan among them. As for individual raids, Syrym's followers continued them almost without interruption for seven or eight years.

×648 The main raids took place after the election of Sultan Erali
[726] to the position of khan, which was in 1791 by order of the Empress. When she learned of Nurali's death, she commanded on January 29 that Erali be named his successor and that he be sent the patent of
[643] khan of the Little Horde without waiting for any representations. In carrying out the will of his sovereign, the commander of the province of Orenburg at once informed Abulkhair's son of the honor which was being given him and invited him to appear at the border at the end of summer to receive the ceremonial investiture. Erali arrived at the Ural at the designated time with his followers and on September 4 was proclaimed khan, 15 versts from the fortress of Orsk.

This is how his election took place. On the day at the hour designated, Lieutenant General Peutling, supreme commander of [285] the border region of Orenburg, escorted by a body of troops appeared before the assembled Kazaks and commanded first of all that the imperial document be read to them, in which it was said that Erali had been designated khan, both because of his personal merit and because he was the eldest in Abulkhair's family. Then he invited the people to proceed to the election according to its old customs.

At this same moment there appeared the deputies of Batyr Syrym, those of Sultan Abulgazy Kaip, and those of several elders, who announced that they did not consent to the election of Erali. They received the reply that he had been designated by the wish of the Empress. The next day, after the proclamation of the Khan, that is, September 5, six deputies were chosen who were sent to St. Petersburg to ask that he be confirmed.

On September 6 a letter was received from the khan of Turkestan, Pirali, son of Nurali, in which this prince, who had

[287 cont.]

*648 This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali. [554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[288 cont.]

X 648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X 648 681 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

Y 648 645 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X 648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[167] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [843] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [246] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

[290 cont.]
for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon became useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader. The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences. Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[291 cont.]
[648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166] Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[292 cont.]
[648] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[511] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[727] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[727] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[643] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[294 cont.]

[648] very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, [101] or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed [72] to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[72] [181] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181] [643] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his [311] subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

[295 cont.]

×648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his ●[643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 727] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[296 cont.]

[646] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[297 cont.]

×648 After his death the Little Horde was without a khan for more
[643] than two years. In 1812 his brother Shirgazy, who is still alive
[1832], was elevated to that position, but he no longer rules the
horde, because it too has been divided by the government into
[631] three districts, whose chiefs are independent of the khan.

[643] At the same time as the elevation of Shirgazy, that is, in
1812, Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, was appointed the khan of the
Kazaks who had come with him from the left bank of the Ural
into the government of Astrakhan and had since then been given
the name of the Bukei Horde.

Bukei died in 1815, leaving several sons, of whom the
eldest, Dhangir, was appointed khan in 1824. He is still governing
the Kazaks who live in the government of Astrakhan.

This is the end of the list of the Kazak khans who have been
recognized and confirmed by the Russian government. We do not
include among them Barak, or Batyr, or Kaip, or his son
Abulgazy, for, as we have said previously, they were not elected
except by a small number of their partisans. The last, in spite
of his title, was according to eyewitnesses (1), almost reduced

1. See the memoirs of Dr. Bolshoi, who
was taken prisoner by the Kazaks in 1803.

[298] to a state of mendicancy. His power and influence over the
people was so weak after Batyr Syrym, that we would not even have
mentioned him if he himself, his brothers and his children, among
whom Sultan Arungazi must be particularly distinguished, did not
continue to stand out for their hereditary hatred of Abulkhair's descent
578 line. We have followed the constant progress of this mutual hatred
between the two families for a whole century. Our readers know
that it already existed between Abulkhair and Kaip at the beginning
of the last century.

It passed from them to their children, and to their grand-
children, and great-grandchildren, among whom it still continues
today and who will carefully transmit it to their descendants,
perhaps for another century or even more.

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 173 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 631 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 631 611 [114] Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chart I

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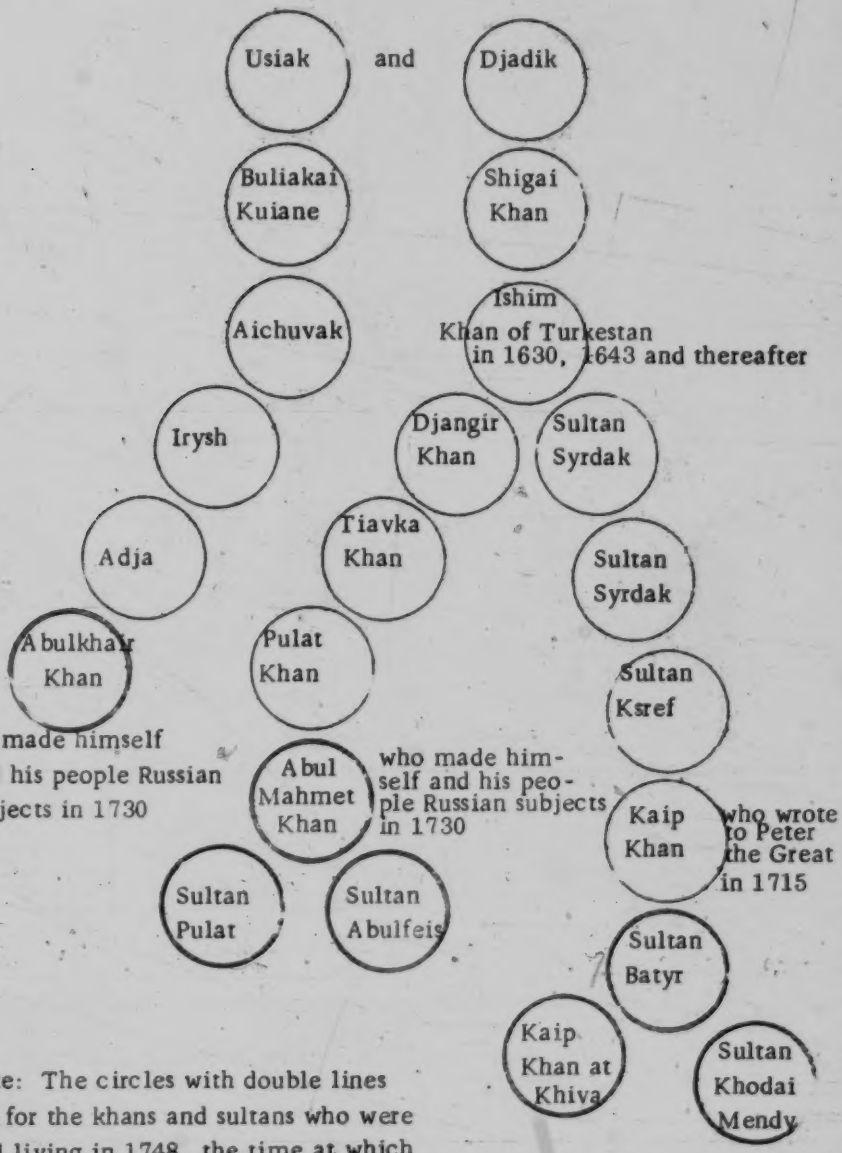
Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

Chart II

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Genealogy of the Second Branch of Khans

Bukei Khan
Kuchak
Khodai Mendy
Tursunl Khan

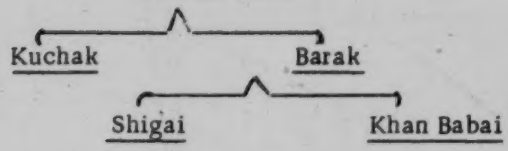

Chart III

Genealogy of the Third Branch of Khans

Vali
Ablai
Vali
Ablai Khan

The last was still khan in 1748

Note: Those whose names are underlined were still living in 1748.

5: Levchine--184 G-4, 5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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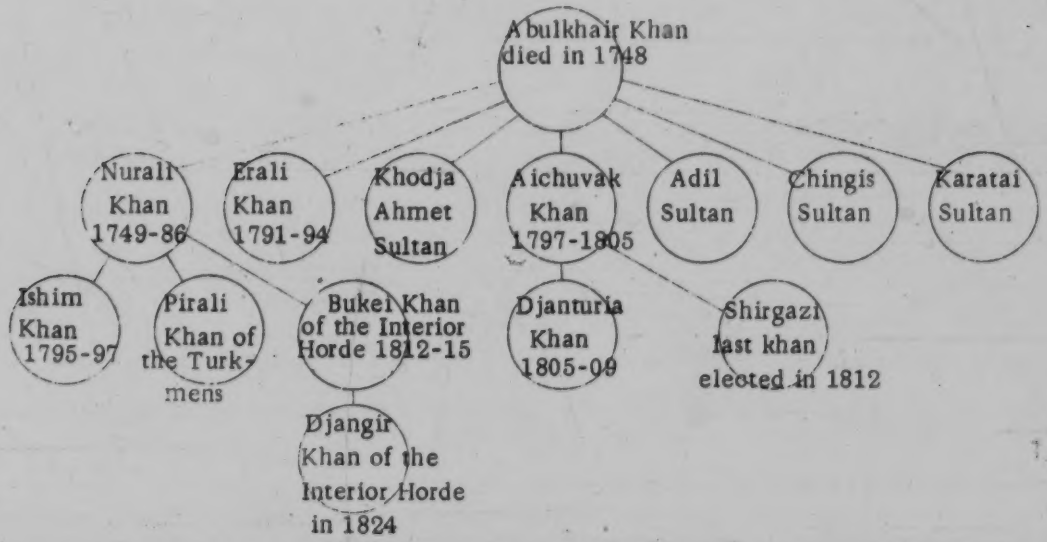
Plate 4

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

764
614

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

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peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal. Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
175 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of
643 peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 643 631 /144 cont./ After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of 175 619 631 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

648 175 619 63 614 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 648 619 631 /144 cont./ The Younger and Middle Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sovereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects. He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthening his power, which was tottering because of the enmity between the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 648 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
602 their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It
[622] did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[588] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
[614] branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
[595] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[622] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[592] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Altynsarin, 1870, p. 104.

[2] [for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[5] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[6] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [599]

[5]Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[6]Ivanin, 1864, pp. 3-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[3]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[3] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[3]Izvestsev, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[3]Radloff (104), 1893; p. 513; Rudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3]Kerets (73), 1910, p. 42.

619 they had names which harked back to the Chingiside era. Valikhanov draws an important implication from this: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union as a whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingiside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,[49] for they are properly speaking fictitious.

619 428 643 829 The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakh nobility who brought the original confederation to life are located by Kazakh tradition in the Little Horde.[50] We know that the Little Horde was not an original founding member of the confederation of hordes, but was rather the junior member. So reads the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov, and which must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the location of the original founder of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to regularize or legitimize the rank order of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to align the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through

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[49] Idem.

[50] Ibid., 292.

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transmission via Khan Tiavka (c. 1700). This law decreed that the right of succession to the father's status and to his residuary possessions, went to the youngest son or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.[51] N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code--the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan--and of the code transmitted by Khan Tiavka. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, not that of the father, the youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and other incorporeal properties.[52] But the important thing is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes and decrees, but what the 19th century Kazakh believed them to be; what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a double fiction was applied. First,

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[51] Idem.

[52] Riasanovsky, Customary Laws, 7 ff; ibid., Fundamental Principles, 83 ff.

619 643 829 there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

619 173 The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[53] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

[53] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

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173 are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

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143 As an instance of this,[1] portions of two Kazakh genealogies which purport to give the ancestry of a famous Kazakh Khan, Abul Hafr, who led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730, follow. The two genealogies are simply ten generations cut out of much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was composed by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's;[54] that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, fifty years later, in the 1920's.[55]

I	Kerim	I	Urus (1361-1376)
II	Tuigash	II	Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III	Kurenbai	III	Barak
IV	Djalyntus	IV	Djanibek
V	Bab-kasym	V	Usak
VI	Er-bulantai	VI	Bula-kai-kuyan
VII	Sabaz-batyr	VII	Ai-Chuwak
VIII	Er-djomart	VIII	Irysh
IX	Alpyspek	IX	Adja
X	Abul-Hafr	X	Abul-Hafr (1730)

[54] Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 394-395, note 2.

[55] Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

[1] [i.e. the validity of contradictory genealogies; cf. Cat. 619, p. 389 -- Analyst]

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The two genealogies were collected fifty years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They give the ancestry of the famous khan, but one who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantay and Bula-kay-kuyan. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: The ten generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends fifty-four generations from Adam to Abul-Hair. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapyz). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.[56] The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts nineteen generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the 19th century. The prestige

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[56] Aristov, op. cit., 394.

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of Abul-Haïr was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through fourteen generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the 19th century. Abul-Haïr becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by fourteen generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 9.3 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of the genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Haïr, making the head of the Botpay clan junior to no one, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.[57] Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle: in the account of Dikambay-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of eldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession

[57] Ibid., 395-396.

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643 pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

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173 This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguineal distance between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. 631 They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in 643 gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12]

> ". . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting [644] of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling

[12] *Idem*, 395–96.
[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.
[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.
[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.
[16] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 393.
[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 82.
[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 451.
[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 94.

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*648 of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent
662 him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

Several months later he showed how insincere this submission
● [644 431] was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.
[576] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

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X 648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace with each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X 648 681 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

Y 648 645 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X 648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[34] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[35] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[36] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[37]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[34] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.

[35] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[36] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 25.

[37] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[644] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and recovered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from
[727] Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[170 cont.]
x648 cleverness triumphed over force.

662 Vexed by the presence of the Russians and fearing their in-
x648 fluence, the Kazaks firmly resolved to rid themselves of these distasteful guests. For this reason they announced to Tevkelev that they were going to call a general assembly of the nation, at which they would definitively decide whether they would or would not swear the oath of allegiance to Russia, and that he himself should be present at the assembly without being accompanied by anyone. It was all but certain that they wished to assassinate him, and yet Tevkelev did not refuse this invitation and even knew how to turn it to his own advantage.

x648 He knew the greediness of the Kazaks, and he was guided
● 646 by the Khan and his partisans. He took care to secure himself
662 by gifts to certain of his principal and most dangerous enemies, and next he appeared at the assembly. Emboldened by the hope of having defenders and seeing himself placed in a position where he must perish or distinguish himself, he showed all the firmness, eloquence, and presence of mind of which he had given so many indications to the Kazaks and which had yielded him the greatest consideration on the part of the Moslems. Bukenbai, a Kazak elder who was as eminent as he was respected in the Middle and the Little Hordes, was the first to proclaim himself his protector. Tevkelev,together with this elder and with Khan Abulkhair, who presided in person over this assembly, spoke with such force and authority in favor of Russia that the party which was opposed to the Khan was won over by the arguments of his partisans. The result was that all the persons in attendance, starting with Abulkhair and Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, swore the oath of loyalty to Russia. All this took place in 1732. As he was far from the border, Tevkelev had not yet had time to inform the government of the success of his mission when violent disturbances took place in the Middle Horde.

x648 At first the Khan and the tribal chiefs envied the [171] power which Abulkhair was to gain by his alliance with the court of Petersburg, and they even feared him. But the common people, among whom there were fewer partisans of Russia than in the Little Horde, did not wish to give up their independence. They saw

[235 cont.]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

[272 cont.]

×648 No one stopped to reflect on the possibility or impossibility of carrying out this measure, because the Orenburg administration had proposed it itself and must have the means of accomplishing it.

[177] Having received the approbation of the court, Baron Igelstrom at once began to introduce the new order of things.

His first step produced results which were in perfect harmony
×648 with the end to which he aspired.

●646 Without the intermediary of the Khan, he sent solemn procla-
728 mations throughout the entire horde, in which, without speaking
668 of the Khan nor of the sultans, he invited the elders and the peo-
177 ple to form an assembly in order to come to an agreement on the means of maintaining order in the horde and living in obedience to the Russian government. He advised them to renounce brigandage and raids and to expect the pardon they deserved for their repentance or severe punishments for the crimes which had been disturbing public order. These proclamations almost completely destroyed the last vestiges of the weak power of the Khan. Many Kazaks who were followers of the Khan abandoned him and joined his enemies, and all together they formed a national assembly which did not contain one sultan, and where Batyr Syrym, of whom we have spoken, twice presided as chief.

×648 The confidence shown by the people in Syrym in this instance
646 is very common, and is in perfect harmony with the Kazak notions
728 of the greatness of spirit. But who would fail to be surprised at the consideration given in Orenburg to this [273] man who the year before had been the leader of a band of brigands, at whose head he had attacked Russian troops and forts?

All Syrym's actions showed that he was a man of vast intelligence but one unsatisfied, restless, and vindictive, and moreover, of an enterprising character rarely found among a half-savage people. After having distinguished himself among the bandits, he soon came to eminence in the council which had assembled to re-establish the general peace, as he believed that new and brilliant advantages lay in this for him. As he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Khan, not so much because of specific disputes with Nurali as of the longing he felt for the heriditary

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
● 646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[283 cont.]

x648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[442] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

x648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

x648 ●676 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

[284 cont.]

successful, because the sultans, and especially the descendants of Abulkhair, were trying to please the Russian government, having been informed of the Empress' intentions to re-establish the post of khan among them. As for individual raids, Syrym's followers continued them almost without interruption for seven or eight years.

The main raids took place after the election of Sultan Erali to the position of khan, which was in 1791 by order of the Empress. When she learned of Nurali's death, she commanded on January 29 that Erali be named his successor and that he be sent the patent of khan of the Little Horde without waiting for any representations. In carrying out the will of his sovereign, the commander of the province of Orenburg at once informed Abulkhair's son of the honor which was being given him and invited him to appear at the border at the end of summer to receive the ceremonial investiture. Erali arrived at the Ural at the designated time with his followers and on September 4 was proclaimed khan, 15 versts from the fortress of Orsk.

This is how his election took place. On the day at the hour designated, Lieutenant General Peutling, supreme commander of [285] the border region of Orenburg, escorted by a body of troops appeared before the assembled Kazaks and commanded first of all that the imperial document be read to them, in which it was said that Erali had been designated khan, both because of his personal merit and because he was the eldest in Abulkhair's family. Then he invited the people to proceed to the election according to its old customs.

At this same moment there appeared the deputies of Batyr Syrym, those of Sultan Abulgazy Kaip, and those of several elders, who announced that they did not consent to the election of Erali. They received the reply that he had been designated by the wish of the Empress. The next day, after the proclamation of the Khan, that is, September 5, six deputies were chosen who were sent to St. Petersburg to ask that he be confirmed.

On September 6 a letter was received from the khan of Turkestan, Pirali, son of Nurali, in which this prince, who had

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[67] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [643] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [646] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

[290 cont.]
X648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

X648 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

X648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643 often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554] but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
[579 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
[578 raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
721] acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere..

[669 These circumstances produced very important consequences.
166] Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[291 cont.]
[648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166] Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he
followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed
him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of
the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

9) Tush (the breast).

10) Muyun (the neck).

11) Ichay karyn (the intestines) are given to children and women, who usually get nothing of the best pieces.

Seniority is not ranked by direct line, i. e., the brother of someone, older or younger, has precedence (ulkun yol) over the son of the same person. Uncles are met with greater honor than nephews. (1)

1. The Khan is succeeded by his brothers, then his sons, then the sons of the brothers.

Before old men (aksakals), i. e., elders, mullahs and influential persons, even of strange clans, they sit properly, do not contradict, and fulfill requests. It is customary to exact an apology and a fine for reviling them or scuffling with them.

If a low person should chance to sit between high ones, he can be ousted or allowed to remain, in view of whether he and his father are good persons or not.

If a high person unjustly abuses an inferior, then a bii may say [683] to him: "Look here. If you do that again, not he but you will be fined."

When a high person beats an inferior, he is not punished for three blows, inclusively. And if the inferior responds with a blow during one of the first three blows, then he must pay a fine. /11/ Envoys are not [648] abused and not killed, according to the proverb: il'chige ulum kharam, death is forbidden to an envoy.

Inferiors, for example, young women, do not walk in front of elders, but go around behind them. If they pass in front of them by necessity, walking or riding, they show them honor (tazim) by greeting them or by some other sign of respect. If a woman bars a road to men, they stop her and force her to ride across behind them (the Perovsk uyezd).

The Tiuri are greeted after the usual salaam by the additional word aldiiar. (1) Of proud Tiuri it is said: it is a bad Tiur who prides

1. Apparently instead of "alla iar", they say "May God be a protector."

himself on an aldiiar (aldiiarga mas bulgan yaman tiure).

To ride up to a person or to a tent at a gallop is considered blameworthy. Such a person is asked reproachfully: "What happened?

5: Levchine RQ2 K
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[For information on international relations, s
pp. 23-163.]

Kazak RQ2

ee category 116,

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the ● [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peo-
631 ples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away
727 from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[139 cont.]
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the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are
[721] said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

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● 648
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Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[643
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3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
643 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[141 cont.]

175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.

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3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22..

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
[121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

175 One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
648 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
439 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time, and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[146 cont.]

175 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the
721 Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely exterminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent
722 lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring
175 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed
723 half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of
●648 Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

[147 cont.]
175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see
below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[121] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
● 648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
●649 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[43] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[153 cont.]
175 [166 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

[183 cont.]
[648] we know that in 1736, in addition to the fortress of Orenburg, he had founded the forts of Guberlinsk and Ozernaya on the Yaik, which still exist today, and three fortified ports, Sredny, Berdskoy, and Krylov. We do not speak here of the forts erected on the Samara River and in the interior of the country of the Bashkirs since they have no connection with our subject.

The arrival of Russian troops at the Ural River could not help but influence the peace of the Kazak hordes, even if only momentarily. But this did not prevent them from harassing Russian subjects in the west.

Although Kirilov had not succeeded in seeing the Kazak princes and consequently could not carry out the order he had received to prepare their hordes to attack the Volga Kalmuks who were revolting, the Kazaks had no need of being urged to an act toward which they were naturally inclined.

648 726 Scarcely had they heard of the disturbances on the Volga, when they hastened off to pillage the Kalmuks (2). The successful

2. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of February 9, 1737, under the name of Kirilov, and the copies of reports of Prince Repnin and Beklemishev which are appended to it.

outcome of this campaign and the seizure of many prisoners and some livestock in 1736 was not enough to satisfy the greed of the Kazaks, and they repeated their attacks in 1737, returning home with considerable booty.

648 Kirilov was charged (3) with making Abulkhair realize how

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 8, 1737.

much the ravages which his subjects were inflicting upon those of the empire [184] were contrary to the views of the government, and ordered to take measures to prevent them from committing similar acts in the future. This admonishment did not achieve

5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

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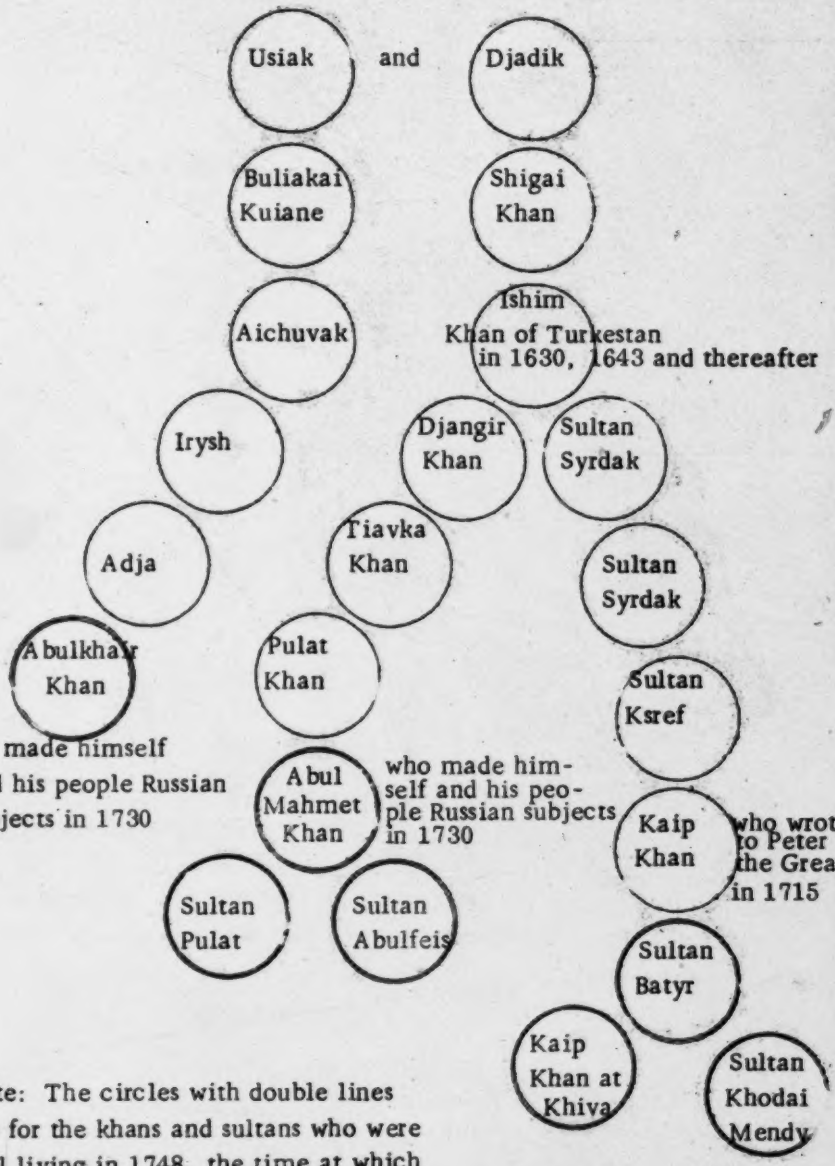
Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



[636
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Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

/143 cont./

101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
175 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of
643 peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 /144 cont./ After the death
643 of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
631 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of
175 Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again
619 appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political
631 unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

[101] 1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

• 648
175 In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the
619 designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and
63 Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic
614 tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak,
[101] Argyn, Naiman, and Kerei as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

175 /144 cont./ The Younger and Middle
648 Hordes, pushed by their enemies from the south to the so-
619 called Gor'kaya line, were obliged to recognize Russian sov-
631 ereignty. The relations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to their sultans and khans were free. They recognized their authority as long as their interests coincided with the views of the autonomously
175 ruling clans. In 1730, Sultan Abulkhair of the Younger Horde
643 asked the Russian government to accept his people as subjects.
648 He did this partly because he feared an invasion of his lands
619 by Galdan-Tsyren, and partly with the intention of strengthen-
614 ing his power, which was tottering because of the enmity be-
631 tween the sultans. In the 18th century the sultans Ablai /or Ablay/, AbulMambet and Barak of the Elder and Middle hordes became the rulers of the people by utilizing their good will. Ablai, the most populat of the khans named by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, carefully avoided subjecting the Kirghiz /Kazak/ to a foreign power. Some of the clans of the Middle Horde accepted Russian sovereignty under the son of khan Ablai in 1782, and under Bukei /or Bukey/ Khan, the sons of Barak, at the end of the 18th century. Certain clans of the Elder Horde accepted Russian sovereignty in the 19th century in the person of their sultan Syuk-Ablaikhanov. Later, by the third quarter of this century all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clans had gradually recognized Russian rule except the Naiman and Kerei. /145/ These, after the annihilation of the Dzunguarian kingdom by the Chinese in the third quarter of the 18th century left the present Akmolinsk oblast to go to their old lands on the Tarbagatai and Black Irtysh, and from there into China.

175 The Kirghiz /Kazak/, who had never known a sovereign
648 power, which would have been unfeasible in the free steppe, where from time immemorial the traditional form of power had been concentrated in the hands of an autonomously ruling clan and its leaders, became part of the population of the steppe oblasts in the 19th century. Although they had acknowledged their dependence on the Russian government, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ did not reconcile themselves to this position at once, and even attempted to reestablish their independence later.

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

K 175 648 /145 cont./

but these attempts were unsuccessful.

K 175 648 669 In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents. /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

K [533]

K 175 With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

K.K. 175 101 648 619 /146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural

KK 175 619 648

KK. /146 cont./
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Dzungarians however, would not permit the Russians to establish themselves there. In spite of the fact that Buchholz was accompanied by a considerable detachment (3,000 men), they besieged him and forced him to retreat with great losses to the mouth of the Om and to renounce his aim. Only five years later, with the consent of the Dzungarians, the Russians did succeed in founding several fortresses along the Irtysh (Omsk, Staro-Semipalatinsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk).

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As we have seen, in 1723 the Dzungarians defeated a part of the Eldér and Middle Hordes of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (wandering west of them). The Younger Horde and the part of the Middle Horde that remained independent moved northwest to the Siberian border of the Russians and to the Bashkir. Meanwhile the khans Abulkhair and Semeke swore allegiance to the Russians in order to protect themselves better from the Dzungarians.

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It was during this period that the kingdom of Dzungaria reached its greatest power and might, extending from the Altai across the southern part of the present Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Turgai oblasts to the Aral Sea, and southward to the foothills of the Tien Shan. In 1739 the Dzungarians attacked the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and drove them to the Ural (Yaik) River, in the course of which many Bashkir who were subject to the Russians were killed. The Russian government, however, decided not to punish the Dzungarians for the attack, for it still recognized them as a powerful enemy. These Dzungarian kontayshi considered themselves so powerful that they paid no heed to good relations with their strong neighbors -- China and Russia. Only after /147/ clan dissensions once again arose in Dzungaria did its power fall, this time finally, and the Chinese and Russians did not fail to take advantage of it. In 1751 the kontaysha Amursana was seeking to rule Dzungaria. Since he had no hope of achieving his aim by his own power, he turned to the Chinese government for help. The latter, expecting to gain an advantage from the war which was beginning, sent an army to Amursana, which did indeed help him to gain rule. Instead of acknowledging

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5
Prehistoric Turkestan RL3

KK. /147 cont./

175 himself as dependent upon China after that, however, Amursana
631 took advantage of the trust of the Chinese and attacked them
648 suddenly and laid waste the nearest provinces (Hami). The indignant emperor declared war without quarter against the Dzungarians. Chinese armies entered Dzungaria several times, only to be met with defeat. In fact Amursana was finally beaten only in 1756, when he fled to Siberia to the Russians. The Chinese went through all of Dzungaria "with fire and sword" destroying almost the entire population without quarter (up to one million persons), paying no attention to sex or age. This was no conquest, but the extermination of a nation, individual by individual. And in truth, from this time on the Dzungarian
KK kingdom completely disappeared from the scene of history. Only
[167] a few thousand people of the western Oliut /or Olyut/ tribes escaped, managing to flee to the Kalmyk hordes on the Volga.

With the destruction of the Dzungarian empire, in the
K southern strip of the present Kirghiz krai, there remained the
175 Kirghiz-Kazak (the Elder, Middle, and Younger hordes), some
648 of whom recognized Russian authority and some of whom went
[619] over to the Chinese. By the beginning of the 19th century, as
[167] we have seen, most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ recognized the authority of the Russians and remained to wander in the southern part of our region (where they are still wandering to this day).

Such, in brief, is the political history of the nomadic peoples of the Kirghiz krai.

P.T. Clearly the Kirghiz krai has not ceased to be the arena
172 of important historic events from the most ancient times to the end of the 19th century. Primitive tribes appeared here and passed through the first stages of their cultural development (the stone and copper stages). Dozens of peoples of Central, Inner, and Eastern Asia moved through here, for which reason the southern plains of the region are even known as the "historical gates of peoples." The various monuments found here in the region are mute evidence of the events which have taken place here in various epochs. We have already seen the

H.T /152 cont./
175 modern Akmolinsk, Bayan-Aul, Kokchetav, and Karkaralinsk.
648 In addition to the Kazak /Cossacks/, Russian industrial people
[167] came to the steppe and opened gold, silver, and copper mines
H.T there. In 1837 patrols were established between Kokchetav and
K Akmolinsk, and in the same year the government raised the
175 question of transferring the southern boundaries to the river Chu,
648 but were restrained from this step by the danger of increasing the fermentation among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, which had been evoked by the rebellion of Kenesary (1). When peace had been

H.T.
[167]

1. From 1847 to 1856, Little Russian /Ukrainian/ Kazak /Cossacks/ and peasants of the Orenburg and Samara guberniyas were resettled in the Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk uyezds, constituting over 8,000 persons. Meanwhile all the peasant villages along the Gor'kaya line and along the Irtysh (up to 14,000 persons) were made Kazak /Cossacks/ and attached to the land.

established, the Russian government at last held in its power the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes who wandered on the boundaries of the modern Akmolinsk oblast and the western part of the
H.T. Semipalatinsk oblast. Meanwhile further Russian conquests had
175 been going on in Semirechye. Finally in 1860 the Peking peace
648 treaty was made with China, according to which the Russian
439 /153/ border ran south from the Narym valley to Lake Zaisan (the Chakil'mes mountain) and across Tarbagatai to the Tien Shan. This increase in territory was already called for by trade considerations. By this time the Russian merchants had made millions of exchanges with the Chinese and the Mongols, buying tea and raw materials from them and selling manufactured goods.

The commercial dealings took place through the Zaisan

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2
Bashkir RF3

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B
H.T.
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/154 cont./

All the uprisings, however, ended in the defeat of the Bashkir and the strengthening of Russian rule. In 1731-32, the Middle and Younger Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes wandered to the border of Bashkiria and submitted to Russian sovereignty. This made it necessary to strengthen the position of Russian rule on the border, in part to defend the Kirghiz /Kazak/ from the Dzungarians, in part to support peaceful relations between the Bashkir and the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The latter, however, was not successful. /155/ There was frequent commotion, contributed to on the one hand by Moslem propaganda, pretenders, and fugitives confusing the population, and, on the other hand, by the provocative form of activity of agents of the Russian government. When the Russian administration gave away the Bashkir land along the Ilek to the nomad Kirghiz /Kazak/, a great uprising resulted (1735-40), which ended in a terrible massacre of the Bashkir.

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Neplyuyev, one of the first commanders of this border, rendered great service to his government in stabilizing the rule. He founded modern Orenburg and extended out from it three lines of fortifications which cut across the region and had a restraining effect on the population. One of these lines, the Nizhne-Yaitskaya Distantsiya /Lower Yaik Range/, extended along the right bank of the Ural (Yaik) to the Caspian Sea. Here nine fortresses were set up, and 19 outposts, whose defense was the responsibility of the Yaik Kazak /Cossacks/. In order to increase the Russian population, Neplyuyev arranged that the nameless fugitives might be permitted to settle freely around the advance posts and other parts of the region. The importance of this group of fugitives became especially marked after the administrative colonization (with Russians and Tatars) failed to lead to positive results. In order to attach the Kazak /Cossacks/ (fugitives) to these places, wages were established for all the service men and the right to exclusive use of the abundance of fish in the Ural River. As a consequence service people joined them from the Kama settlements, as well as part of the garrison population from the Orenburg army. These people constituted the first legal Russian population on the Ural border.

7: Sedel'nikov et al. --31 U-4,5 (no date) 1903

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000 legal Russian population on the Ural border.

H.T. 175 648 167 241 427 K [427] [648] [175]

We shall now proceed to the peasant colonization of the Kirghiz krai.

For a long time the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were officially closed to immigration. Life had already had its own way, however, several years before the question of the possibility of colonizing the steppe with an agricultural element, and the determination to do so, arose. Thus, in 1866 peasant settlements took form in the Akmolinsk oblast, and part of the immigrants, who either appeared accidentally in the region or at the invitation of Kazak /Cossack/ relatives, settled around Kazak /Cossack/ stations from the end of the 1870's and established themselves arbitrarily up to the middle of the 1880's, renting land from the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

The members of this arbitrary colonization of the region were mostly either urban people from various Siberian towns or peasants especially from the Tobol guberniya, from the Kurgan and Ishim uyezds, which were contiguous to the Akmolinsk oblast. These uyezds were already so densely populated that a certain amount, to be sure very relative, of crowding began to be felt, with the overly extensive (semi-rapacious) use of land which had come into practice. This migration took place systematically and, to a certain extent, rationally. Usually those who wished to move to the Akmolinsk oblast sent ahead scouts who looked over the suitable places, rented small sectors from the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (for half price or a small payment), cleared land, and planted, and, when they were convinced of the good quality (or rather of the untouchedness, the virginity) of the soil and the woods, they contracted for the land with legal papers for certain periods of time. The new settlers, when they were convinced of the high quality of their sectors of land, began to send their countrymen energetic invitations to come out to them, or else to accept /156/ wandering Russian immigrants. Thus Russian settlements with several dozen houses and all the necessary village installations arose in the midst of the Kirghiz steppes. In the course of time

K [427] [648] [175]

H.T. [361]

H.T. 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175 /156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 179 [241] The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the

H.T. 175 648 179 census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

/175 cont./

populations. -- The size and growth of the cities. -- The density and large numbers of people in the Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/ settlements. -- The distribution of the population by sex, class, and religion. -- The ethnographic make-up of the population. -- General remarks on the "Sibiriak," Belorussians, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, and other nationalities in the region. -- The Siberian Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The Ural Kazak /Cossacks/. -- The peasants. -- The Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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The Kirghiz krai occupies a total area of 1,606,687 versts, which is equal to one-third of all of European Russia (including Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus), or one-third of all of Western Europe, while the area of each of its oblasts is equal to the area of the principal states of Europe.

K H.T. 631 423 648

Administratively, the Kirghiz krai comprises four military oblasts: the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, and Turgai oblasts. These oblasts were established in 1868 from the lands of the Siberian and Orenburg Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the lands of the Siberian and Ural Kazak /Cossack/ armies for greater convenience in administering the Kirghiz /Kazak and the Kazak /Cossack/ armies, and at the same time great changes were made. The "Statute on the Siberian Kirghiz /Ustav o Sibirskikh Kirgizakh/," which had determined the life of this borderland until then, was abolished, and a new "Temporary Code for the Administration of the Steppe Oblasts /Vremennoe Polozhenie ob Upravlenii v Stepnykh Oblastiakh/" was introduced (now somewhat changed). By this code the Kirghiz /Kazak/ lands were recognized as state property and put at the disposal of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ only for communal use, while considerable changes were introduced in the administration. The power of the sultan was abolished, as well as the orders from the districts. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ were allowed an administration of their nationality (elected from

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/175 cont./

their midst). The yassak tribute /per capita fur tribute/ was changed to a collection from each kibitka and various other reforms were introduced.

/176/ The military and civil administration was entrusted to the military governors of the oblasts from this time on. In addition to this, the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, together with neighboring Semirechye, formed (in 1882) the Steppe Governor-Generalcy. The small administrative divisions for both the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are the uyezds.

The Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts are divided into five uyezds each, and the Ural and Turgai oblasts have four uyezds each, so there are 18 uyezds in the entire region. In addition, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and the Russian population are broken up into volosts. There are 55 volosts in the Akmolinsk oblast, 84 in the Semipalatinsk oblast, 60 in the Ural oblast, and 54 (?) in the Turgai oblast. The volosts are subdivided in turn into nomad villages /aul/, and these are divided into kibitkas (yurts). Elected Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- the volost elders -- head the volosts, and they are directly subordinate to the uyezd chief. In addition, the Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army is an independent administrative establishment within the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, as is the Ural Kazak /Cossack/ army in the Ural oblast.

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[631]

The Siberian Kazak /Cossack/ army was founded by the first military colonists of the region -- the "serf Kazak /Cossack/," including various kinds of military men -- policemen, Don Kazak /Cossacks/, Ural Kazak /Cossacks/, Bashkir, Tatars, Little Russians /Ukrainians/, etc. The well-known Kasak /Cossack/ writer Usov has characterized the Siberian army in these words: "It was not the independent product of the land colonization of the borderlands, like the Don and Yaik Kazak /Cossack/ armies, but came forth fully armed from the hands of the administration and was completely indebted to the government for its existence. This feature has made an impression on all its later history. Throughout its existence, the government, without the

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692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [171]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

INTRODUCTION[1]

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic.

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace."

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples.

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare.

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

[1]Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

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121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

181 221 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [833] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was per- [462] formed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in [566] Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor. [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resist- C48 ance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and 177 their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal [161] increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

"FAMILY RELATIONS"

K G02 G48 197

The organization of Kazakh society by kin groups, bound together by strong ties of blood relationship into disciplined and cooperative units, has both interfered with Soviet planning and increased the extent of Kazakh suffering. The resistance of one person involves all his relatives in the ensuing punishment. At the same time these large family groupings do not fit into the Soviet conception of social and economic organization. The Soviets have, in fact, an explicit policy against "family relations." This phrase has two meanings, one literal, the other figurative. Literally it means nepotism, the use of his position by a man in power to obtain a good post for a relative. Figuratively, it denotes personal relationships on the job, relationships which the Soviet regime feels may permit one person to cover up the failings of another, and which may even become conspiratorial.

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In Kazakh society all action and decision take place within the framework of very literal "family relations," and this pattern inevitably is carried over into Soviet-sponsored activities. The bulk of the membership of a collective farm in Kazakhstan today is likely to comprise a single group of blood relatives, its leaders the older men of the group. This is particularly true of those areas in which herding remains important. The retention of kin group solidarity, where it has been permitted, has had two important effects. It has eased the adjustment of the Kazakhs to collectivization, while at the same time making possible maximum cooperation between collective farm members in covering up violations of Soviet directives and policy.

K [156]

The problem becomes even more acute when Kazakhs are drawn into industry and into the Party and government. They naturally try to surround themselves with their relatives. Paradoxically, Soviet policy has often tended to foster this tendency; political affiliation, like everything else among the Kazakhs, tends to be a family matter, and a willingness to cooperate with the Communists is confined to certain—usually a very few—families in a given locality. Yet, political (Communist) reliability is necessary for admission into governmental, Party, and technical fields. Hence if Kazakhs are to be utilized at all in these activities, the chances are good that many of them will be related, whether through deliberate nepotism or not. And with this go all the hazards the Soviets see in "family relations."

SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

K G48

In general, the Kazakhs participate only to a restricted degree in higher-level activities, particularly those which the Soviets feel are vital for the building and consolidating of the USSR—industry, transport, the Party, and government. There appear to be two reasons for this. The first is that the Slavs do not extend to the Kazakhs equal opportunity for training and advancement. Experiences reported by Turkic soldiers captured from mixed units in World War II suggest that they are generally looked upon as inferiors. Furthermore, in a society in which political

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and pro-
K [562] [181] moted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and
K [154] where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will
K [177] increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Nevertheless, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide
KN 665 assurance that the process is far from complete.

The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework
KN 665 of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—
563 their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had
K [154] reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

The fact that positions of responsibility are filled by Slavs means that they are almost the only ones in Kazakhstan to be seen enjoying the material rewards so conspicuously granted to members of the Soviet elites. Regardless of whose fault this may be, it must at times breed resentment among the Kazakhs. Similarly, the preponderance of Slavs in higher governmental, Party, executive, and judicial positions means that the Kazakhs are almost never governed, judged, or defended by their fellows. It must often happen that Kazakhs who feel they are the victims of injustice identify this as discrimination. KN 665 563 554 K 648

NATIONALITY POLICY

KN 563

Soviet policy toward the minority nationalities within the USSR has also created a long-standing dilemma in the case of the Kazakhs—a dilemma which appears to provide an important vulnerability for psychological warfare exploitation. This policy strives to create national political units which are "socialist in content, national in form." This means in effect that the political structure and economy of the various national groups are organized along standard Soviet lines and their energies are directed toward Soviet objectives, but the symbols of nationality (particularly the local languages) are retained to grant a sense of continuity with past traditions. The devising and implementing of this policy was the earliest responsibility assumed by Stalin under Lenin's guidance. It has had varying degrees of success in different areas, but in the balance has proved to be a very useful tool of Soviet administration.

The Kazakhs, however, are a people still too deeply attached to their old life and its traditions and values to accept mere lip service to their national heritage. Every time an effort has been made to raise Kazakh morale and productivity by permitting public attention to national heroes and literature, the result has been an enthusiasm the Soviets have viewed as threatening. This was particularly true when, during World War II, national patriotism was extensively exploited throughout the USSR to inspire the people to defend their homeland. Among the Kazakhs this developed into a cult glorifying their native heroes and culture, a phenomenon which had also appeared during the 1920's and had grown until it became such a threat that it was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviets. After the war Kazakh nationalism, left unsuppressed, continued to grow in strength until finally in the 1950's a purge was required to check its growing force. K [186] [668]

It seems certain that these sentiments will lie for a long time close beneath the surface, available for mobilization through psychological warfare, regardless of the turns Soviet nationality policy might take in the event of another war. For this reason, considerable attention has been devoted in this report to Kazakh history, including its national heroes, and to Kazakh cultural values and traditions. K 121

One method which the Soviets employ to make the minority republics "national in form" is the utilization wherever possible of native Communists to fill positions in the local Party and government. As might be expected, in the Kazakh SSR there is a chronic shortage of KN 563 665

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

K KN [166]

These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

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During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, lay the farming country of the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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These Kazakhs were united briefly at the end of the 17th century by the great Khan Tauke (or Tiavka), a leader equally gifted as political integrator and as law-giver. With his death, however, they broke up again into the three hordes.

Cossack lines were established to the north and thrust into the steppes from the northwest during the 18th century. The Russian conquest of Central Asia took place in the 19th century, although Russian penetration had begun in the 18th. The principal patterns—as in the history of many other colonizations—were force, persuasion, and good luck. The Russians were able to play one group against another, for example, Kalmuks against Kazakhs; when native Slavs rebelled under Pugachev, Moscow played Turk against Cossack and Kalmuk against Cossack.

There were several important defections from the side of the Turks to the Russians. A famous Khan of the 1740's, Abul Khair, asked Russian aid in the incessant wars of Turk against Turk on the steppe. Early in the 19th century another Kazakh leader, Khan Bukei, a descendant of Abul Khair, led 1,500 Kazakh families of the Little Horde across the Ural River onto Russian territory, seeking refuge from the steppe wars. By 1805 his horde had grown to 5,000 tents or families, and by 1845 to 30,000. At this point a new horde, the Inner or Bukei Horde, was formed.

How he was able to do this, how it happened that enough room for 30,000 nomadic families could be found between the Ural River and the Volga, is part of the long story of the lasting dissensions and resentments on the steppe. At the beginning of the 17th century the Kalmuks had moved from the eastern steppe (Chinese Dzungaria) to the Volga, and pastured their herds on the steppes between the Ural River and the Volga, north to the Don River and the vicinity of present-day Stalingrad, south to the western shores of the Caspian Sea. In 1771, thousands of them fled across Turkestan back to China, decimated as they moved by their Turkish enemies, the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, and Kirgiz. Those Kalmuks who remained lived west of the Volga, and the steppe to the east as far as the Ural River was left free. This part of the steppe was left as a vacuum because Tsarist policy established a military line of Cossack settlements* along the Ural River down to the Caspian, which prevented movement into the steppe. In 1800, Khan Bukei petitioned Moscow for permission to occupy this steppe and Moscow, to gain an ally in the steppe, granted the petition, thus conforming to the old political adage of divide and rule. The new horde was called the Inner Horde, because it lay within the Cossack lines, or the Bukei Horde, after its founder.

The only constant pattern in the history of the steppe nomadic culture has been that of instability. With no over-all political order, it was inevitable that Russian "protection" should be sought by particular factions while others held aloof.

During the 19th century the Kazakhs engaged the Russians in a number of sporadic wars and rebellions. The leaders of these movements have been variously depicted as great liberators or as feudal lords who, jealous of their domains, refused to let the Russians in.

*Dispersed after the Revolution.

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One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

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Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

east, he gained support among many elements of the Great Horde, the easternmost of the Kazakh divisions. He sought the support of China, which was promised him, and the allegiance of the Kirgiz, which they refused. His strategy was to use the Kirgiz mountain pastures as his base of operations against the Russians. He campaigned against the Kirgiz and was at first successful, but in the spring of 1847 he fell into a trap, was defeated by the Kirgiz, taken prisoner, and executed. 175 648

During much of Russian rule Kazakhstan was a place of exile. Banished there were such outstanding individuals as Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of the Ukraine, and Dostoevsky, great Russian novelist.

In the economic sphere, outside capital was brought in during this period by traders and bankers of Tatar and Russian origin. In an isolated case, a British mining development was undertaken at Ridders in northeast Kazakhstan. Religious dissidents came to settle and farm the north and northeast portions of the region. In general, however, the commercial and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and Russia were not deep.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1900

The Kazakhs were sensitive to political developments in Russia, however. During the revolution of 1905 the Kazakhs had a distant echo of the events in European Russia. During World War I they engaged in a rebellion of their own, a year before the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolt the Kazakhs objected to military conscription and to confiscation of their property, which was presumably taken over for war purposes but in fact often ended up in private, non-military hands. There is some indication that Russian private interests "provoked" the revolt in order to confiscate Kazakh land and herds. 175 648 668

At the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Kazakhs already had a year's experience of revolt behind them. In opposition to and under the influence of Russian contact, the Kazakhs underwent their own political evolution; that is, they evolved a political expression of their nationalist consciousness. It took the form of the Alash-Orda party. This was not really a party, for it lacked a formal organization and a platform or explicit political philosophy; it was vague in its aims and in its external relationships to other parties and nations. Its leaders were Kazakh intellectuals who later disbanded, some joining the Bolsheviks, some fleeing to Turkey.

During the civil war, from 1918 to 1922, the White generals Kolchak and Dutov were faced by the Red Army commander, Frunze, who appealed to the workers in Turkestan to support him. In April 1919 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree calling for a founding Congress of Kirgiz Soviets in Orenburg (now Chkalov, in the southern Urals). In July of that year, a Revolutionary Committee for the Administration of the Kirgiz Districts was established. (At that time, the area including the present Kazakh and Kirgiz republics was administered as one unit, which bore the name Kirgiz.) 175 648

By the end of 1919, Kolchak was defeated. With the destruction of Kolchak's southern army in the fall of 1919, direct contact between

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Central Asia and Soviet Russia was established, and in March 1920 the last remnants of the White Army were driven out of Kazakhstan.

A Communist Party organization was quickly formed in the newly won territories. The Central Committee of the Party set up a Province Bureau, in which were united all party organizations, at Aktyubinsk in May 1920, and in October a founding Congress of the Kirgiz (Kazakh) Soviets was held in Orenburg, then the regional capital.

Kazakh participation in the Revolution and civil war was minimal. Their political energy was poured into local Turkic movements rather than into the Bolshevik party. They took little initiative in aligning with the Russian Revolution, and played only a small part in Frunze's campaigns, despite his appeals; their partisan activity in the civil war is skipped over in contemporary accounts. Certainly no Kazakh appears in the leadership of the Bolshevik movement in the early period. Years later, in a search for an honor roll of revolutionary Kazakh leaders, a certain Amangeldy was singled out, and collective farms and administrative districts were named in his honor. It appears, however, that at the time of the Revolution he had acquired little fame.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

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The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was formed in 1918; in 1922 it federated with the Belo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Transcaucasian soviet socialist republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1925, the Transcaucasian SSR was divided into the three present republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, and two autonomous republics, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, were raised to the status of union republics.

Prior to 1917 Russian Turkestan was divided into three political units, the province of Turkestan and two vassal states of Russia, the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara. The Revolution and the civil war changed the social structure of Turkestan and with it the administrative picture. The Red Army dissolved the principality of Khiva in 1919; the Emirate of Bukhara was invaded in 1920 and the Emir driven out. In 1920 the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks were organized into the Kirgiz Autonomous SSR. In 1924 Kazakhstan was made an autonomous republic and separated from the Kirgiz ASSR; both republics, however, were still part of the RSFSR and were administered from Moscow. The Karakalpak Autonomous Region was attached to the Kazakh ASSR until 1931, when it was assigned to the Uzbek SSR. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution in 1936, Kazakhstan was separated from the RSFSR and made a union republic, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, its present status.

THE CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENT

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There is a steady flow of people across the Central Asian borders of the Soviet Union. It would of course be a mistake to regard the

8:Krader & Wayne .E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH[1]

161 It is the history of the population trends of the Kazakhs which singles this people out for study among all the peoples of Central Asia. Comparison of the two censuses which the Soviets have published, in 1926 and in 1939, shows that the Kazakhs suffered severe population losses between those years. Longer-term trends show that they constitute an ever-decreasing proportion of the people living in their native land. These population factors are of immediate interest in the study of the Kazakhs, but in addition it is obvious that the history of a people is closely related to the fate of its numbers, their growth and decline, and the possible causes one can find for these trends.

KAZAKHS PRIOR TO 1917

The Kazakh population figures indicate great oscillations over the past century; great increases are followed by sharp dips. Close study of these demographic trends should reveal many clear reflections of Kazakh internal developments and relations with other peoples—their neighbors and conquerors.

The first estimates of the numerical strength of the Kazakhs appeared shortly after the Russian penetration into Turkestan early in [648] the 19th century. At that time the Russians had not yet conquered all the Kazakhs; many peoples of Central Asia, including part of the Kazakhs, were still either semi-independent, living in the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand, or else under Chinese rule. Early Russian travelers, explorers, commercial agents, and intelligence agents began to bring back information about the Kazakhs, including population estimates.

[1]Space for reporting the study of Kazakh demography is limited. In the few pages of this 114 report devoted to this rich topic only a few of the many data and analyses available can be introduced. During the past few years, Dr. Frank Lorimer has directed the study of Kazakh demography 113 by Miss Faye Goldware and Mr. John Grauman (89). The reports on Kazakh demography prepared by and under Dr. Lorimer are available at the Bureau of Social Science Research and at the Bureau of the Census. The contents of this chapter have drawn heavily upon the work of these persons, and for fuller treatment and documentation of the topic the reader is directed to their writings. Responsibility for the conclusions drawn and for the formulations in this chapter rests, of course, only with those who have contributed to this report.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [167] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 177 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic 648 life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down. K 177 649 361 474

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier. K [181] [554] K [186] K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940. KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss K 161

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the 648 actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. 648 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated [474] by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. [565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 23,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the [233] drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in [162] the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighbor- [167] ing republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 167 [731]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1930 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [71] [197]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1] 61 631

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation. 602 [648]

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin. [631] 173 [177]

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3] 611

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common 565

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorosin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others'. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 648 [474]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 23.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 202.
[3] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

177 648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts [668] against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing [538] the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Viatkin, Bekmakhanov, Shoinbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led [668] a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1]*Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2]Korbe and Makhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

621 kolkhoz. On the other hand, those Kazakhs who have changed from herding to farming live in villages which are no longer kin communities. The background of this differentiation antedates the Revolution, and is an important part of Kazakh developments during the last hundred years.

In the period from 1850 to 1917 the Russians gradually took over
●648 the more fertile sections of the steppe in the north, especially along
177 lake shores and river banks, and in mountain piedmont. This left less steppe, and less fertile steppe, for the rapidly increasing Kazakh population. The impoverished Kazakhs were impelled to take up agriculture, which requires less territory per individual than does herding; in regions having sufficient annual rainfall to support cultivation, farming is a more efficient use of the land and hence permits greater density of population. Where the Kazakhs were thus forced to take up agriculture, they tended to break up the kinship units. The agricultural villages are
621 larger than the nomadic, and are composed of broken clans, broken lineages, villages, and families.

Many Kazakh communities survived this impact and managed to maintain their herding pattern, usually in conjunction with a certain minimum amount of farming, which was done in the vicinity of the winter camp by the women and the poor. Communities of this kind comprise the norm to this day; farming among such villages and kolkhozy is largely concerned with raising feed for the livestock. These communi-
474 ties have, as a general rule, gone over bodily into the collective farm
621 system. One such collective farm is the Belbasar Kolkhoz in the Dzhambul region, in the valley of the Chu River. This farm is composed of 116 households; of these 100 are Kazakh, all of the same lineage, the Akhsha lineage of the Dulat clan of the Great Horde. Of the remaining
[563] households, 13 are Azerbaijani, two are Russian, and one is a Kazakh who came to this kolkhoz from the Middle Horde in 1942 as a blacksmith. The head of one of the Russian families is a carpenter, the other a kolkhoz leader.[1]

This collective farm in the south appears in striking contrast to those in the north, in the farming zone of the Semipalatinsk region, for example, where Kazakh clan and lineage affiliations are mixed and confused. The Kazakhs of southeast Kazakhstan know their horde and clan affiliations; they are all of the Great Horde, and of one of four clans. Korbe compiled a list of 11 collective farms in this area in which the core population consisted of members of a specific lineage of a specific clan. It thus seems clear that in this part of Kazakhstan the anvil upon which the collective farm pattern was hammered out was the descent group and the kin village. Here, then, is a Kazakh institution which served as a means of accommodation to the Soviet pattern.[2]

The kin village and lineage were the channels through which the Kazakh herdsmen passed into the collective farm life. That the passage was made indicates the force which these institutions have even today.

621 The traditional function of the nomadic village was to organize the annual movements of the member families as a collective enterprise

[1]Korbe, 1960, p. 71.
[2]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

177 it out. The attempts by the Soviet regime to cause the Kazakhs to conform to their plan are trial and error procedures which sometimes succeed, sometimes fail. They work where the Kazakhs accept, they fail where the Kazakhs are able to reject Soviet culture. Where the Kazakhs accept, it is because they already possessed cultural institutions similar to those which the Soviet regime wished them to have. The ease with which the Kazakh family and village organization moved over into the collective farm structure illustrates this. Both the traditional Kazakh and the Soviet village and rural family are based on close internal cooperation; the core population of both the prerevolutionary and the modern village are kinsmen. [621]

Alternatively, the Kazakhs accept Soviet culture where their native institutions have been crushed and the Soviet institution simply imposed from above. An instance of this is the class structure and the government structure related to it. The Kazakh ruling class, the hereditary nobility, was driven out, and the corresponding form of local government collapsed. It was replaced by the present regime of Soviet functionaries and the Soviet state structure within which they take their places. It seems generally true that the small-scale institutions of the steppe peoples such as family and kinship are stabler, more constant than the larger ones, such as state and empire.[1] [565] [182]

The Soviet culture has been rejected by the Kazakhs where no native customs or institutions existed upon which the new pattern could be imposed. Thus the Soviet concept of a fraternity of nationalities combined to form the USSR has no place in Kazakh life. The Kazakhs have had no especially friendly relations with the Russians; on the contrary, in the 19th century they hated the Russians as colonialists and frequently rose in revolt against them. At present, relations have not improved; the Kazakhs have no reason—political, economic, or cultural—to accept the Russian regime more closely now than they did in the past. If one finds no evidence today of revolts in Central Asia, it is because Soviet control over the Kazakhs is far more efficient than that of the Tsars. And if there were revolts or other expressions of mass unrest, resentment, feelings of injustice, and the like, word of them would not reach the western world until the Soviet press chose to mention them. [648]

The theory of controlled acculturation remains a theory, the western formulation of Soviet policy. It is in contrast with the western approach, which does not conceive of culture in terms of a controlling plan. Kazakh culture has been disrupted through incorporation into the Soviet Union; there are gaps in the fabric of their society resulting from the rapid acculturation. The traditional has not been entirely replaced by the new. Two reasons may be adduced for this: resistance by the Kazakhs, and faulty or inadequate planning by the Soviets. The deficiencies in the planning have tended to increase the degree of the resistance. [182]

[1] Krader (77), 1953.

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4 March 1952	– At the Sixth Congress of the Kazakh Komsomol, the regional committees of South Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, and Alma-Ata regions, were denounced for failing to combat inequalities in female education.
7 July 1953	– Article of similar tenor on the Kzyl-Orda Region.
2, 3, and 4 April 1953	– Komsomol Congress. Again survivals of traditional religion are denounced with reference to Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, and South Kazakhstan regions.

All the regions cited in which the religious issue has been raised lie in the southern part of Kazakhstan, with the exception of the one case noted for Pavlodar, in the north. The south is the zone of sedentary agricultural tradition, heavily Islamicized for many centuries. Moreover, in many regions of the south there is a large Uzbek population.

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Even if Grigoriev's account of the lack of Islamic influence in the southern part of the Kazakh steppe was true for his day, this situation no longer exists. Tsarist and Soviet policies have combined the Uzbeks with the Kazakhs for administrative purposes, and cultural interaction between these two peoples has increased in the past century. As a result, more of Islam has appeared among the Kazakhs in the south than in the center or the north, a reversal of the trend described by Grigoriev.

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The policy of political combination on an ever-increasing scale has also been applied to the Kazakhs in the religious domain. As a consequence, Kazakh representatives have appeared at official Soviet-Moslem congresses sponsored by Moscow, and they occupy a high place in the Moslem religious administration. The world of Islam within the USSR is divided into four regional administrations under the supreme presidency of the grand Mufti-al-Islam, whose seat is in Ufa, the capital of Soviet Bashkiria. The present incumbent is the Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev. The four regional administrations are:[1]

(1) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the RSFSR, at Ufa, Bashkir ASSR.
(2) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at Tashkent, Uzbek SSR.
(3) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the North Caucasus, at Bunaisk, Dagestan ASSR.
(4) The Spiritual Directorate of the Shia Moslems and the Moslems of all Transcaucasia, at Baku, Azerbaijan SSR.

The second of the spiritual directorates listed governs the religious community of Islamic Central Asia; its territory comprises Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzkikistan. Its mufti, who ranks together with the three other regional Moslem chiefs directly under the Grand Mufti in Ufa, is Ishan Babakhan, and Uzbek; the second in command in Soviet Central Asia, directly under Mufti Ishan, is the Kadi Abdulgaffar Shemsuddinov, a Kazakh.[2]

The Moslem Administration of the Soviet Union has convoked a series of congresses whose timing is of great interest. A congress of all Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union was convened under the chairmanship

[1] *Bessignon* (11), 1952, pp. 12-13.
[2] *L'Oriente Moderno* (27), 1949, p. 11; *Islamic Review* (49), April 1949, pp. 50-51.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1]Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orient Moderne* (87), 1942, p. 372.
[2]Beaujean (11), 1952.
[3]One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [993] [926]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 289-300.
[2] For a summary, see Togzhanov, 1934, passim.

648 668 is little evidence of contact between the Alash-Orda and the Basmachi, at least at the beginning of the 1920's. But of late the various movements have become combined in the minds of the survivors, and this integration is attributed by them to the past of 30 years ago. Among the most active in this connection is Zeki Walidi Togan, a Turkic historian, now in Turkey, and once a leader in these movements.

The Kazakh revivalists were actively sought out and suppressed by the Soviet regime in the late twenties and early thirties. However, when the USSR was attacked by Germany, Moscow sought to use all tactics at its disposal to encourage the peoples in the Soviet Union to resist Hitler. One such tactic was the encouragement of local cultural traditions among the various peoples, the creation of a native pride which they might fight to preserve. The Kazakhs were encouraged to develop their own history, with the sole proviso that the Soviet era be depicted as the culminating point in their development. This policy was related to the previously cited theory which viewed Tsarism as the lesser evil to Turkestan's being swallowed up by the English, the Germans, or the Chinese. The Soviet policy during World War II produced a great revival of Kazakh in-group feeling, centered around the glorification of Kazakh heroes of the past. Since the Kazakhs had developed their own historical studies [814] during the past century, a process which was accelerated in the Soviet period, the movement to popularize Kazakh heroes and their deeds was turned over to the historians.

Khan Kenesary Kasymov was much written about, discussed, and praised; his name became a popular byword among the Kazakhs in the 1940's, after a century of oblivion. One Kazakh historian, Gabidullah Bekmakhanov, wrote a full-length history of Kenesary's activities against the Russians; this work, prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1943, was published in 1947 in Alma-Ata. An official history of Kazakhstan written by Abdykalykov, a Kazakh, and the nominal co-author Pankratova (who since has become president of the Historical Section of the All-Union Academy of Sciences) likewise assigned a great and positive historical role to Kenesary. Other pronouncements of the period were less temperate; Sharipov, a Kazakh historian writing in 1949, pictured Kenesary as the prime national liberator. Two professors of history, Ismailov and Djumaliev, took the same line, the latter in a history book written for Kazakh school children.

The movement sought other heroes in the Kazakh past, especially those who had been active against the Russians: Batyr Srym was presented as a heroic figure by his official biographer, Viatkin; the historical significance of Isatai Taimanov, a rebel or liberator of the middle of the 19th century, was advanced by one Shakhmatov; an obscure figure who led a revolt among the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya against the Russians, Batyr Djankhodji Nurmuhammed, was described by T. Shoinbaev.

The historical tradition which developed was clearly Kazakh, the result of the Kazakhs' search for a native expression of their own, the recreation of a tradition which had lain dormant for several decades.

668 Kazakh nativism as a broad movement with a politico-religious orientation has taken the form of a many-faceted cultural revival. The

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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

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The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

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COLLECTIVIZATION

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Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

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During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933.

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas.

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2]Borodin 1946, pp. 116-135.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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The Kazakhs were collectivized more slowly than the Slavs. By 1930, the Pavlodar region, a Slavic farming area since the 19th century, was 76 per cent collectivized while the Guryev region, a Kazakh pastoral region, was only 44 per cent collectivized.[1] Progress on collectivization was slow both because Kazakh herders were among the strongest resisters to collectivization, and because their nomadic existance made the administrative problems in collectivizing them more difficult than for sedentary peoples.

Another indication of the severity of the impact of collectivization on the Kazakhs is seen in the rate of recovery. During the period including World War I, the Revolution, and the civil war, the Kazakhs suffered a number of heavy blows. They had their own revolution in 1916, which resulted in severe reprisals by the Tsarist enforcement agencies, and during 1917-1922 they suffered losses again. But during the 1920's they recovered to a point where the stock total exceeded that of 1917. Such was not the case in the period following collectivization, however; in 1953 the entire herding economy of Kazakhstan had not reached the position which it had attained in any one of the years in the 1927-1930 period. The Kazakhs in the 1920's demonstrated a resiliency and capacity to meet and overcome disasters, a capacity which is part of their very history as herders. Herding is an economy which has few shock absorbers; herders may easily be wiped out by a drought, a blizzard, or disease among their animals. Farmers have an ability to store against future need which the herders do not.

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The Kazakhs showed this resiliency during the first years of the Soviet era, in recovering from the civil war. But they have not recovered, even after 25 years, from collectivization. This loss of capacity to recover in the face of disasters is one indication of the collapse of the traditional Kazakh economy, and is related to a breakdown in the traditional form of the Kazakh society and culture.

THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE RURAL ECONOMY

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In 1952 and 1953, the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a series of statements indicating the grave situation in farming and herding in the republic.

It has already been stated that of three million hectares of land under irrigation, only 1,300,000 hectares, or 43 per cent, were actually in use. Afonov, until recently the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, attacked this situation in 1953 as a gross waste of resources.[2] In 1952, the same general criticism had been made in a somewhat different form. The then secretary of the Central Committee, and boss of the Kazakh Party, Shaiakhmetov, attacked the farmers of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, the Uzbeks, Taranchis, Dungans, and others, in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan, and Dzhambul, the leading agricultural regions of the republic. The principal charge

[1] Golouhchekin, 1931, p. 211.
[2] Afonov, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

the only means by which, in the present context, the literary, artistic, and scientific expressions of Kazakh culture can develop. Kazakh economic life and material culture today are best described as reflecting a certain dispiritedness. This dispirited attitude underlies the apathy which allows skilled herdsmen to let their herds fall apart—failing to ensure that cows continue to calve, neglecting to shear their sheep, not bringing mares to foal.

These various facts bespeak an unwillingness on the Kazakhs' part to participate in the Soviet life as well as a holding-off policy by Moscow. In the field of native handicrafts a similar situation prevails. Kazakh craftsmen had until recently a degree of skill in rugmaking and felt-making (largely a woman's occupation), leatherwork, and certain metal crafts such as brassworking. These crafts they shared with other Central Asiatic peoples, both Turkic and Iranian. This has all disappeared. The Kazakhs have lost contact with their own culture; they have been forbidden to express interest in their own past.

The Kazakhs recovered splendidly from the losses of World War I and the Revolution, rebuilding their herding strength in the next decade. During this period they were left more or less alone by Moscow. During 1930-1933 the Kazakhs again suffered tremendous losses. In the ensuing period they were not left alone, and they have not recovered, even after 25 years. Never in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan has a plan for herding been fulfilled. In 1952 a partial exception did occur—the plan for horses was fulfilled—but only, according to Shaiakhmetov, through huge investments by the state.[1]

INDUSTRY

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has proceeded along the line of extraction of natural resources, primarily metals and fuels (see Figure 2). The metal extraction has a history which precedes the Revolution, and is almost exclusively in the field of nonferrous metals; to this day there is very little iron mining and ferrous industry in Kazakhstan.

The chief nonferrous metals are lead and zinc, mined in the Altai Mountains and near Taldy-Kurgan; copper, mined north of Lake Balkhash, in the vicinity of Dzhezkazgan, and between Akmolinsk and Pavlodar; and various deposits of manganese, bauxite, nickel, gold, phosphorus, chromite, and mineral salts. Iron is mined near the Sary-Su and at Kustanay.

Kazakhstan has both solid and liquid fuel resources. Large deposits of coal are scattered throughout the central and northern parts of the republic, from the Mangyshlak peninsula in the west to the Chinese border in the east; the most important, ranking third in the Soviet Union, is that at Karaganda. Lignite is found in the extreme south, at Lenger and Chimkent, but in small amounts relative to the solid fuels in the republic. Oil is found along the Caspian shore near the port of Guryev, and in the steppe between the Emba and Ural rivers.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 53.
[2] Pal'gov, 1953, pp. 126-135.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Committee. Since that time, Party and government have been publicly associated and closely allied in personnel, operation, and performance. KN 665 642

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION OF KAZAKHSTAN

The administrative structure of Kazakhstan[1] is at present identical to that in other soviet socialist republics in the USSR, and for that reason no detailed description of the structure itself will be given here. (See Figure 5.) There have, however, been a number of changes in the administrative organization of the republic in the past, and these will be briefly noted. KN 631 [647]

In 1925 there were 6 regions, 2 circuits, and 123 districts. The district (raion) was first formed in 1924 and may be regarded as a "miniature region" whose boundaries are determined primarily by economic factors. During the 1920's a transition took place from territorial to economic divisions. The last province (gubernia) was abolished in 1930, and in the same year the circuit (okrug) went almost completely out of existence. With its disappearance, the districts became directly subordinated to the regions. Autonomous republics were under the direct jurisdiction of a union republic; Kazakhstan was such an autonomous unit until 1936, forming part of the RSFSR.

Each district is administratively subdivided into village, aul, collective farm, and other soviets (councils). *Cities and other settlements* of an urban nature form another part of the administrative structure. Usually they are directly subordinated to a district, but large and economically important cities come under direct regional or republic jurisdiction.

By 1936 Kazakhstan had nine regions (oblasts). In 1949 the territorial subdivision of Kazakhstan looked like this: 16 regions; 36 cities (the capital, Alma-Ata, of republic jurisdiction, 20 cities of regional jurisdiction, 15 cities of district jurisdiction); 203 rural districts; 9 municipal wards; 2,674 rural (village or aul) soviets; 115 settlements of city type.[2]

In 1928, out of a total of 3,888 village-aul soviets, 2,199 were Kazakh, 1,209 Russo-Ukrainian, and 115 Russo-Cossack; 140 were "mixed," and there were 225 soviets of unenumerated minor nationalities.[3] By 1931 the total village-aul soviets numbered 3,763; of these, 2,169 were Kazakh, 1,470 "others," and 124 "mixed."[4] No ethnic breakdown is available for the 1949 figure of 2,674 village-aul soviets. Of the 182 districts listed in 1930, 112 were Kazakh;[5] for 1949 no ethnic breakdown exists. KN [162] K [162]

Some information is available on the nationality and social composition among the Supreme Soviet representation. At the 1947 Soviet Congress the 300 deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the KSSR included KN 665 647 K 648

[1]See *Constitution of the Kazakh SSR*, as amended through 1951.
[2]SSSR, *Administrativno-Territorial'noe Delenie Soiuznykh Respublik*, May 1949, pp. 272-295.
[3]*Tsik, Materialy k Otchetu . . .*, 1928.
[4]*Ves' Kazakhstan*, 1931.
[5]*Revolutsiia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 6, 1930, p. 14.

168 Kazakhs, 88 Russians, 33 Ukrainians, and 11 "others." More than two-thirds of the deputies (232) were either candidates or members of the Party. Approximately one-third of the deputies were workers, one-third peasants, and one-third "employees and others."[1]

According to official sources, participation in elections approaches 100 per cent of eligible voters: the latest report claims 3,946,109 eligible voters for Kazakhstan in 1951, of whom 99.99 per cent voted.[2]

The collectivization drive and the various purges greatly influenced the soviet organization of Kazakhstan during the 1930's. The movement to replace Russian personnel by qualified Kazakhs failed for want of trained Kazakh cadres. The Russians in responsible government posts encountered uncooperative natives. There were too many plans, too little fulfillment. "Great power" chauvinism survived, with the Russians in Kazakhstan looking upon the natives as an "odd assortment" and considering them a bothersome "overhead." Undeniably, there were few qualified personnel to be recruited from among the Kazakhs. Those who did enter government service were treated as inferiors by the entrenched Russians.

These conditions forced the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (TsIK) to plan a thorough improvement in the situation, at the same time that the political and administrative units were being reorganized along economic-production lines. Kazakhstan was one of the five autonomous republics in which the soviet apparatus for districts had to be completely revamped to replace the old tsarist territorial unit, the rural district (Uezd').

The planned reorganization of Kazakh administration ran into many difficulties, caused in large part by poor personnel and primitive communication conditions. In 1930, for example, 82 districts had no radio, telegraph, or telephone connections with the center of the republic.[3] The official language was Russian, yet the reorganization was primarily concerned with districts which were predominantly Kazakh.

Just when the organizational level appeared to be catching up with the demands of the area, there was a further expansion of the bureaucratic machinery of government. Today the councils at the various levels of government employ virtually an army of public officials who need continuous training to carry out their work. The integration of Kazakhs into the apparatus has never been achieved satisfactorily, and feminine participation in governmental affairs on the local and central levels is still woefully inadequate.

The Party constantly directs its attention toward shortcomings of Kazakh governmental departments. Attacks are made on the Council of Ministers, on the planning agencies of the republic, and on the general central governmental hierarchy for its lack of sensitivity to local conditions and for the manifestation of a "formalistic" attitude toward its obligations.[4] When there were serious shortcomings in agriculture, the

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47.
[2] *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (36), III, pp. 8, 24.
[3] *Revolutsiia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 7, 1930, p. 46.
[4] *Pravda*, 2 Mar 49.

for the USSR as a whole.[1] Various sources indicate, however, that the Prosecutor and the various courts in Kazakhstan have been kept extremely busy with cases concerned with theft of socialist property, particularly on collective farms. In postwar years the republic press has reported numerous trials involving persons accused of appropriating livestock and food in violation of regulations. The press also carries the usual civil and criminal cases, but it is not surprising to find that the punishment meted out for theft of socialist property, when compared with, for example, that for theft of private property, is disproportionately severe. KN 692 [685]

This question comes to mind: Are there any known instances when courts treated Kazakh offenders more or less severely than nonnative persons? The dismissal of the Minister of Justice, Nurbaev, was based on his "faulty and unfair" handling of cadre affairs. Could the real charge have been that he did not act forcefully in attacking fellow Kazakhs accused of violating the Agricultural Artel Charter?

The Party has complained repeatedly about the inactivity of the courts and the prosecutors with regard to some basic, recurring problems. These offices were apparently loath to prosecute cases where it had been established that women were kept out of industrial and administrative positions, in violation of existing rules. And, even more seriously, both courts and prosecutors remained inactive regarding the problem of manifestations of cultural and religious "deviations" in certain areas of Kazakhstan. KN [562] [563]

Some of these phenomena stem from the collision between the long-established Moslem legal conceptions and the relatively recently introduced Soviet legal ideas and needs, a factor related to the religious problems of the area (see Chapter 4).

THE OVERLAPPING LEADERSHIP OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

After a period of organizing and strengthening its position, the Party has achieved actual control over administrative affairs, yet the myth of separation between the political Party and the legislative structure in the Soviet Union still is maintained. At the apex of the hierarchy Stalin, by virtue of his posts as Party Secretary-General and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, united in his person both Party and government leadership. His associates and underlings in Party affairs also functioned in responsible posts in the government. KN 665 647

Parallel developments took place in the administrative subdivisions of the Soviet Union. The intertwining of Party and government in the Kazakh Republic can be shown conclusively. Following is a list of the names and positions of various individuals in the KSSR government and Party; in most cases the positions of officeholders and functionaries will be given for the period 1945-1952 (through the Sixth K [648]

[1] Constitutional provisions can be found in the *Kazakh Constitution*, Articles 82-87, and in the *USSR Constitution*, Articles 105-109. For additional information, see J. Towster (123), 1948; 1936 USSR Constitution; Constitution of the KSSR; *Novy Zakon o Sudoustroistve*, 1938.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Kazakh Party Congress in September 1952).[1] Nationalities have been indicated wherever such information was available or, in its absence, wherever names provide an unequivocal clue.

Afonov, I. I. (Russian). From 1949 on, he functioned as second secretary of the Party, and was a member of the Central Committee bureau and the Central Committee. At the same time, he sat in the Presidium of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet.

Baigaliev, K. B. (Probably Tatar). A Central Committee member since 1951, as well as chief of the Central Committee Fiction and Art Section. He was also chairman of the Cultural Education Committee in the Council of Ministers, and became Minister of Culture in April 1953.

Beisenov, A. B. (Moslem). While chairman of the Council of Professional Unions in Kazakhstan, he was a member of the Party Central Committee from 1949 on.

Byzov, A. P. (Russian). Minister of State Security (MGB) in 1946 and 1947, member of the Central Committee and its bureau from 1946 through 1949.

Daulbaev, A. D. (Karakalpak). A Central Committee bureau candidate in 1949, member of the Central Committee from 1949 on, Commissar for Agriculture (Minister in 1946) from 1945 to 1952, and Minister for Water Resources from 1952.

Dosanov, A. (Kazakh). The chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Court from 1947 on. He was a Central Committee candidate from 1949 on.

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Dospanova, Kh. (Kazakh). She was a Central Committee bureau member in 1951, and was a member of the Central Committee from 1951 on; also on the Central Committee Revision Commission in 1949. Since 1951, a secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and from 1951 until 1952, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Dykhnov, N. V. (Russian). Central Committee candidate in 1951 and Komsomol Central Committee secretary since 1951.

Dzhangozin, D. (Kazakh). First secretary of the Alma-Ata Regional Party Committee in 1945, member of the Party Central Committee since 1949, Supreme Soviet chairman in 1947. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1951 to 1953, and subsequently Trade Minister.

Ezmagambetova, Sh. (Kazakh). A vice-chairman of the Supreme Soviet from 1945, and a Central Committee member since 1949.

Fitin, P. M. (Russian). Member of both Central Committee and bureau since 1951, and Minister for State Security (MGB) from 1952 until the absorption of that Ministry by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in April 1953.

Gabin, V. V. (Russian Jew). Minister for Internal Affairs (MVD) since 1953. He was a Central Committee bureau candidate in 1951, full member of the bureau in 1952, and a member of the Central Committee from 1951 on.

Iakovlev, S. Ia. (Russian). Chief of the Cadre Section, Central Committee in 1945. Member of the Central Committee since 1949, bureau member from 1949 through September 1952, and Party secretary for the same time period. A member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1952.

Ivandaev, I. V. (Russian). Member of the Central Committee from 1949 through 1952. Sovkhoz Minister from February through October 1952.

Kenapin, A. K. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1946, bureau candidate in 1946, and full member from 1949 to 1951. First secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol from 1945, and deputy to the Kazakh Supreme Soviet in 1946.

Karibzhanov, F. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1951, bureau candidate in 1951, and full member in 1952. Chief of the Central Committee Agriculture Section from 1951 to 1953, at which time he became Minister for Agriculture and Procurements.

Karzhaubaev, G. Sh. (Kazakh). Third secretary of the Party in 1947, Party secretary from 1949 through 1952. Central Committee bureau member from 1947 through 1952, and member of the Central Committee since 1947. Chairman of the Supreme Soviet from 1951 on.

[1]The following section corresponds, as far as nationality classifications are concerned, with an independent study made by Dr. Dmitri Shimkin of The Bureau of the Census (114).

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Kerimbaev, D. (Kazakh). Central Committee bureau member since 1947; and member of the Central Committee from 1949 on. Chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1947. Vice-chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in 1948.

Kistanov, A. M. (Kazakh). Central Committee member in 1949, and candidate of the Central Committee since 1951. Vice-chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in 1945. Commissar (Minister since 1946) of Industrial Crops from 1945-47, and Minister of Sovkhoz from 1951.

Kruglov, S. I. (Russian). Party Central Committee member and bureau member from 1946 to 1949, also second secretary during same period, but dismissed from post in January 1952 as "protector of bourgeois nationalist perversions." Member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1947 to 1953, when he left Kazakhstan.

Kunaev, D. A. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate in 1949 and 1950, full member since 1951. Vice-chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers from 1947 on. President of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences since 1952.

Mambetov, A. I. (Kazakh). Party Central Committee candidate in 1949 and 1952, Central Committee member from 1951 to 1952. Minister for Agriculture from 1952 to 1953 (when Ministry was merged into new body, the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements). Supreme Soviet Presidium member from date unknown until 1952, then released to take over post of Minister.

Mukanov, S. M. (Kazakh). Central Committee member from 1949 to 1952, chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh Union of Soviet Writers, 1945 to 1952, and released at the later date because of position in the nationalist controversy.

Nekliudov, A. I. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1951, and Secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium since 1952.

Nikitin, I. I. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1949, assistant editor of *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda* until 1948, and chief editor since then.

Nurmbaeva, M. S. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1951.

Sembaev, A. I. (Kazakh). Party Central Committee member from 1949 to 1951; since then Central Committee candidate. Commissar (later Minister) for Education through 1945.

Shaiakhmetov, Ah. (Tatar). Central Committee member since 1938. Second secretary from 1939 to 1946, then first secretary until the purge of February 1954. Also a member of the Central Committee Bureau. Member of the All-Union Party Central Committee, and chairman of the USSR Council of Nationalities in 1952. Member of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1947 on.

Sharipov, I. S. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949. Member of the Kazakh Party Revision Commission in 1949. Vice-chairman of the Sovnarkom (later Council of Ministers) since 1946.

Shaukenbaev, T. Sh. (Kazakh). Central Committee candidate since 1951, became chairman of Kazakh GOSPLAN in 1859.

Taibekov, E. G. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949, member of the Central Committee bureau since 1951, as well as member of the All-Union Party Central Committee. Chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers from 1951 on.

Talebaev, T. (Kazakh). Central Committee member since 1949, chief of the Central Committee Planning-Finance-Trade Section from 1949 to 1952, and Minister of Finance since 1951.

Undasynov, N. D. (Kazakh). Central Committee and bureau member from 1949 to 1952. Chairman of the Sovnarkom (later Council of Ministers) until 1951, at which time he was relieved from post for "further studies."

Vlasenko, M. D. (Ukrainian). Central Committee candidate since 1952. Deputy Commissar for Sovkhoz until 1946; from then on, Deputy Minister of Agriculture. Became Minister for Sovkhoz late in 1952.

Zagovelev, A. P. Central Committee member from 1949 until 1952, and bureau member until 1951. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers through 1947.

Zhakov, L. G. (Russian). Central Committee member since 1952. Chief of the Central Committee Transportation and Communication Section since 1952. Named Minister for Highways and Highway Transportation in 1953.[1]

[1]Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington, as consultant to the project, gave the research team special assistance in the identification of names.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 665 647 K 648

Dates prior to 1945 were not stated in this summary of leader activities, as the primary concern was to show the overlapping functions for the period since World War II. The key dates for Kazakh Party Congresses, at which elections and nominations for Party posts were made, were: Fourth Congress, February 1949; Fifth Congress, December 1951; Sixth Congress, September 1952. Membership in the Central Committee bureau and posts in the technical apparatus are listed from the Party Congress at which election or appointment was made through the year in which, in the current Congress, the appointment or election was not repeated, unless evidence is available that the individual has been purged or transferred somewhere along the line.

KAZAKH PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

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Several infantry divisions were organized on Kazakh territory during World War II; of these, the 238th and 316th are mentioned most prominently. Little is known with respect to their nationality composition. On the other hand, it is reported that 60 per cent of all KSSR Communist Party members had joined the Armed Forces; the Komsomol, too, supplied a large contingent.

The two divisions cited were thrown into combat in the defense of Moscow and in the battle for Tula. Their losses were staggering. The 238th Infantry Division was rewarded for heroism by being renamed the 30th Guards Division. The 316th Division, led by General Panfilov, was later designated the 8th Guards Division. In Kazakh sources it is often called the Panfilov division for its leader, who was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union"; the few surviving members of the old division are reverently referred to as Panfilovtsy.[1]

Towster[2] gives pertinent information regarding the distribution of Soviet military honors awarded during the period June 1941-October 1944. The title "Hero of the Soviet Union" was awarded to 5,901 soldiers of whom 57 were Kazakhs. Three million soldiers, including 34,000 Kazakhs, received other orders and medals. The Kazakh share of these awards amounted to about one per cent—fewer than, but not too divergent from, the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of the Soviet Union.

Whether the Kazakh nationals in the Red Army had experiences which were radically different from those of their Russian comrades-in-arms cannot be determined with certainty. As one would expect, available Soviet sources provide no indication that Kazakhs were treated as inferiors. The other avenue of information, German documents captured by the United States Army, provides a totally different picture.

Descriptions of interrogations of prisoners of war of Turkestan origin conducted by German investigators appear occasionally within several bulky files held by the Defense Department Records Branch in

[1]That few seem to have survived is illustrated by the fact that at the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Kazakhstan as a republic, only 28 were reported as having participated in a parade.

[2]Towster (123), 1948, p. 357.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Alexandria.[1] These materials suffer from the German interviewers' lack of skill as well as from biases and distortions supplied by both the Germans and their prisoners. Contradictions are frequent. The soldiers interviewed were defectors or deserters, and this factor must be kept in mind. Nevertheless, these men provide the only information available on service conditions, and certainly some of their reports may be taken seriously.

Almost every man interviewed voiced the opinion that minorities were treated badly in mixed units, especially in those units where Russian officers and noncommissioned officers predominated. Mutual distrust prevailed in such units; minority nationals were kept under surveillance because it was feared that they might desert. Morale among those nationals was low, especially when mail from home arrived announcing unfair or brutal treatment of the soldiers' families (requisitions, inhuman work loads, and so forth). The consensus of opinion among prisoners who belonged to several different units gives some credence to such reports. Further corroboration is supplied by some Russian soldiers interviewed at the same time. These men spoke of their Central Asian comrades as "poor soldiers" and "illiterates."

Some units formed in Central Asia had been organized rather hurriedly and shipped out with little or no training. It is small wonder, then, that such outfits did not resist German pressure effectively. When they asked about the reason for desertion, the German interrogators elicited most frequently the response that the man in question did not want to fight for the Russians. Nobody admitted fear as a direct motivating factor; a few volunteered the additional information that they resented fighting for a regime which had forced the free nomads into collectives.[2] According to interrogators' comments, virtually all Kazakh PW's spoke little or no Russian. German propaganda achieved a measure of success only after it began using the minority languages.

The racial doctrine of the Nazis tended to reinforce unfavorable comparisons made between the German and the Turkic soldiers, and almost barred the way to mutual understanding. Nevertheless, with the advice of civilian experts and officers who had lived in Turkestan and spoke the languages of the volunteers, the Germans managed to create the militarily satisfactory 162nd Infantry Division composed of Turkic nationals. This division stayed in the Italian campaign to the end of the war. It was forced to retreat hastily under pressure on several occasions, yet the German-Turkic solidarity was so high that desertions to the Allied side were often remarkably low, and no case was reported of Asiatic soldiers killing any of the German cadre although conditions were favorable for such action.

[1]Only a preliminary survey of these materials was made in connection with this study. Although useful information was obtained, it soon became evident that full exploitation of the captured German records for this purpose would far exceed the limitations of time and money established for the present research.

[2]Three Kazakh deserters said that they decided to bolt when they found a German propaganda leaflet telling them (in their native language) that there were no kolkhozes in Germany (October 1942).

which borders the Karakalpak. Similarly, Kirgiz is differentiated from Kazakh by minor sound changes. Within Kazakhstan proper two dialects may be found which derive their respective labels from the way the word for "no" is pronounced: (1) jŏk (dzhok), in the eastern parts of the republic, and (2) zŏk (zhok), in the western and northern parts of Kazakhstan. 197

These are, however, minor differences. The main point is that for purposes of oral communication Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Karakalpak are so mutually intelligible as to form a single language.

In writing and printing, the Turks of Central Asia used the Arabic script until the 20th century. In the 1930's Soviet authorities introduced first the Latin and in 1939-1940 the Cyrillic alphabets, with certain necessary additions for each language. The resultant orthographies present slightly differing appearances for Kazakh and Kirgiz. This difference constitutes a handicap, even for educated readers, to those unaccustomed to reading printed matter in both languages. Nevertheless, after a little initial hesitation, a Kazakh reader will be able to make out the content of an article in an unfamiliar Kirgiz newspaper. The communicator trying to reach both Kirgiz and Kazakhs by means of a written or printed document in one of these languages should therefore be aware that he must provide some incentive to readers of the other language to expend the extra effort. 212

In delimiting a target group within the Kazakh SSR one should remember that Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians) constitute over half of the total population. Russian is the language of the politically dominant group; the central government in Moscow is determined to make it the lingua franca of the realm. How much bilingualism this effort has produced among the Kazakhs is not known. Communist Party authorities frequently complain about the inadequacy of Russian instruction in Kazakh SSR schools. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the proportion of Kazakhs with knowledge of Russian has increased greatly in the last two decades. No quantitative information in this respect is available, but a few generalizations can be made. In general, more Kazakh men than women, and more young people than old, learn the Russian language. One finds proportionately more Russian-speaking Kazakhs in urban areas than in rural (and fewest among the remaining nomadic tribes), and more among those whose socialestatus makes knowledge of Russian a necessity for maintaining that status, such as political and professional leaders and workers in prestige manual occupations such as railroading. 191 648 [369]

On the other hand, the proportion of Russians in the KSSR who have a good working knowledge of the Kazakh language is probably small. Those who have such knowledge are minor officials, Party functionaries, work foremen, and others who deal with the monolingual Kazakh population in a direct supervisory capacity.

Much more would have to be said about bilingualism in a study of the other four union republics in Soviet Central Asia.[1] The fact that 191

[1]The Tartars of Turkestan deserve special mention in this context. They owe their important historical position as traders and mediators between the Turks and Russians to their knowledge of languages, high general educational standards (e.g., literacy), and zeal as teachers of Islam. However, it is probable that the influence of this small ethnic group (about 1% in 1926) has declined in the last quarter of a century.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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Nevertheless, among primitive peoples news often travels with amazing alacrity. One example of a technologically primitive but effective medium is the "jungle telegraph" of relayed tom-tom beats. The people of the steppe also developed an institution for the rapid transmission of news and rumor: the uzun kulak (the "long ear"). As soon as a given item of news reached an aul, a man mounted his horse and sped to the nearest encampment to inform its inhabitants of imminent danger or the presence of the tax collector. This form of rumor-through-cavalry still achieves some surprising results. During the collectivization drive, it frequently happened that by the time the grain-collecting party arrived in an area, all Kazakhs had disappeared—men, women, children, animals, tents, grain, and all. Soviet sources testify to many instances of the effectiveness of the uzun kulak. In view of its institutionalized character, "the long ear" qualifies for mention as an established means of communication in Kazakhstan.

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The "long ear" is a peculiarly Kazakh form of communication. Another communication phenomenon of typically Soviet origin is that of mass agitation. Inkeles devotes a goodly part of his book to the topic of agitation and the agitator. From the point of view of the audience (kolkhoz or factory workers, miners, students, or the public at large), the agitators are transmitters of the current Party line regarding theoretical orthodoxy, persuaders who must induce their listeners to fulfill given economic goals. According to official figures 60 per cent of all agitators were KSSR Party members. The rest came mostly from the Komsomol organization.[5]

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In 1949, there were 12,580 propagandists (of whom only 400 were full-time propaganda workers) and 122,000 agitators in the KSSR;[6] in 1951, the figures reported were 15,810 and 158,652.[6]

A particularly interesting form of agitation is the Red Yurt. The use of Red Yurts in Kazakhstan is comparable to that of Red Tents in other critical Soviet areas. Red Yurts travel across the country, stopping in areas where the Party wants to intensify its drive for bigger and better production. In 1948, for example, a Red Yurt was set up in Western Kazakhstan; it served the livestock breeders of a large collective. Among them it organized 300 veterinary, literary, agitation brigade, and dramatic circles. Its library contained more than 500 books on art, politics, and technical subjects.[6]

The activities of the Red Yurt illustrate a major truth about the Soviet Union: It is extremely difficult to delineate within any area of the Soviet Union what falls under the heading of communication, or agitation and propaganda, or perhaps information and education.

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[5] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[6] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 16 Dec 51.
[6] *Kul'turno-Prosvetitel'naia Rabota*, Vol. 13, No. 7, July 1953, p. 47.

RP2 Kirgiz RP2
Kazak RQ2

Ki 177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation. An autonomous "territory of the Ḳarā Ḳīrghīz" or Ḳīrghīzistān has now been constituted with Pishpek as capital (the term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

Ka 101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ from the Özbeg, cf. the Ka 175 articles ABU 'L-ḲHAIR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Ḳhān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Ḳhān Ḳāsim (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the xvi^th^ century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Ḳhān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Ḳhān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr and even later still held the town of Tāshkent. In the xvii^th^ century the power of the Ḳhāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Ḳhāns of the Özbegs. At Ka [631] this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"); the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the xvii^th^ century this division was already an accomplished fact. Ḳhān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sairām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the Ḳhān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement Ka doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In ● [648] 1730, Abu 'l-Ḳhair negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xviii^th^ century; but it was not till the xix^th^ century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sīr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. Ka The eastern part of the steppes was administered 177 from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ [565] were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Ḳhān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Ḳhān or "Sulṭāns" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɒm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɒq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

[158 cont.]
×648 could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

When they realized that it was impossible for them to keep their old regions on Lake Balkash, they drew back to the Tsuya [726] and Sara-Su [Sary-Su?] rivers. Later when they united their forces, they attacked Tashkent and Turkestan and laid them waste, as well as many other cities and villages belonging to those two states, and they acquired so much power over the residents of Tashkent that they forced them to choose their khans from the horde.

Shubai, Arslanov, and Mansur, residents of the former province of Vyatka, came from Tashkent to Orenburg in 1742 (1)

1. See the file for 1742 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and told how the khan named above ruled in Tashkent until 1739, and that a powerful old Kazak named Tiul Biu shared his authority, ● [651] and every year they levied a tribute on the city. Later Djulbars was killed, but Tiul Biu continued to rule after him for a time and to levy tribute. A certain Kussiak Bek, a tributary subject of Galdan Tsyren, and perhaps his lieutenant, put an end to the power of Tiul Biu.

He was the ruler of Tashkent while Shubai and Mansur were there, but the Dzungarian sovereign received the tribute he took from the people. According to our travelers, under Kussiak Bek the Kazaks had no more influence over Tashkent, but they re- [726] strained the environs of this city to such a degree that it was as though under a state of permanent siege. They cultivated land under its walls, seized the neighboring forests, and at the slightest dissatisfaction they seized the residents of the city and the merchants who came to trade with them.

×648 Turkestan too was for a certain time in a [159] similar 721 position, although the Kazaks did not hinder the Dzungars from [439] trading there. As for the small towns between Tashkent and Turkestan, the Kazaks who conquered them during this period kept them until the beginning of the present [19th] century.

[163 cont.]
He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners decapitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighboring him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[174 cont.]

x648 graciously received by the Empress and would return home soon. Thirdly, he was told that the reports given by Tevkelev had made known Abulkhair's ambitions, and he was directed to keep on good terms with the hordes and with the Karakalpaks.

Abulkhair, who had been wearing himself out at the long wait, having been soothed for a time, the examination of his promises and proposals continued, in order to make them agree with the good of the empire. He was put under obligation verbally and in writing: first, to enforce the safety of the Russian borders [65] contiguous to his horde; second, to defend the merchant caravans and to escort them across the Kazak steppes; third, to furnish in case of need, like the Kalmuks and the Bashkirs, troops levied from among his subjects; fourth, to pay a tribute, or iasak, in animal hides.

He could not carry out a single one of these promises, for, like all the other khans who succeeded him, he did not have enough authority over his subjects. Several experiences soon proved how impossible it was for him to fulfill the first and [175] second promises. At first there was no reason for reminding him of the third, but in time it was proven that it was as risky as the others. The government at first believed it should decline the fourth, and later it was not even brought up, the matter being regarded as impossible.

In exchange for these promises, which were so pompous, Abulkhair, through his son and Tevkelev, asked two things above all: "the confirmation of the office of khan in his family forever, and the building of a city and a fort at the confluence of the [712] Ori and the Ural rivers, which could serve him as asylum in case of danger."

The Khan's requests and the attention of the government, and the State Councilor Kirilov was charged with satisfying them. He was a man who had distinguished himself by his geographical knowledge, a mapmaker whose collection of detailed information on upper Asia had aroused admiration as widespread as it was deserved. In addition he had kept all the treatises of Peter I regarding his views and plans concerning the Asiatic principalities contiguous to Russia. These facts decided him to draw up and

[197 cont.]
x648 662 in this way, and second, he could make his excuses to Galdan for not having sent him hostages, for he was certain that the border commander would not permit this.

This was exactly what happened. Abulkhair had scarcely arrived in Orenburg when Nepluev announced to the Dzungarian envoys that since the khan of the Little Horde was a subject of Russia he had no right to negotiate with foreign princes or to give them hostages. The same was stated for the Middle Horde and Khan Abul Mahmet. The Dzungars replied that the Kazaks were [728 65] constantly making raids in their territories; that it was impossible to have any peace without taking hostages from them; and that besides they themselves had offered to satisfy this demand just as the Great Horde, which having become their vassal, not only gave hostages but also paid a tribute, and because of this there was perfect peace. The Dzungars were told once more that Russian subjects could neither make nor carry out such promises without the consent of their government. Nepluev himself assumed the burden of preventing any more Kazak raids into Dzungarian territory. It was then suggested to the deputies that they return home, but they answered that although they were thoroughly satisfied with their reception by Nepluev, his words were still not enough; for knowing the Kazaks intimately, who had deceived the Russians and the Dzungars alike with their promises of submission, they could expect nothing but pillage and robbery in the future, and that therefore they dared not return home without hostages. Finally, they said openly that they had been sent by their kungtaidji to Khan Abulkhair and not to the Russian government.

x648 Nepluev and the Khan had considerable trouble in persuading them to leave with the promises they had been given, but they finally departed from Orenburg to go directly to their [198] country. Major Müller, who had been in command of the first Russian caravan which was pillaged by the Great Horde, was sent with these deputies, in order to persuade Galdan Tsyren more firmly that the Kazak hordes were vassals of Russia, and to deliver a letter to him from Nepluev.

[224 cont.]

×648 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
[661] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[661] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had
578 been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
[643 that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's
661] influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all
65] the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

K [257 cont.]
×648 undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside
C
648 enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an
K
C enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why
[669 there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join
662] the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K At this same time an event took place in the interior of
[643 the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen
651] tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through the high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

K In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little
[727] Horde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527
579]
628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
● 651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[3] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [597]

[2]Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[3]Ivanin, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-261.

[175 cont.]

*648 present to the cabinet of the Empress two plans concerning the Kazaks and their neighbors, one on the means of maintaining their obedience and governing them, and the other on the need for building the city and fort asked by Abulkhair to attain the first end, and finally, one on the political and financial advantages to be gained from the possession of the Kazak steppes. His views were so well founded and promised such advantages that the Minister and the Empress herself could not help but approve them.

His views having been accepted as their rule of conduct, it was decided to entrust Kirilov himself to carry out all the government projects with regard to the new subjects, and they presented him with all the powers and means necessary to their success. Several engineers were sent with him to build the forts, several geodetic specialists to draw maps, and three naval officers with builders and [176] sailors to build and man some sailing vessels. [54] At Moscow he was joined by mine workers, artillery officers, a historian, a botanist, an apothecary, a painter, a physician, students of the Slavic-Latin school, and several other employees of different classes charged with various functions (1). At

1. At this time Kirilov demanded and was granted permission to be sent several young officers from the Cadet Corps, so that they might study under his supervision the languages as well as the customs of Asia, and thus become capable of later occupying positions in these lands. This idea, which is worthy of imitation, does the greatest honor to Kirilov's foresight.

Kazan he took command of an entire regiment and adequate artillery. At Ufa he was joined by an infantry battalion, a suitable number of Cossacks, and several other detachments of troops, regulars and irregulars. Kirilov was given free disposition of part of the revenues of Ufa to pay the expenses of the expedition. In addition he was given as aide and interpreter for his communications with the Kazaks, Murza Tevkelev, of whom we have already

[177 cont.]
with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [554] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev 439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned 579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[191 cont.]
*648 Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to
[728] make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince
[554] Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul
[574] Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

*648 After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter,
641 Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[186] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

localities.

In recent times it has come into custom and is considered "according to customary law" at the meetings to declare a judgment by default (sirt khukm, sirt kesik) after the defendant has failed to appear twice. This was not in the old customary law. There are always complaints concerning judgments by default, with the declaration that "the biis did not act according to customary law."

In their decrees the biis must state clearly what /184/ the petitioner sought and what was adjudged in his favor, or how the case ended, and especially to record the biilyk established for the judgment.

A copy of the judgment, cut out from the book (1) must be

1. There is a model of the form of the bii's book in Supplement No. 6.

given to the person in whose favor the case was ended, in final form, as a result of swearing or not swearing the oath, if an oath was assigned.

A copy is given to the unsatisfied side, if it declares dissatisfaction with the judgment from one bii of over 100 rubles, or after a theft, at the volost session, for a suit for over 100 rubles, or for baranta or for murder.

When he receives the copy the receiver must write a receipt in the book on the reverse side of the report.

In the copies they report briefly and clearly: the content of the suit without explaining the testimony of the opposing sides; the judgment with an exact indication of the sum exacted and the biilyk; the time when the judgment must be carried out; the year, month and day of the judgment; the number and the book from which it is cut out, the affixing of the seal.

According to Amanbai, the weak are subjected to injustices and force at the volost sessions, which assemble in the steppe. 695

In the opinion of sultan Babagaliev, (2) only Kazakhs of their 661

2. Lieutenant of the army infantry, Kazakh of the Perovsk uyezd.

own volost and persons of means receive satisfaction at a volost session. Indeed the biis of the extraordinary session hesitate still less than the biis of the lower instances, knowing that the judgment of the extraordinary session is final. On the eve of the court session they

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simply bargain with the litigants on the amount of the bribes. (3)

3. Sultan Babagaliev advises, among other things, the following measure: to call together half of all the biis in the uyezd to the uyezd government and all the volost administrators; from their number the uyezd chiefs would designate one volost official as chairman every day, and one bii apiece from each volost as members of the court, and would seat them in special quarters where outside persons should not be admitted, so that biis not invited to judge (dzhanbas bii) would not interfere with the case, as often happens. The strength of the measure proposed lies in the fact that neither the biis nor the litigants should know /185/ which biis would examine which case. They should discover this immediately before the beginning of the examination. At these sessions it is necessary that the uyezd chief or his assistant should make certain that the biis do not postpone a case to the next day, which is the equivalent of receiving bribes.

/185/ The extortion of bribes (para) by the biis may take place before outside persons or in private. In the latter case the bii hints in the following manner: "This case depends entirely on me. Other biis would take so and so much money, but I take nothing." Then with the mediation of his man the bii can make himself understood more openly to the defendant: "You are right. They will discover the justice of your case and impose an oath on those who exonerate you." (ak sen aklykka shygarady, dzhandy uzing shygatugun dzheringe salady). He says to the plaintiff: "We will require an oath from the side which does not acquit him. We will determine a larger fine for you. We will also sentence him to pay the court costs and produce the penalty for you without delay. You are losing nothing, but give us what you can"(dzhandy chykpaytugun dzherge salamyz, aybyngdy kubeytamiz, yana chygyndy onyng muynyna salamyz, yana toktausiz mal junderib beremiz, sen kuymeysen, bizge beretuguningdi ber) (Torgai). Later the judgment is decreed on behalf of the side which gave the most. (1)

1. This is included as an example. It is obvious that extortion by the biis is not a kind of common occurrence which invariably accompanies bii justice.

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The volost administrators also influence the judgment. If a a volost official is protecting the defendant, the bii imposes an oath on the group of fifty of the defendant, when it was necessary to impose it on a village. He does this so that there will be a greater probability of the appearance of the juror (shygatugun dzher), for in a close circle there are fewer enemies, and even these are challenged as "disputables." The bii declares: "Say first of all who your enemies are or the disputable ones." The defendant names two or three persons.

If the plaintiff enjoys the favor of a volost official, the defendant is brought forward at once, and the bii imposes an oath the village of the defendant instead of the group of fifty. Later, when the disputable persons are challenged, the defendant is required to prove that the persons challenged actually had been involved in litigation with him at some time.

/186/ If the bii is not decided on doing what is pleasing to the volost official, the latter encourages him with the words: "Do not be afraid of an appeal. The exaction will be taken care of before then, and after that we will see somehow" (sizning khukmingiz buzulgancha dzhuaberdgan mal tulenib kalady).

When a bii learns that the volost official received a bribe from the defendant while he himself only received a bribe from the plaintiff, he sends to the defendant to receive a bribe before deciding the case in his favor. If by now the defendant will no longer give the bii anything, the bii judges the case in favor of the plaintiff, figuring in this way: "I have rendered a service to the plaintiff, my affair is closed. Let the volost official change my decision." But if a copy of the sentence has already been given out, a reversal of the decision of the bii can follow only by means of a volost session, and the volost official is left to paralyze the judgment by not carrying out the exaction or evaluating the object of the exaction at higher than its real value (Torgai).

For an unjust decision of one bii, overruled by many biis, the first is not prosecuted. (1) But if it is proven, with the help of 687

1. In Kazalinsk in 1887 there was a case in which a judge was badly beaten by a defendant for an unjust decision. The complaint by the bii against the offender, as an act during the fulfillment of the duties of office, was transferred to a court of arbitration, which sentenced the offender to three

687 days confinement by the police.

witnesses, (2) that the bii has accepted a bribe, in most cases this

> 2. There are cases where both sides present many (70-90) witnesses, ready to testify under oath that the bii has taken or has not taken a bribe.

circumstance is passed over to a court magistrate for the further prosecution of the case of criminal breach of trust.

In the steppe in such cases they complain to the volost official, who charges the bii to "soothe the heart" of the complainer (keunin tultirib bering), i. e., either to clear himself by oath, or to give some sort of satisfaction to the dissatisfied person.

If there are no witnesses the bii usually clears himself by oath.

694 /187/ The summons of the litigants and the other interrogated persons to appear in court is in general the duty of the volost official.

661 He has riders /dzhigity/ for the summoning of the litigants. The plaintiff gives the rider who is sent for the defendant a certain sum, called "kyzmet" (good turn) which depends on the distance of the village of the defendant. If he wins the suit, he receives this money included with the other court expenses from the defendant.

The defendant asks the rider to tell the volost official that he was not at home. The rider refuses, demanding that the person under summons depart at once. Then the rider receives a bribe and reports to the volost official that the defendant was not at home. The volost official releases the plaintiff who is waiting there, for several days, adding after him: "Do not come empty, a!" (kuru kel'mengiz a!); meanwhile before the others the volost official says nothing, only rubbing his beard as though oiling it - a sign which is understandable enough to the plaintiff. After the departure of the plaintiff, the volost official asks the rider in a low voice whether he had found the defendant at home. The rider says: "He was. He gave me so and so much and promised also not to offend the volost official (kuru koymaymen)." In the evening of the same day the volost official sends another rider who frightens the defendant for not appearing. The defendant gives him something, in order to weary the plaintiff by delays.

Sometimes the volost official gives the plaintiff to understand, via an outside person, that the defendant was not at home 3 or 4 times, but nevertheless he, the volost official, will force the

 694 661

defendant to be found, even if he has concealed himself under the ground (yerge kerib kitse de taptyramyn). But he needs remuneration for this. The plaintiff gives him something. Then the volost sends someone to tell the defendant on the sly that he should come but not to be afraid. After this the case is transferred to the bii.

After the litigants have presented a documnet with the choice of several biis, the volost official designates the place and time for their court appearance, warning the plaintiff that if he does not appear his suit will be refused, and the defendant that he will be considered convicted for non-appearance. But in spite of this, when the defendant does not appear, the case is not decided in his absence, but they send once again to his place of abode, and only if he /188/ flees from there can the volost official command that the judgment be made in his absence. Sometimes the defendant submits a complaint after all this for the biis' judgment by default. Then the biis are required to swear that he was summoned twice (Torgai). 694

In the opinion of Torgai, article 35 in Samokvasov: "If some-one is sent after a person, and the envoy is beaten and receives wounds on the face, then the latter must make the same marks on the former in return" etc., is probably founded on the orders of some individual powerful volost official. Although on the other hand the Kazakhs have a proverb: A stick is rewarded by a stick (tayakka tayak kaytady), i.e., an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. 694 683

If a rider was sent by a volost official but not on the basis of an order from the uyezd chief, then there is no prosecution for signs (tamga) on his face from blows. At any rate, when there are no witnesses, and the "tamga" /brand/ is only on the rider and not on the owner of the tent, then it depends on the state in which the rider emerged. /v tom, budto prikhodil dzhigit/. The affair ends with the words: "Come out and make peace" (dalaga chygyngiz yarasyngiz), for no oath is imposed for this. (1)

1. It may happen that the rider collects people for some sort of general suit and encounters resistance in this and receives blows with signs on his face, his body. Then the people, who want to get around the rider, give him something, but not by customary law but voluntarily, for example a horse and a coat. They ask him not to lodge a complaint, saying: "Even if your head is cut, it is under your cap, even though your arm is broken it is in a sleeve" (bas yarylsa burk ichinde, kol synsa

[167 cont.]

provinces, which had suffered from the ravages of the Kazaks for so long. Finally it prognosticated the most brilliant political hopes for the government. It was hoped that these hordes which had voluntarily submitted themselves would be willing to engage in weakening the Dzungars, whose ruler, Galdan Tsyren, a man who had inspired fear in Peter the Great himself, still lived.

[661] It was also hoped that the Kazaks could be used to bring to reason the enemies which Russia had within her, such as the Bashkirs, whose frequent revolts were alarming the government. It was also impossible to ignore Abulkhair's proposal to subject his neighbors, the Aral people and the Karakalpaks, to the Russian scepter, and particularly the people of Khiva, whose hands were still red with the blood of Prince Bekovich-Cherkaskii, shamefully assassinated during the reign of Peter the Great with all his unfortunate companions. Once she had punished this perfidious people, Russia could found a profitable trade with Central Asia on a solid basis, and even (as was generally hoped) with India.

The vast genius of Peter the Great had already seized upon most of these prospects, but he had neither the time nor sufficient means to accomplish his projects. He would have found them if death had not struck him at the moment when he had just terminated the war with Sweden and had begun to fix his attention upon the Asian border (1).

1. Rychkov, in Chapter I of his History of Orenburg, says: "This is why [168] His Majesty (Peter I), as is known, I believe, by many highly distinguished persons, had reflected several times about ways of insuring himself against the attacks of this changeable people (the Kazaks." Farther on he says: "Thus, after having ended the war with Sweden victoriously, he sought means of securing against the Kazaks the very places where, with God's help, the Orenburg line is now being raised, and of

[201 cont.]

x648 622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [61] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[728] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

x648 [205 cont.]
[72] made no raids during the year 1745. Rychkov says (1), according

1. The continuation of his history of Orenburg.

to a Russian Cossack who was with the Little Horde then, that this year as in 1773, Khan Abulkhair incited his subjects to renew their raids on the right bank of the Ural, but on this occasion the people refused to obey. However we cannot accept this report as accurate for the following reasons:

1. The Kazaks were too accustomed to pillage to refuse the proposal of their khan to attack a foreign country, especially when they had not had a chance to test the force of its arms.

2. At that time Abulkhair's attention was directed to Khiva, whose inhabitants, attacked by those of Turkestan, had sent to him to ask help, and who although subjects of Persia wanted to have Sultan Nurali as khan later. He sent Nepluev the letters he had received from Khiva on this subject and asked his advice.

[72] 3. It was at this time that he swore an oath of loyalty in his aoul in the presence of a Russian officer, to Emperor Peter III, successor to Elizabeth, and afterwards liberated 30 prisoners, Russians as well as Kalmuks, who had been taken by his subjects.

● [66] 4. He complained about Nepluev to the highest authorities (2),

2. See Abulkhair's letter and Nepluev's rescript of September 17, 1745 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and indicated that except for his personal quarrel with this governor and the displeasure he had felt at the refusal to exchange [206] his son Khodja Akhmet for Chingis, he had no other cause for complaint against Russia nor any harmful intention.

As for the office of khan which had been proposed to the son in Khiva, Nepluev had sought by all possible means to persuade

[212 cont.]

[648] [643] This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Almost all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

[661] [668]

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

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[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she liked the Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this

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1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

x648 [214 cont.]
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preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

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765 result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

[152
● 661] Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

[218 cont.]
The news of her death arrived in Orenburg before Tevkelev had been able to have a conference with Nurali (2), and prevented

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2. While waiting for Tevkelev, Nepleuv had delegated an officer interpreter to Nurali and his mother to advise them and to acquire information about the Dzungarian ambassadors. This interpreter was ordered to present to the Khan, as a rare thing, 10 chetverts of flour and as much [219] groats. The principal aim of this gift was to induce the Kazaks to take wheat from the Russians in exchange for their merchandise.

the latter from being told of the orders given to begin [219] his father's tomb immediately and the intention to receive Chingis as hostage. These measures had become unnecessary in a time of calm.

[661] Being in ignorance of the indulgent disposition of the government and in order to conform to previous demands, Nurali in 1749 presented his legitimate brother Adil as hostage to replace Sultan Aichuvak, and in 1750 he exchanged this brother for his own son Pirali, who was only five years old.

[662] At this time Sultan Batyr, the father of Kaip, then khan of Khiva, and the son of the Kaip who had been the sultan of the Kazaks, opened relations with the authorities in Orenburg. As was already said above, his father Kaip had written in 1718 to Peter the Great. Batyr had inherited his father's hatred for Abulkhair and had never recognized his authority, and for this reason had had no relations with Russia for a long time. But when a part of the Little Horde proclaimed him khan, the equal of Nurali, and when his son had become the sovereign of Khiva, he had still less respect for Abulkhair's son and hoped that Russia would have the same consideration for him as for his rival.

However, at the beginning of his relations with Orenburg, he had not decided to request that he be recognized as khan. In

[224 cont.]

×648 With this in mind he was granted several favors, including
●[66] the fact that his youngest son, aged three, was accepted as hostage in place of his eldest, Sultan Pirali.

[361] To this same end there was a return to the thought expressed by Empress Anna in her ukase to Kirilov, dated February 11, 1736, an idea which was in accord with what we mentioned earlier concerning Abulkhair's wish, to build a city at the mouth of the Syr Darya and to begin its population with criminals condemned to exile. But all these projects were unsuccessful.

×648 578 The hatred of the Khans Abulkhair and Kaip, which had been known since the beginning of the 17th century, was not extinguished by their death, but was left as a heritage to their children and their children's children. We shall see in the course of this work that it has not only not been entirely eliminated today, but even has not weakened among the principal descendants of these two chiefs. But before speaking of these contemporaries, we shall describe the history of their ancestors. The constancy with which these two families have hated each other and pursued each other for a hundred years merits special attention. This hatred may go back even farther, perhaps, for we do not know what sentiments existed between Abulkhair's father and Kaip's father.

×648 We have already said that Sultan Batyr, son of Kaip, and his son, the khan of Khiva, had sent ambassadors to Orenburg for the first time in 1650/1750/. Although their proposals were not accepted, being prejudicial to Khan Nurali, who was recognized by Russia, nevertheless the arrival of Batyr's envoys and their intentions of allying themselves with the Russians gave birth to suspicions in Nurali's heart and reignited his hereditary hatred for Batyr. Furthermore he could not view with composure the fact that in spite of the refusal of the [225] Russian government to send all the caravans in general across Batyr's pasture lands, his son, the khan of Khiva, had forbidden his subjects to go from Khiva to Orenburg and to return by a route other than
43 that of the lands of his father. This measure diminished Nurali's
61 influence over trade and the revenues which he took in, like all
51 the Kazak khans, based on the notion of a right over merchandise passing through their steppes.

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[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

his subjects give up the goods.

Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

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[226 cont.]
he did not release it until nearly a year had passed. When this caravan returned to Orenburg in 1754, an envoy of Kaip himself accompanied it as well as a Russian officer who had been in Khiva. The latter declared that he had met Sultan Erali on his way and that this prince had begged him to report to Nepluev that he and his brothers were ready to attack Khiva to avenge the insults of Sultan Batyr and his son, and that he planned to join the discontented subjects of Kaip, to put him to death, to seize his place, and to release the Russian prisoners who were then in Khiva. He asked only that in case he were unsuccessful Russia would promise to ransom him if he himself were taken.

To everyone's great astonishment the envoy from Khiva, instead of carrying out his master's orders, complained to the Russian government of the avidity and injustices of the Khan. He described the evils he made the people suffer, and in the name of all the Uzbeks, the people [race] to whom he belonged, he demanded help in order to dethrone the Khan.

Although this demand provided Russia with an opportunity to punish the Khivans for their perfidy and their prince for his insolence the year before in detaining a caravan from Orenburg, nevertheless the government then thought the conquest of Khiva more difficult than it was useful. Moreover Erali's pledge provided hope for acquiring some influence over this land without bloodshed. Consequently the government refused to acquiesce to the proposal of the Khivan envoy, who [227] had solicited help in overthrowing Kaip, but did not forbid him to ask help from the Kazak princes (1). Khan Nurali and Sultan Erali were

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 2, 1755.

permitted to march against Khiva and to seize it if luck was on their side. Also it was decided to grant Erali his ransom if he happened to be captured on this expedition.

Russia would certainly have gained an enormous advantage commercially if Abulkhair's sons had carried out their plan and

[227 cont.]

had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali. The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

Prince Maksiutov, the captain sent at that time from Orenburg to the Little Horde, wrote in his reports that Nurali Khan and his brothers were preparing to march against Khiva and convoked an assembly of the people who approved of the plan. But when a khoja, who as a kind of saint had been asked for a blessing for the success of the expedition, forbade them to make war against the Khivans, they obeyed him. The Middle Horde then suffered from the last exertions of the Dzungars. In 1754 they found themselves so harassed by the latter that a large number of Kazaks of this horde asked the government to allow them to pass their women and children over the Russian lines if they could not be allowed this permission themselves. Some of them went so far as to ask that they be granted lands on the border, where they promised to engage in agriculture and to build villages.

Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 317, 1755.

after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 722] presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 662] river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes. Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[232 cont.]

648 circumstances, and Nepluev, who had finally received the orders
662 he had requested for the execution of his plan, at once informed
661 the Khan, the Kazak sultans, and the most distinguished elders that as a reward for their faithfulness and devotion to Russia, the Empress was presenting them, as a gift, all the wives and daughters of the Bashkirs who were among them, on condition that the men be surrendered on the line, or at least driven out of the Kazak hordes. In addition, other rewards were promised for the extradition of the deserters.

[721 726] The voluptuous Kazaks hastened to seize the women who were being abandoned to them. The Bashkirs wished to defend their families, but their number was too small and they could not resist. Some of them perished on the spot, others were surrendered to the Russians, and still others returned by themselves to their homes, waiting impatiently for the time to carry out their firm resolve to avenge this offense perpetrated by the Kazaks.

Rage and jealousy immediately aroused bands of avengers among the Bashkirs, who requested permission from the government to cross the Ural. Nepluev replied that the Empress did not grant permission to cross the border, but in secret he gave orders to the commanders of the forts and military posts to pay no attention to the people who crossed without permission into the steppes beyond the [233] Ural. Taking advantage of the pretended negligence of the guards, whole bands of Bashkirs crossed the Ural, fell upon the hordes, and began to pillage and massacre and to take away women and children.

Khan Nurali complained; he received the reply from Orenburg that the Kazaks had brought all these misfortunes upon their own heads by receiving the faithless deserters in their villages, and that all the Bashkirs were going to hasten to make similar exploits. Then Nurali's subjects took arms and began to repulse the attacks of their enemies, which the latter repeated constantly. The two people continued to destroy each other in this manner until Nepluev decided that it was fitting to call a halt to these disturbances. It was then strictly forbidden to the Bashkirs to cross the Ural, and it was suggested to the Kazaks that they retreat to

[233 cont.]

648 the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the
[663 same time the border commanders were directed not to permit
661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727 The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two
728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead
[771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[234 cont.]
X648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years.
[431 These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to
661] the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.
[721 The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and
726] the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
Y648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[236 cont.]
648 that its probability be considered and also the basis for it. From
662 information received about the Little Horde from an officer (1)
721

1. See Prince Urakov's reports of 1757 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

who was sent there for the purpose, it was found out that the Kazaks had had no thought of the Kuban, but that Dunduk Dashi and two other Kalmuk princes had themselves sent confidential agents to Khan Nurali to warn him that the Crimean Tatars intended to attack Russia and to invite him to give them help, as the Kalmuks had themselves decided to do. Nurali had not rejected this proposal, but he had asked that he be warned of the moment when the Tatars would carry out their plan.

648 This duplicity on the part of Dunduk Dashi and his Kalmuk
661 subjects' eternal hatred of the Kazaks caused the presumption
662 that his real aim was to decide Nurali to march against the Russians and to profit by the absence of a large part of the Little Horde to attack its defenseless auls.

However this is only a presumption, and events did not prove that it was true. For neither the Crimean Tatars nor the Kazaks attacked Russia in 1757, and consequently the Volga Kalmuks had no occasion to help the first nor to destroy the second.

648 [237] The behavior of the Middle Horde in 1758 disturbed the Russian government more than the rumors of Nurali's alliance with the Crimean khan. Part of this horde had invaded the
[227] borders and taken the liberty of carrying off 220 Tatars of the Kuznetsk district as prisoners, people known by the name of Dvoedantsy (this name means "those who pay double tribute, or two tributes"). The Russians and the Dzungars levied tribute on these people at the same time. Another part of the Middle Horde, and this was the largest part, having seized the lands of the Dzungars who had been driven from their country, were coming closer to China and seemed too devoted to that empire.

[237 cont.]

648 Their chief, Sultan Ablai, had sworn an oath of fealty to Russia, but later he had been under the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Galdan Tsyren, and finally, as we said, he received a patent as a Chinese prince from the Chinese emperor. Thus the assurances of submission which he repeated to the Russian government from time to time were meaningless, and it would have been even more unwise to rely on them since his relations with China were quite frequent.

In 1756 he received a Chinese ambassador for the first time. In 1757 another officer of the Emperor came to seek to convince the entire Middle Horde to solemnly acknowledge itself as subject to China.

[661 662] Ablai refused to carry out this request, not out of respect for the oath he had sworn to Russia but because he found this double position highly advantageous. First of all, it assured him greater independence and consideration from the two empires, and secondly, he was afraid to renounce his obedience to Russia completely because a large number of his subjects were nomadizing near the Russian borders in very favorable regions.

Russia, however, could not be satisfied with this apparent submission. In addition to the Kazak raids, she was then afraid of attacks from a much more [238] powerful enemy. For the Chinese army, which had ravaged Dzungaria had crossed the Siberian border and was threatening to enter the interior of the empire.

This fear was soon dispelled because the Chinese promptly retired into their own country, but the re-establishment of peace could not seem secure between the two empires as long as the differences remained unsettled concerning the surrender of the Dzungarian prince, Amursan, who had first acknowledged himself a vassal of China and later had sought asylum in Russia. His death ended the disagreement, but before it occurred and quiet was restored, the Orenburg authorities had opened relations with the Kazak princes of the Middle and the Little Hordes, by order of the government, [on the subject of] giving aid to Russian troops against China and of attacking the western territories of that state.

[238 cont.]

*648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [663] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as [131] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

x648 [239 cont.]
[61] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[343] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[579] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[242 cont.]

x648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two ● [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

x648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[245 cont.]

×648 721 During the correspondence and the sending of couriers, the zealous Moslems joined their defenders from all sides, and by letters and sermons they incited everyone to come to their aid. Abul Mahmet, who was regarded as the khan of the Middle Horde, also received a letter of invitation, but since he had ceased to rule the Kazaks long before, he transmitted the invitation to [662] Ablai (1). The latter would no doubt have entered the general

1. The Bashkir, Tergulov, who was sent to the Middle Horde, brought a copy of this letter to Orenburg in the same year of 1763.

league of the Moslems if he had been a little less closely linked to the Chinese. But the court of Peking, in order to forestall his inclinations to help his coreligionists, had sent to Ablai shortly before the arrival of Abul Mahmet's letter a letter patent (2)

2. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev.

which permitted him to occupy the environs of the Ili River and assured him constant protection. But at the same time [246] the [661] court of Peking took as hostage his father-in-law, Sultan Sultanamet, several elders and their children.

[662] It was also proposed to Nurali that he join the Afghans, and he did not categorically refuse. But the position of his horde and the circumstances did not permit him to march with an army toward the Chinese borders. The Kalmuks on one side and the Bashkirs on the other would not have failed to profit by the absence of the Kazaks and would not only have pillaged all their riches but also have carried off their wives and children into slavery. Nurali had reason to fear this, for the Bashkirs retained a vivid memory of the injuries they had suffered in 1755 from the Little Horde, many of which had not yet been avenged. And in 1762 the Kalmuks had suffered another blow from the Kazaks, who had reached the Volga by crossing the Caspian Sea over the ice.

[247 cont.]

×648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still
[439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and
579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and
[316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible.
[712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China.
[439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture.
● [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[248 cont.]
x 648 secure hostages from Ablai to guarantee the freedom of the
● [661] Russians sent to him.

x 648 Khan Nurali, who was proud of his relations with the army
662 of the Afghans and with China, wrote directly to the Empress in 1764, both to inform her of the invitation sent him by all the Moslems of Central Asia to take part in the war against China and also to acquaint her with the distinguished reception his embassy had had in Peking. These two circumstances inflated his vanity, and in his dreams of [249] his importance, he thought he could exact several concessions which he had already been refused. However, these repeated demands had no more success than they had had the first time. He was sent thanks from Russia for the news he had provided about the Afghans, and several gifts were added with a reply which was as polite as it was lacking in satisfaction. His horde did not remain calm, however, but con-
[721] tinued its raids against the Volga Kalmuks as much as against the Russian settlements on the border, nor did they renounce their usual dissensions, which are not worth a detailed description. Thus passed the years 1765 and 1766. In 1767 Russian troops punished them in a clear manner, by pursuing the brigands to the very middle of the horde.

x 648 There is no doubt that this chastisement made Nurali
662 violently angry. Since he needed Catherine's good graces, how-
643 ever, he hid his resentment for a long time. He was afraid that after his death the position of khan might pass to another family, and asked that a successor or deputy be designated while he still lived and that the Russian government ceremonially elevate his eldest son, Ishim, to this new post. This was a new desire, but it was not in opposition to Russian views. It was true that Russia could designate one of Nurali's brothers as khan of the Little Horde if she chose. But since there was no reason then for preferring them above other sultans and since the Empress Anna, when she promised Abulkhair to preserve the post of khan for posterity, did not fix any rule for the choice of his successors, Nurali's wish could be fulfilled. Also the particular qualities of Sultan Ishim were no obstacle to the accomplishment of his

K [250 cont.]
x648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578] act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[66] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.
K The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the
[721] Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

x K
648 upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate
167 enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks,
EK which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destination to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks
KO
648
167 and now became their allies. We will now give the history of

[259 cont.]
×648 of the punishment inflicted upon it by the Russian troops the year
[72] before. The Middle Horde had been causing suspicion for some time because the rumor had spread that Ablai, profiting from the recent troubles of the Bashkirs, had sent several messengers to them to induce them to move under his domination. But investigations proved that these rumors were false.

During the months of June and October of this same year, several elders and sultans who were independent of Ablai sent deputies to the commander of the Siberian line to propose that
[661] they be recognized as Russian subjects. Among these was the son of Khan Abul Mahmet, Abulfeis, who had asked that he be assigned an annual stipend. Ablai's son and nephew asked for the same thing.

Empress Catherine received the report and replied in a rescript of May 25, 1776 in the name of the governor of Orenburg, as the principal administrator of Kazak matters, that the individual proposals made by the Kazaks of the Middle Horde to be received as subjects were founded on nothing more than the desire to obtain gifts. It was added that they were completely useless, for the entire horde had been recognized as subjects of the empire since the reign of Empress Anna, and that if such demands were satisfied this would only produce new demands. Furtheremore it was said that the fixing of annual stipends would become an obligation for the government and would accustom the Kazaks to regard as a duty that which was only the effect of the government's indulgence, and consequently it would be much better to conciliate them with gifts which were not fixed. These concepts showed a profound knowledge of the character of the Kazaks; they were the fruit of 46 years experience, from 1730 to 1776.

×648 Irnazar Maksiutov, the Bukharan ambassador, who came to
439 [260] Russia in 1775, revived the idea of building a Russian city in the Kazak steppe at the mouth of the Emba in the conferences he had on the means of removing the trade of caravans between Russia and Bukhara from all danger. The Russian government showed itself ready to carry out the plan (1), but it remained without

1. As a result of the ukase given on this

[261]

×648 643 The Russian government asked him by what right he had taken this title, and he boldly replied that he had acquired it by his victories over the Torguts and, after the death of Abul Mahmet, not only by the choice of the Kazak hordes but also by that of the residents of Turkestan and Tashkent. He added that following the example of his independent ancestors and the khans who were his predecessors, he wished to live in Turkestan near the tomb of Khodja Akhmet (1). It was then too late to remind

1. The Kazaks regard Khodja Akhmet, who is buried in /the town of/ Turkestan, as the greatest saint after Mohammed.

Ablai of the obligations of a faithful subject. But it was necessary at least to sustain the idea in the hordes that no one could become khan in one of them without the consent of Russia. The Empress ordered that an officer be sent to Ablai to induce him especially to request the confirmation of his new position from the Russian government.

[661] He consented to this proposal and promised to send his son, Sultan Tugum, to St. Petersburg.

On November 25, 1777, it was officially announced to him that the Empress had agreed to his request, if he would transmit it in writing rather than orally. It was ordered to return his son from the border to the horde in the opposite case.

Ablai made not the slightest opposition to sending a written request. Consequently, Sultan Tugum, who conveyed it to St. Petersburg, was received most graciously, and his father was confirmed as khan by a certificate on October 22, 1778.

This certificate was sent to Orenburg, accompanied by a robe of honor, a saber, and a hat, and Ablai was invited to present himself to receive them and to swear the oath in Orenburg, Troitsk, or on the Siberian line. But when he refused to come, the Russian government consented to his taking the oath in the horde in the presence of a Russian officer, who would then

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote 152] that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [728] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[276 cont.]
he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[295 cont.]

×648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal [661] chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the [721] Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

KN 4A 665 numbers in the Kazakh SSR (and probably in any minority republic where the non-Russian native population is less well educated than the Russians) is that "qualification for a job" implies not only technical proficiency but also political reliability. For higher-ranking positions political sophistication and active participation may actually be required in addition to professional training and experience.

K [665] [661] Adding to these conditions Moscow's continuous demand that more and more natives be brought into the machinery ("korenizatsiia aparata"), one can see the predicament of the Kazakh bosses. In the past it has often happened that the only candidates qualified in terms of training and political reliability were relatives of those already in administrative positions. The accusation of nepotism is, therefore, fairly frequent. This and other complaints in connection with the cadre system are voiced in some detail in a Central Committee decree of March 1947, "On the selection, training, and placement of Party and Soviet cadres by Kazakh Communist Party organization." The most pertinent clause of this decree, repeated recently in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda (21 September 1952), reads: ". . . selection of cadres [of Party workers] on a basis of friendship, personal devotion, family ties and kinship is incompatible with membership in the Party."[1] The social basis of nepotism in Central Asia has been discussed previously, in regard to family relations.

KN 665 433 464 At present the men in charge in Kazakhstan seem to be counting on an increase in the general level of education to solve this knotty problem. The importance of the economic problem for the Kazakh Party is shown by the fact that its two most powerful first secretaries lost their jobs over manpower and production failures. The energetic Goloshchekin was replaced when too-rapid and brutal collectivization procedures resulted in social and economic disaster. More recently Shaiakhmetov, probably the most skillful politician to dominate Soviet Kazakhstan, was demoted (together with other responsible officials) when agricultural production failed—by a wide margin—to reach the planned level.

It is perhaps surprising that Shaiakhmetov managed to remain in power as long as he did (seven years). Since the end of World War II, Moscow had been applying pressure for better exploitation of Kazakhstan's potential in animal husbandry and grain production. Warnings by the Central Party organs (including Pravda) were numerous and explicit. The historical details are not important here except insofar as they support the argument that the 1954 demise of several Kazakh leaders was primarily an economic rather than a political purge. This interpretation was reinforced recently by the report that Comrade Shaiakhmetov had been "re-elected" by Alma-Ata voters.

The problem of production efficiency and adequately trained manpower arises in industry as well as in agriculture, although less frequently and less violently. It may be that factories and mines by their

[1] The most dramatic case was that of Nurusov, former KSSR minister of justice, who was expelled from the Party by the Central Committee of the All-Union Party for "corruption." At that time, other functionaries were ousted with him for "deception of Party organs and unworthy conduct in respect to cadre affairs."

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[643
439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[141 cont.]
175 Kalmuks (3), was taken prisoner with Seidak.
648
662

3. This is what it says in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 98, yet the bringing together of these two titles seems very extraordinary to us.

This event not only gave Tsar Fedor the power to revive his father's plans concerning the Kirghiz-Kazaks, but also the right to call himself their sovereign.

175 Tevkel, who wished to free his nephew, sent an ambassador
648 to Moscow in 1594 with a letter to the Tsar in which he begged
636 the latter to accept him with all his horde as subjects and to send him Uraz Mehmet (4).

4. See Kirghiz [i.e. Kazak] matters, 1794 and 1795; in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and the reference to them in Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, note 332.

Knowing the customs and habits of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, one can be certain that this proposition was no more than a [142] meaningless promise in order to free Uraz Mehmet, one which Tevkel had no intention of keeping whether his nephew were given up to him or not. This he evinced when the Tsar replied to him by letter in 1795 that he accepted him with all his horde as his subjects and that he was sending him firearms, but that as proof of his allegiance he required him to force the khan of Bukhara to make peace and to compel Kuchum to submit. He promised to set Uraz Mehmet (1) at liberty as soon as Tevkel presented one of

1. Godunov later named this prince tsar of Kasimov. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 22.

[145 cont.]

175 721 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 [114] Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is referred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

662 578

175 721 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
175 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and
721 troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[43] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
649 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[43] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

175 [154 cont.]
128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

[156 cont.]
x 648 a power over the Great Horde which he did not possess, to make
[662] himself important in the eyes of the Russian court and thus to acquire influence over the entire Kazak nation.

Empress Anna's letter patent of July 10, 1734 proves Abulkhair's deceit. First of all, this letter is presented in the name of various beys and elders and not in the name of Djulbars, who was then commander of the entire Great Horde, as is known from several documents and Rychkov's History of Orenburg. Furthermore, in the letter patent it says: "Our subject Abulkhair Khan has reported to us as a faithful subject that he has already accepted you among the ranks of our subjects, and for this purpose he has sent your deputies Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr to our court." These words are founded upon Abulkhair's writings and the oral declarations made by his son, but neither the one nor the other promoted anything but falsehoods. On the one hand, it is recognized that Abulkhair, who lived a long distance from the Great Horde, could never have any influence upon it. On
[636] the other hand, we see that this horde never took an oath of loyalty to Russia and was not counted among her subjects. In the third place, it must be noted that the head of the Orenburg expedition, Kirilov, who received this letter patent at the moment of his departure from Petersburg, did not even send it to its destination. It is probable that he felt this move to be
[57] indecorous when he arrived at the border and was able to appreciate the truth of the circumstances mentioned in this document.

x 648 439 The second proposal to admit the Kazaks of the Great Horde as Russian subjects is much more probable than the first, though little more sincere. This was made in 1738, not by a man claiming to be chief of the Great Horde but by Djulbars, the true and legitimate chief of this horde. Having learned of the founding of a Russian city at the mouth of the Ori River and the opening of trade with the Kazaks of the Middle and the Little Hordes, he sent to ask for the same benefits, and to help [157] attain his end, he proposed making not only his own people Russian subjects, but also the neighboring nations, if it was

[159 cont.]

×648 721 We are obliged to note with surprise, however, that in spite of these conquests and hostilities of a people subject to Galdan Tsyren, the Great Horde never dared to go and attack the Dzungars, nor even to call themselves independent of them.

×648 662 Some years later, in 1749, Tiul Biu, who had been driven out of Tashkent by Kusiak [sic] Bek and was dissatisfied by his insignificance, wished to elevate himself through the protection of Russia, and he sent deputies to Orenburg to propose that he become a Russian subject (1). His weakness was no doubt known

1. Tevkelev mentions this in one of his journals.

to the Russian government, and his proposal also had no effect.

[152] The terror with which the Dzungars filled the Kazaks and the apparent submission of the latter lasted until internal dissensions began to weaken the Dzungars and until these dissensions finally led to the complete dispersal of this people, as is known. The disagreement had scarcely begun to be noticeable when the Kazaks took the most active part in it. They offered asylum to all the exiled Dzungarian princes and zaisangs, and joined with [726] them to avenge their wrongs. They attacked their enemies, and on the pretext of helping the unfortunate, they never let the opportunity pass of weakening their old enemies by raids. Finally, when the Chinese wished to interfere in the dissensions of the Dzungars, and the success of their arms had reduced Galdan Tsyren's successors to a state of utter weakness, then the Kazaks of the Great Horde took Amursan's (2) side and formed a part of

2. This prince was the last Dzungarian sovereign. At first he was a subject of China, then her enemy, and he died in Russia.

the army which opposed the invaders [160] until 1756, the time when the Dzungarian empire, which had been so powerful ten years earlier, fell under the blows of the Chinese. The people who had

[160 cont.]

X648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

X648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

X648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
X648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

[162 cont.]
726 preferred to humbly ask permission to pass beyond toward the Ili River. Erali pretended to consent but had the intention of striking
[662] a most terrible blow against the fleeing prince after having lulled him into security to some extent. And this is exactly what happened. Scarcely had the Kalmuks moved away from the Kazaks and set up their camp to spend the night when Erali and his allies attacked them abruptly, annihilated whole groups which had gone
[727] to sleep without taking precautions, and took an immense booty of prisoners, various objects, and livestock. The third part of the Great Horde, which had camped in the neighborhood of Tashkent from the time of Galdan Tsyren, did not move after the annihilation of the Dzungars but began to establish itself on the spot in the localities it occupied, and persecuted the neighboring cities and villages more strongly. Tashkent was the city which suffered most. Raids, the pillage of caravans, and the almost complete loss of arable lands brought about the absolute ruin of its inhabitants. Although they were not subjects of the Kazaks, they were dependent upon them for everything and were obliged to purchase all the necessities of life and trade from them at a high price.

In 1760 a large number of Karakalpaks [Kara-Kalpak] joined this part of the Great Horde. These Karakalpaks lived at the mouth of the Syr [Darya] River, but being hemmed in by the Little Horde, especially under Khan Nurali, they had retreated further east. It is not known why the Kazaks, who were so powerful, did not seize Tashkent completely and establish themselves there. But there is no doubt that this city has had to suffer from their aggressions until our day. The khans of this country, being weak and unenterprising, have tried to avert these raids by favors, gifts, and concessions more than by resistance and
[829] vigorous measures. The Kazaks are accustomed to viewing indulgence as [163] a sign of weakness, and consequently this kind of behavior, far from disarming them, leads them to renewed violence.

Tashkent proved the truth of this by its own experience some time later when Iunus Khodja became ruler of this city.

[165 cont.]

Chapter V. Historical Studies of the Kirghiz-Kazak Middle and Little Hordes from 1730 until our Times (1832).

*648 The events which have taken place among the Middle and Little Hordes since their union with Russia are so interrelated that it is impossible to separate them. For this reason we are combining into a single description the historical account we wish to give our readers concerning these two hordes from the year 1730 until our times.

At the end of Chapter III we said that the Kazaks who refused to submit to Russia at a time when the public interest would have forced them to do so later became subjects of Empress Anna for the personal advantage of a single individual.

*648 643 This individual was Khan Abulkhair, of whom we have already spoken. He was chief of a large part of the Little Horde, and his power extended over some tribes of the Middle Horde, and he had the well-being of his people in mind. But he thought [662] still more about means of consolidating his power and rising above his rivals and enemies, especially above Khan Kaip, who also ruled over a part of the Little Horde.

The situation of the Kazaks in 1730 favored Abulkhair's ambitions. His subjects were enervated by frequent losses of men and goods; hemmed in on all sides by their neighbors, who warred against them; and expected [166] new misfortunes at every moment; and they were ready then for any sacrifice. The Khan knew how to profit from their frame of mind, and he announced to them definitively that there was no way out except voluntary submission to Russia.

*648 662 At first this proposition was rejected, but Abulkhair no doubt knew how to point out, with such paternal solicitude and persistence, the misfortunes which menaced the Kazaks without the support of Russia; he depicted them so vividly and his arguments were so convincing that they were irresistible. When Abulkhair's adherents had compared the remote advantages they

x 648 662 [166 cont.]
could derive from their liberty with the pressing need for immediate help, they decided to submit themselves to Empress Anna, perhaps with a firm resolve to return to their independence at the first opportunity. The number of those who took part in this resolution was not great (1), but the Khan could not lose time

1. Tevkelev said very clearly in his report to the Empress after he returned from being among the Kazaks (this will be discussed below) that Abulkhair was submitting himself to Russia without the consent of the people, with the exception of a small number of his trusted followers.

in increasing it and thus fail to profit from the first effects of his remonstrances. At once he chose several deputies from among those on whom he could count the most and sent them to Buturlin, voivode of Ufa, under the escort of Aldara, chief of the Bashkirs, with a written proposal acknowledging allegiance to Russia. These deputies arrived in Ufa in the month of July, 1730, and from there Buturlin sent them to St. Petersburg.

In his letter Abulkhair explained the reasons which had led him to submit himself. He spoke of the misfortunes and adversities which the Kazaks had had to endure from the Dzungars. He recalled the attacks of the Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks. He promised to maintain himself at his own expense, allowing Russia to hope for his aid in overthrowing her enemies, and in the meanwhile, he demanded troops [167] to help him overcome the people of Khiva, the Karakalpaks, and the Aral people, and finally he acknowledged himself and his horde to be subjects of the empire forever.

x 648 This unexpected event, the reasons for which were not yet known, produced the greatest joy in Petersburg. It was that much more glorious for the empire that without the slightest bloodshed it acquired several hundreds of thousands of additional subjects. It promised peace and safety to the southeastern

[170 cont.]
x648 cleverness triumphed over force.

662 Vexed by the presence of the Russians and fearing their in-
x648 fluence, the Kazaks firmly resolved to rid themselves of these distasteful guests. For this reason they announced to Tevkelev that they were going to call a general assembly of the nation, at which they would definitively decide whether they would or would not swear the oath of allegiance to Russia, and that he himself should be present at the assembly without being accompanied by anyone. It was all but certain that they wished to assassinate him, and yet Tevkelev did not refuse this invitation and even knew how to turn it to his own advantage.

x648 He knew the greediness of the Kazaks, and he was guided
646 by the Khan and his partisans. He took care to secure himself
662 by gifts to certain of his principal and most dangerous enemies, and next he appeared at the assembly. Emboldened by the hope of having defenders and seeing himself placed in a position where he must perish or distinguish himself, he showed all the firmness, eloquence, and presence of mind of which he had given so many indications to the Kazaks and which had yielded him the greatest consideration on the part of the Moslems. Bukenbai, a Kazak elder who was as eminent as he was respected in the Middle and the Little Hordes, was the first to proclaim himself his protector. Tevkelev,together with this elder and with Khan Abulkhair, who presided in person over this assembly, spoke with such force and authority in favor of Russia that the party which was opposed to the Khan was won over by the arguments of his partisans. The result was that all the persons in attendance, starting with Abulkhair and Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, swore the oath of loyalty to Russia. All this took place in 1732. As he was far from the border, Tevkelev had not yet had time to inform the government of the success of his mission when violent disturbances took place in the Middle Horde.

x648 At first the Khan and the tribal chiefs envied the [171] power which Abulkhair was to gain by his alliance with the court of Petersburg, and they even feared him. But the common people, among whom there were fewer partisans of Russia than in the Little Horde, did not wish to give up their independence. They saw

[177 cont.]
X648 [439] with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

[654] 11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

[504 501] 13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted [716] to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

[705] 14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

[654] 15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

● [662] 3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[185 cont.]

×648 was never sent and still remains today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg (1).

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of December 30, 1737.

×648 669 The Bashkir revolt had still not been put down. Abulkhair was afraid to take any part in this revolt, and he himself suggested to Tatishchev that he help to subdue the rebels. The higher authority was informed of this proposal and gave permission for it to be accepted (2), authorizing the Khan to enter the land of the

2. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 22, 1738.

Bashkirs, provided however that in acting against the rebels he would leave in peace those who remained loyal and would defend their persons and properties if necessary. In defiance of this order, ×648 726 Abulkhair pillaged the lands of the Bashkirs for two consecutive months without distinguishing between rebels and loyal subjects, and the results proved that he had no other end in proposing his [667] services but to gorge himself and his Kazaks on booty. It is even asserted that he intended to make his son khan of the Bashkirs, and when he entered the lands of this people, he announced him- ×648 726 727 self their protector and defender before the Russian government, but when he saw that his deceit was a failure he began the pillage. As a consequence it was commanded that he be made to depart from the lands of the Bashkirs as soon as possible. Tatishchev carried out this order with gentle means and without wrangling.

The son of Abulkhair Khan, Erali, remained in Orenburg as hostage, however.

While Abulkhair was carrying out his ravages against the Bashkirs, part of his horde, which was camping at the mouth of the Ural, renewed its attacks against the Kalmuks and took many Russians prisoners during one of the raids (3). Fearing the just

3. See the reports sent from Astrakhan,

[187 cont.]

X648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it [793] again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was [178] ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was 641 brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's [431] presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

● [662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[192 cont.]
their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[196 cont.]
x648 Dzungarian sultan (1) made the Kazak leaders see that they were

1. See the orders given in 1742 to Major Miller who was then sent from Orenburg to Galdan Tsyren, having been charged to work for the freeing of Ablai.

obliged to have recourse to the mercy of Galdan in spite of their dependence on Russia. Abul Mahmet sent him an embassy to pay him his respects, and finally he gave him his own son as
x649 hostage (2). Abulkhair, who was cleverer than Abul Mahmet

2. See the reports of Prince Irakov, who was with the Middle Horde in 1742, in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

and who lived closer to the Russian border, had, on the one hand, less to fear from the Dzungars and, on the other, greater need for the protection of the Russian Empress. Consequently he decided to employ the most subtle deceit in this case. Through his agents he made it known to Galdan's army that he was ready to obey him and that he would send assurances of his submission if it was so desired.

Galdan received this message and, regarding Abulkhair, no doubt, as the most powerful of the Kazak princes, sent his own officers himself to make certain of his submission and to receive the hostages which had been promised. The arrival of these deputies did not cause the Khan, who was as wily as he was full of resources, to lose his natural presence of mind. He did not wish to carry out the request of the Dzungars, and as a Russian subject he was afraid to do so. Therefore he resolved to lead them to Orenburg, where he was [197] preparing to go on the invitation of Nepluev, who was the new commandant there. He had two reasons for such an action. First of all, he could prove his trust in, and absolute obedience to, the Russian government

×648 [197 cont.]
in this way, and second, he could make his excuses to Galdan
●662 for not having sent him hostages, for he was certain that the border commander would not permit this.

This was exactly what happened. Abulkhair had scarcely arrived in Orenburg when Nepluev announced to the Dzungarian envoys that since the khan of the Little Horde was a subject of Russia he had no right to negotiate with foreign princes or to give them hostages. The same was stated for the Middle Horde and Khan Abul Mahmet. The Dzungars replied that the Kazaks were
[728 constantly making raids in their territories; that it was impossible
65] to have any peace without taking hostages from them; and that besides they themselves had offered to satisfy this demand just as the Great Horde, which having become their vassal, not only gave hostages but also paid a tribute, and because of this there was perfect peace. The Dzungars were told once more that Russian subjects could neither make nor carry out such promises without the consent of their government. Nepluev himself assumed the burden of preventing any more Kazak raids into Dzungarian territory. It was then suggested to the deputies that they return home, but they answered that although they were thoroughly satisfied with their reception by Nepluev, his words were still not enough; for knowing the Kazaks intimately, who had deceived the Russians and the Dzungars alike with their promises of submission, they could expect nothing but pillage and robbery in the future, and that therefore they dared not return home without hostages. Finally, they said openly that they had been sent by their kungtaidji to Khan Abulkhair and not to the Russian government.

×648 Nepluev and the Khan had considerable trouble in persuading them to leave with the promises they had been given, but they finally departed from Orenburg to go directly to their [198] country. Major Müller, who had been in command of the first Russian caravan which was pillaged by the Great Horde, was sent with these deputies, in order to persuade Galdan Tsyren more firmly that the Kazak hordes were vassals of Russia, and to deliver a letter to him from Nepluev.

[198 cont.]

×648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[728] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged ×648 their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this ●662 time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg.

[595] But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he [622] wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

[199 cont.]
[648] of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent
[662] him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

[643] As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

[644 431] Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

[576] [200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

[200 cont.]

×248 662 No matter how insincere the Kazaks' protestations of obedience were and how vain their promises to return the prisoners, protect the caravans, etc., at least from the moment they had declared themselves vassals until the year 1743, neither they nor their subjects had dared to make raids openly on the Russian borders or against their fortresses. But in the course of this year, they gave evidence of extraordinary daring, secretly incited by the same Abulkhair, who never ceased to assure the Russian government of his good faith and of his carrying out of all the duties of a faithful subject. Having been met with a formal refusal to accept his illegitimate son Chingis in place of his son Khodja Akhmet, he was [152] so angry that he began to incite the Kazaks to attack the border villages. One can imagine that his subjects were not slow to profit by counsel which was both advantageous to them and in accord [579] with their customs. At once pillaging, murder, and the carrying off of men and beasts began. Groups made up of from 1,000 to 2,000 bandits threw themselves upon sparsely settled villages, which had only just been founded, and carried away across the Ural River everything which could not escape them or which they could not destroy. Even the fortresses and fortified posts were exposed to their attacks. In one day, [201] 82 men were carried off from the small town of Iletsk. We will not enumerate the other robberies and violences which were committed (1), but limit

1. See the reports of Nepluev to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ourselves only to saying that the leader of these furious bands was Derbeshali, a sultan and kinsman of Abulkhair, and that his aim was to go to the fortress of Sarachinsk where Khodja Akhmet was and carry him off, after he grew tired of brigandage. Russian troops prevented him from carrying this plan out, but being busy building forts, they could not stop the other raids. Part of their horses were worn out by labor and part ran away into the country, and this made them a prey to plunderers.

[203 cont.]

x648 The order given in this letter was not carried out. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave orders that the Kalmuks as well as the Kazaks were to be prevented from crossing the Ural to attack each other.

[726] It must be supposed that the government changed its mind because of the troubles which broke out at that time on the Siberian frontier. The Dzungarian kungtaidji suddenly advanced with his troops toward the Russian border, and his subjects began to threaten the garrisons with war, while the rumor spread that he wished to attack the establishments of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, where he was attracted by the mines of precious metals.

At this time the Dzungars were still formidable, and an attack by them could not be compared to the raids of the Kazaks. Therefore it was indispensable to prepare adequate forces against them. As a result the insolence of the Kazaks was forgotten, and Nepluev received an order (1) to persuade them to

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 3, 1744.

make raids against the Dzungars.

It was a difficult task to carry out. Khan Abulkhair still [186] held resentment against Russia in spite of the indulgence granted for his crimes. Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, retreated toward Turkestan in order to avoid Abulkhair's intrigues, and thus practically put an end to his relations with the border authorities. Besides he had less need for the help of Russia than the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, who held his son as hostage. [662] Finally, Abul Mahmet sought to be khan at Turkestan, and this city recognized the authority of Galdan Tsyren.

[664] [204] Sultan Barak, who had sworn allegiance to Russia two years earlier, lived far from her border, and fearing the Dzungars more than the Russians, he, like Abul Mahmet, had given his son to Galdan Tsyren as hostage.

[662] The latter sought to attach the sultans and the common people of the Middle Horde to himself by every means. To attain

[204 cont.]

[649] this he used threats and favors by turns, and finally he bought
[662] various Russian articles at his own expense which he had sold to the horde, not only without profit but even at a loss.

[186] Although the circumstances were so opposed to the views of the Russian government, yet the hereditary and inveterate hate of the Kazaks for the Dzungars still had enough power to keep them from being entirely indifferent to the hints of the Russians. They preferred to leave their border in peace rather than neglect the opportunity to attack their perpetual enemies, who at this time threatened to reduce them to complete subservience. In spite of their submission to Galdan Tsyren, the khans and sultans feared his domination more than that of the Russians. However, they took part with the people in the preparations for hostilities which were being made. The tribes of the Middle Horde, who were still suffering from the ravages committed against them in 1741, almost under the walls of Orenburg, were the most anxious to help the Russian troops. They were only waiting for the opening of war between them and the Dzungars, and at the first news of the beginning of hostilities they would have thrown themselves upon the settlements of their enemies with all the fury of semi-primitive people. But their hopes were dashed, for the Dzungars, in spite of their threats, left Russia in peace. This was the only way the Kazaks could have avoided the storm which threatened them, for in spite of all the patience with which the Russian government had borne their raids on the border for more than a year, it had been firmly decided to use the troops [205] stationed on the Orenburg line and others to be added to them in order to punish the Kazaks severely.

During the interval, Sultan Khodja Akhmet, who until then had been detained as hostage in the fort at Sarachinsk, was transferred to St. Petersburg. Although Abulkhair could not have been
[153] happy to see his son taken further away when he wished him closer, and although he was furiously angry with Nepluev and allowed
[721] himself new violence in his relations with him, still his subjects

[208 cont.]
[727] 100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

[186 152] Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the [662] advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

[721] While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In [726] January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

[209 cont.]

[662] Blinded by his resentment, Abulkhair considered this punishment as a new offense against him. He sought every means to harm Russia, and requested the protection of Persia.

[584] His son Khodja Akhmet had been transferred from Petersburg to Kazan, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of a Tatar and asked for her hand in marriage. Abuljhair's impertinences had been so frequent and so serious, that one cannot admire enough the patience with which the court at St. Petersburg put up with it. In order to give this khan one more proof of its indulgence, both toward him and toward his people, Tevkelev, who, as we have said, professed the same religion as the Kazaks, was sent to Orenburg in 1747. Furthermore he had spent more than a year among them and had acquired general respect, and he knew their customs and habits and had always been a friend of Abulkhair's. He was charged with placating Abulkhair through his advice, of reconciling him with Governor Nepluev, and of returning his son Khodja Akhmet to him, but in exchange for another son born of a khaness.

Abulkhair's death, which took place soon after, prevents us from [210] saying what the consequences of his dealings with Tevkelev would have been. But at the opening of these conferences, Abulkhair showed himself disposed to reconciliation. During the summer of 1748, he arrived at the fortress of Orsk (1)

1. This was the name given to the old Orenburg, after the new one was founded on the site which it now occupies.

for an interview with his old friend, and he not only gave as hostage another legitimate son named Aichuvak, who later became a khan, in place of Khodja Akhmet, but he also added the children of some of his elders. Furthermore he promised to [728] deliver immediately all the Russian prisoners taken by his subjects, and promised in writing that the Little Horde would never attack [662] the borders. When he arrived at the horde, however, he secretly

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[679 the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of
643] Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[211 cont.]

This act against a people considered subject to Russia and the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders, and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea. Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons, he was poisoned (2).

2. In the papers preserved in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg it can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little Horde who came to the Russian border then affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

[212 cont.]

This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Almost all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she liked the Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this

1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

Y 648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the
[431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

X 648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X 648
[664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[214 cont.]

x648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
[664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
x643 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had
662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
[439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

x648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
[765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

*648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

*648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584 583] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662 584] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

[216 cont.]
recognizing the suzerainty of Russia, but it was even more difficult to refuse a liaison by marriage with a sovereign who was so dreaded by Nurali's enemies, and especially to miss the chance of taking possession of Turkestan without bloodshed, for [217] his ancestors had reigned there and were buried there, and Abulkhair himself had lived there until he was driven out by the Dzungars.

Balanced between fear and hope, Nurali did not know what to decide. The sultans and elders advised him to send his sister to the kungtaidji without delay and then, relying on his help, to go to take revenge on Barak and his subjects for his father's death. This advice accorded perfectly with his wishes, but he did not see that they were contrary to the interests of Russia, which could punish him for his disloyalty.

Besides this, at that time there was a Russian officer with him who had accompanied him from Orenburg. In the presence of such a witness, he could not act except in secret, and for this reason he dismissed the Dzungarian ambassadors without the girl, but he promised to send her soon. When Nepluev asked the reason for this embassy, Nurali claimed it had come from Galdan Tsyren's son with proposals of peace and friendship. He also pretended that the Dzungars had proposed to him the exchange of the Kazak prisoners they had in their power for Volga Kalmuks, a large number of whom were slaves of the Little Horde. His knavery was of no avail for the Russian officer (1) who was then with the

1. See Captain Iakovlev's journal and reports in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

horde reported matters as they really were to the border authorities, and these reported them to the higher authorities, who found that an alliance by marriage between the Dzungarian and Kazak sovereigns could bring great harm to Russia. There had even been an example of this already, when Aiuka, khan of the Volga Kalmuk horde, had married Darma Bala, kinswoman of

[217 cont.]
x649 the Dzungarian kungtaidji. She had incited his son Sanzhip to
584 depart for Dzungaria with 15,000 tents in 1701. If the
662 Dzungars, who had already subjugated the Great Horde long since and had hostages from all the sultans of the Middle Horde, also were united with the Little Horde through the alliance of their sovereigns, then the entire population of the lands [218] beginning from the western territories of China of that time until the northern part of the Caspian Sea could be put in movement at the first signal of one single chief, and the entire length of the Russian border, from the upper Irtysh all the way to the mouth of the Ural River, could be exposed to attack on the same day.

In order to avert this danger, it was indispensable for the Russian government to forbid Nurali to become the brother-in-law of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, and it was ordered that all proper measures be taken to prevent this alliance. It was regarded as most efficacious to use the counsels of a man respected by the Khan and known to all the Little Horde, namely Tevkelev. To this end he was sent to Orenburg expressly to have a conference with Nurali. In order to support the advice, favors, and promises with which Tevkelev was to load the Khan, Nepluev was commanded to begin the funeral monument for Abulkhair immediately and to add residences for the khans in order to please Nurali and his brothers. It was likewise decided to accept the illegitimate Chingis as hostage in place of the khan's legitimate brother (1), a thing which had often been refused to Abulkhair.

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 2, 1749 and August 13, 1750.

During the interval, Nurali was dismayed by the rumor which
[152] was spread that if the Dzungarian kungtaidji had a son by his sister, he would exterminate all the Kazak chiefs and their descendants in order to give that son the position of sole khan of all the Kazaks.

x648 The death of Abulkhair's daughter destined for the chief of the Dzungars, which took place in 1750, reassured Russia.

[218 cont.]
The news of her death arrived in Orenburg before Tevkelev had been able to have a conference with Nurali (2), and prevented

[439]

2. While waiting for Tevkelev, Nepleuv had delegated an officer interpreter to Nurali and his mother to advise them and to acquire information about the Dzungarian ambassadors. This interpreter was ordered to present to the Khan, as a rare thing, 10 chetverts of flour and as much [219] groats. The principal aim of this gift was to induce the Kazaks to take wheat from the Russians in exchange for their merchandise.

the latter from being told of the orders given to begin [219] his father's tomb immediately and the intention to receive Chingis as hostage. These measures had become unnecessary in a time of calm.

[661] Being in ignorance of the indulgent disposition of the government and in order to conform to previous demands, Nurali in 1749 presented his legitimate brother Adil as hostage to replace Sultan Aichuvak, and in 1750 he exchanged this brother for his own son Pirali, who was only five years old.

[662] At this time Sultan Batyr, the father of Kaip, then khan of Khiva, and the son of the Kaip who had been the sultan of the Kazaks, opened relations with the authorities in Orenburg. As was already said above, his father Kaip had written in 1718 to Peter the Great. Batyr had inherited his father's hatred for Abulkhair and had never recognized his authority, and for this reason had had no relations with Russia for a long time. But when a part of the Little Horde proclaimed him khan, the equal of Nurali, and when his son had become the sovereign of Khiva, he had still less respect for Abulkhair's son and hoped that Russia would have the same consideration for him as for his rival.

However, at the beginning of his relations with Orenburg, he had not decided to request that he be recognized as khan. In

[219 cont.] In
1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power, expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[220 cont.]

×648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person,[a] or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[222 cont.]
-x648 acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[643] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai
[662] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu.
[166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
●[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

x 648 [226 cont.]
[661] he did not release it until nearly a year had passed. When this caravan returned to Orenburg in 1754, an envoy of Kaip himself
[662] accompanied it as well as a Russian officer who had been in Khiva. The latter declared that he had met Sultan Erali on his way and that this prince had begged him to report to Nepluev that he and his brothers were ready to attack Khiva to avenge the insults of Sultan Batyr and his son, and that he planned to join the discontented subjects of Kaip, to put him to death, to seize his place, and to release the Russian prisoners who were then in Khiva. He asked only that in case he were unsuccessful Russia would promise to ransom him if he himself were taken.

To everyone's great astonishment the envoy from Khiva, instead of carrying out his master's orders, complained to the Russian government of the avidity and injustices of the Khan. He described the evils he made the people suffer, and in the name of all the Uzbeks, the people [race] to whom he belonged, he demanded help in order to dethrone the Khan.

Although this demand provided Russia with an opportunity to punish the Khivans for their perfidy and their prince for his insolence the year before in detaining a caravan from Orenburg, nevertheless the government then thought the conquest of Khiva more difficult than it was useful. Moreover Erali's pledge provided hope for acquiring some influence over this land without bloodshed. Consequently the government refused to acquiesce to the proposal of the Khivan envoy, who [227] had solicited help in overthrowing Kaip, but did not forbid him to ask help from the Kazak princes (1). Khan Nurali and Sultan Erali were

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 2, 1755.

permitted to march against Khiva and to seize it if luck was on their side. Also it was decided to grant Erali his ransom if he happened to be captured on this expedition.

[721 439] Russia would certainly have gained an enormous advantage commercially if Abulkhair's sons had carried out their plan and

[229 cont.]

x643 662 724

Sultan Ablai, who was as wise as he was enterprising, did not fail to profit from the quarrels of the Dzungarian princes, and he worked to prolong them, realizing the usefulness, both for his own security and that of the Kazaks on the outside, of weakening and parceling out their old enemies. To this end, he not only gave asylum to Amursan (2) and Lobacha (another

2. Amursan had broken away from China and wandered among the Kazak hordes. Later he sought refuge in Russia, where he died.

Dzungarian prince) in his village but went out to fight for them (3)

3. See the reports of Captain Iakovlev, who was then with the Middle Horde and who accompanied Ablai for some time as he followed Amursan and Lobacha in order to fight the Dzungars.

and helped them to destroy their own compatriots. When matters took a new turn, and the Chinese army won decisive victories over the Dzungars, Ablai joined the conquerors. But this change of allies did not cause him to change his goal, and he continued to exterminate his hateful neighbors as an ally of the Chinese, just as he had killed them when he was allied to the partisans of Amursan. But when Dzungaria had been completely vanquished, and the Chinese army, in order to complete its occupation, began to approach the Kazak steppes, Ablai came to meet them and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor.

From this time on (1756) the vanity of the Chinese led them to include Ablai's pasture lands among their states, and he was immediately sent by Ch'ien Lung (4) a [230] letter patent

4. This is recorded by the Chinese who wrote the book Hsi Yu Wen Chien Lu, and we find an extract of it in Timkovskii, op. cit., I, p. 253.

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 722] presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 662] river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes. Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[232 cont.]

648 circumstances, and Nepluev, who had finally received the orders
662 he had requested for the execution of his plan, at once informed
661 the Khan, the Kazak sultans, and the most distinguished elders that as a reward for their faithfulness and devotion to Russia, the Empress was presenting them, as a gift, all the wives and daughters of the Bashkirs who were among them, on condition that the men be surrendered on the line, or at least driven out of the Kazak hordes. In addition, other rewards were promised for the extradition of the deserters.

721 The voluptuous Kazaks hastened to seize the women who were
726 being abandoned to them. The Bashkirs wished to defend their families, but their number was toosmall and they could not resist. Some of them perished on the spot, others were surrendered to the Russians, and still others returned by themselves to their homes, waiting impatiently for the time to carry out their firm resolve to avenge this offense perpetrated by the Kazaks.

Rage and jealousy immediately aroused bands of avengers among the Bashkirs, who requested permission from the government to cross the Ural. Nepluev replied that the Empress did not grant permission to cross the border, but in secret he gave orders to the commanders of the forts and military posts to pay no attention to the people who crossed without permission into the steppes beyond the [233] Ural. Taking advantage of the pretended negligence of the guards, whole bands of Bashkirs crossed the Ural, fell upon the hordes, and began to pillage and massacre and to take away women and children.

Khan Nurali complained; he received the reply from Orenburg that the Kazaks had brought all these misfortunes upon their own heads by receiving the faithless deserters in their villages, and that all the Bashkirs were going to hasten to make similar exploits. Then Nurali's subjects took arms and began to repulse the attacks of their enemies, which the latter repeated constantly. The two people continued to destroy each other in this manner until Nepluev decided that it was fitting to call a halt to these disturbances. It was then strictly forbidden to the Bashkirs to cross the Ural, and it was suggested to the Kazaks that they retreat to

[233 cont.]

[648] the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the [663] same time the border commanders were directed not to permit [661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727] The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two [728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead [771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[235 cont.]

[578]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

[646] Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the [728] demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

[236 cont.]
648 that its probability be considered and also the basis for it. From
662 information received about the Little Horde from an officer (1)
721

1. See Prince Urakov's reports of 1757 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

who was sent there for the purpose, it was found out that the Kazaks had had no thought of the Kuban, but that Dunduk Dashi and two other Kalmuk princes had themselves sent confidential agents to Khan Nurali to warn him that the Crimean Tatars intended to attack Russia and to invite him to give them help, as the Kalmuks had themselves decided to do. Nurali had not rejected this proposal, but he had asked that he be warned of the moment when the Tatars would carry out their plan.

648 This duplicity on the part of Dunduk Dashi and his Kalmuk
661 subjects' eternal hatred of the Kazaks caused the presumption
662 that his real aim was to decide Nurali to march against the Russians and to profit by the absence of a large part of the Little Horde to attack its defenseless auls.

However this is only a presumption, and events did not prove that it was true. For neither the Crimean Tatars nor the Kazaks attacked Russia in 1757, and consequently the Volga Kalmuks had no occasion to help the first nor to destroy the second.

648 [237] The behavior of the Middle Horde in 1758 disturbed the Russian government more than the rumors of Nurali's alliance with the Crimean khan. Part of this horde had invaded the
[727] borders and taken the liberty of carrying off 220 Tatars of the Kuznetsk district as prisoners, people known by the name of Dvoedantsy (this name means "those who pay double tribute, or two tributes"). The Russians and the Dzungars levied tribute on these people at the same time. Another part of the Middle Horde, and this was the largest part, having seized the lands of the Dzungars who had been driven from their country, were coming closer to China and seemed too devoted to that empire.

[237 cont.]

648 Their chief, Sultan Ablai, had sworn an oath of fealty to Russia, but later he had been under the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, Galdan Tsyren, and finally, as we said, he received a patent as a Chinese prince from the Chinese emperor. Thus the assurances of submission which he repeated to the Russian government from time to time were meaningless, and it would have been even more unwise to rely on them since his relations with China were quite frequent.

In 1756 he received a Chinese ambassador for the first time. In 1757 another officer of the Emperor came to seek to convince the entire Middle Horde to solemnly acknowledge itself as subject to China.

[661] 662] Ablai refused to carry out this request, not out of respect for the oath he had sworn to Russia but because he found this double position highly advantageous. First of all, it assured him greater independence and consideration from the two empires, and secondly, he was afraid to renounce his obedience to Russia completely because a large number of his subjects were nomadizing near the Russian borders in very favorable regions.

Russia, however, could not be satisfied with this apparent submission. In addition to the Kazak raids, she was then afraid of attacks from a much more [238] powerful enemy. For the Chinese army, which had ravaged Dzungaria had crossed the Siberian border and was threatening to enter the interior of the empire.

This fear was soon dispelled because the Chinese promptly retired into their own country, but the re-establishment of peace could not seem secure between the two empires as long as the differences remained unsettled concerning the surrender of the Dzungarian prince, Amursan, who had first acknowledged himself a vassal of China and later had sought asylum in Russia. His death ended the disagreement, but before it occurred and quiet was restored, the Orenburg authorities had opened relations with the Kazak princes of the Middle and the Little Hordes, by order of the government, [on the subject of] giving aid to Russian troops against China and of attacking the western territories of that state.

[238 cont.]

*648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [662] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as [431] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

[240 cont.]

[648] not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very [439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[662 643] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. [727] Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

X 648 [241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their
[728] demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires,
●[562] sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

[726 721] The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This
[574] irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

[242 cont.]

x648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

x648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[243 cont.]

×648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

×648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[245 cont.]

×648 721 During the correspondence and the sending of couriers, the zealous Moslems joined their defenders from all sides, and by letters and sermons they incited everyone to come to their aid. Abul Mahmet, who was regarded as the khan of the Middle Horde, also received a letter of invitation, but since he had ceased to rule the Kazaks long before, he transmitted the invitation to [662] Ablai (1). The latter would no doubt have entered the general

1. The Bashkir, Tergulov, who was sent to the Middle Horde, brought a copy of this letter to Orenburg in the same year of 1763.

league of the Moslems if he had been a little less closely linked to the Chinese. But the court of Peking, in order to forestall his inclinations to help his coreligionists, had sent to Ablai shortly before the arrival of Abul Mahmet's letter a letter patent (2)

2. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev.

which permitted him to occupy the environs of the Ili River and assured him constant protection. But at the same time [246] the [661] court of Peking took as hostage his father-in-law, Sultan Sultanamet, several elders and their children.

[662] It was also proposed to Nurali that he join the Afghans, and he did not categorically refuse. But the position of his horde and the circumstances did not permit him to march with an army toward the Chinese borders. The Kalmuks on one side and the Bashkirs on the other would not have failed to profit by the absence of the Kazaks and would not only have pillaged all their riches but also have carried off their wives and children into slavery. Nurali had reason to fear this, for the Bashkirs retained a vivid memory of the injuries they had suffered in 1755 from the Little Horde, many of which had not yet been avenged. And in 1762 the Kalmuks had suffered another blow from the Kazaks, who had reached the Volga by crossing the Caspian Sea over the ice.

[248 cont.]
x 648 secure hostages from Ablai to guarantee the freedom of the
[661] Russians sent to him.

x 648 Khan Nurali, who was proud of his relations with the army
662 of the Afghans and with China, wrote directly to the Empress in 1764, both to inform her of the invitation sent him by all the Moslems of Central Asia to take part in the war against China and also to acquaint her with the distinguished reception his embassy had had in Peking. These two circumstances inflated his vanity, and in his dreams of [249] his importance, he thought he could exact several concessions which he had already been refused. However, these repeated demands had no more success than they had had the first time. He was sent thanks from Russia for the news he had provided about the Afghans, and several gifts were added with a reply which was as polite as it was lacking in satisfaction. His horde did not remain calm, however, but con-
[721] tinued its raids against the Volga Kalmuks as much as against the Russian settlements on the border, nor did they renounce their usual dissensions, which are not worth a detailed description. Thus passed the years 1765 and 1766. In 1767 Russian troops punished them in a clear manner, by pursuing the brigands to the very middle of the horde.

x 648 There is no doubt that this chastisement made Nurali
662 violently angry. Since he needed Catherine's good graces, how-
643 ever, he hid his resentment for a long time. He was afraid that after his death the position of khan might pass to another family, and asked that a successor or deputy be designated while he still lived and that the Russian government ceremonially elevate his eldest son, Ishim, to this new post. This was a new desire, but it was not in opposition to Russian views. It was true that Russia could designate one of Nurali's brothers as khan of the Little Horde if she chose. But since there was no reason then for preferring them above other sultans and since the Empress Anna, when she promised Abulkhair to preserve the post of khan for posterity, did not fix any rule for the choice of his successors, Nurali's wish could be fulfilled. Also the particular qualities of Sultan Ishim were no obstacle to the accomplishment of his

[249 cont.]
x648 662 643 father's aims. It was only necessary to know whether the creation of a deputy of the khan would not make the Kazaks discontented and whether they might not refuse to recognize their future chief. It was also necessary to know what [250] Ishim's personal inclinations toward Russia were and whether this novelty might not lead to some unpleasant consequences for her. It was ordered that research be made at the horde itself on all these points and that the results be sent to Petersburg. The authorities in Orenburg replied that according to the custom of the Kazaks, the position of khan should pass to one of his brothers after the death of Nurali and not to one of his sons. The Minister answered that the law of succession in private life could not be applied to succession to the title of khan, because this title always passed from one man to another by the choice of the people. Nevertheless it was decided, in order to avoid grumbling and dissension, to induce the Kazaks to choose Sultan Ishim themselves as the deputy of the khan and to confirm the choice of the people afterwards.

x648 [167] While studies were being made on this subject and the correspondence continued, the year 1771 arrived and the desertion of the Kalmuks caused the Kazaks matters to be forgotten, not only by the government but by the Kazaks themselves, as we will see later. This is why Khan Nurali's plan to elevate his son to the post of his deputy remained unfulfilled.

[152] He could have attained his end if the death of his son, who arrived in Orenburg in 1769 where he was held as hostage, had not grieved him sorely and had not driven him into a stubbornness which was forgivable for a father but unpleasant for the Russian government. It was the second son he had lost in Orenburg, and both had died as children. Attributing their deaths to lack of care, he did not wish under any circumstances to give up another child of his own as hostage. And he himself refused to come to Orenburg, although he was invited to come several times by the [152 578] authorities for conferences. Certain quarrels which arose between him and his brothers increased his troubles. The envy caused by the marks of attention given them by the Russian government, by using them more than it did him in its relations with the Little

EK KO 648 K 648 EK KO [67 668]

[253 cont.]

after having taken counsel with the princes and the lamas (priests), he fixed the time of departure for the time when the Volga should be covered with ice. This arrangement was necessary because, although Ubashi himself was on the left bank of the river, a large part of the Torguts were on the right bank and could not join him with what they possessed except by crossing the ice.

This is why a [254] large part of the inhabitants of Astrakhan are still composed of Kalmuks today. For the winter of 1770 was warm and the rivers of southern Russia did not freeze, and Ubashi, after waiting in vain until the month of January for the Kalmuks from the right bank to join him, was obliged to abandon them and to leave with only those who were on the left bank.

They departed on the fifth of January, numbering 30,000 tents (1).

1. This is what Rychkov's journal says, but the Geographical Dictionary of the Russian Empire puts it at only 28,162.

● K EK KO ●[652]

As they approached the Yaik /Ural River/, the governor of Orenburg warned Khan Nurali that they were going to attack the Kazaks. Consequently, in the name of the supreme government, he granted Nurali the right to fight against them and to take as much booty from them as he could, on condition that they then be made to return to their former places of abode within our borders. The government of the borders of Siberia transmitted the same advice to the Middle Horde through Sultan Ablai and other chiefs. In order to confirm these declarations, on January 27, 1771 an imperial letter patent was presented in the name of Nurali and all the Kazak people to seize the Torguts.

EK KO K [721 186]

Every kind of instigation or advice was quite superfluous for the accomplishment of such designs. Every Kazak considered the chance to contribute to their execution a special bit of good fortune. Stirred with a violent hatred for all the Kalmuk descent groups, a heritage from their fathers and their most distant

5: Levchine--124 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (first) AN5
Cossacks RD2

[256 cont.]

The Kazaks alone could not seize the Kalmuks, and they did not need to. The aim of their cooperation was better accomplished by their endless and repeated attacks, their pillaging and the capture of a large number of prisoners. Sultan Aichuvak routed one section on the Sagiz. Nurali delivered a violent blow to another section toward the east, and he also carried off several victories over them near the Mugodzhar Hills and on the Ishim River. Ablai [257] fought them with constant success. In some regions he acted in accord with Sultan Abulfenz, and their united forces caused immense losses to the Kalmuks, especially through the number of prisoners they took.

Erali, sultan of the Great Horde and at the same time paladin of the court of Peking, invited Ablai to join him against the Kalmuks several times. The latter refused to aid him, but this did not stop him from carrying out the plan he had devised. Erali found other allies and caused the fugitives to undergo enormous losses in men, animals, and personal belongings. We saw the details of this event in the historical account of the Great Horde.

When they were finally free of the Kazaks, the Kalmuks fell into the hands of the Buruts, and the misfortunes which the latter inflicted upon them were much worse than those they had suffered previously, particularly with regard to losses in prisoners. The Buruts, who were as greedy as they were ferocious, pursued them all the way to the Chinese border, to the new line established on the lands of the Dzungars. Ubashi crossed this line, not as he had imagined when he left the Volga as an independent sovereign, but as a humble subject who wished to save his life. He brought to China less than half of the Kalmuks who left Russia with him, the rest having perished en route.

In 1773 and 1774 Pugachev's revolt caused violent agitation in the provinces in the southeast of Russia. The lands washed by the Ural River, almost from its source to its mouth, were most exposed to this, because the Yaik Cossacks were the first accomplices of the false Peter, and the Bashkirs were his first allies. The troops forming the border guard assembled in the principal forts to defend them against the rebels, and the borders remained

K [257 cont.]
x648 undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside
C enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an
648 enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why
K there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join
C the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the
[669 border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks
662] and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K At this same time an event took place in the interior of
[643 the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen
651] tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through the high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

K In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little
[727] Horde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

[260 cont.]

x648 [439]

subject on December 17, 1775, the geodetic specialist Vasiliev drew a map of the environs of the Emba and the rivers which flowed into it.

execution, as had all the others which had been made previously. [721] It can be seen in the reports from the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorf, to the Empress in the months of March and April, 1776 that the Little Horde had once more begun acts of hostility against Russia, and although after the Russian troops entered the steppes in 1774, the border authorities had been forbidden to send troops beyond the Ural, yet Khan Nurali himself had asked for armed assistance to bring his restless subjects to their senses. [662] Sultan Ablai, on the contrary, was then becoming more powerful, older, and wilier from day to day. Having had more experience than any of the contemporary Kazak princes and being known for his intelligence, dreaded by his subjects, and distinguished for his ties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of China (2) /sic/,

2. The best known among them was Sultan Dair, son of Barak, who complained to the governor of Orenburg that Ablai had unjustly usurped the title of khan.

he had every possible right to the post of chief of the Middle Horde. Sure of his ability, he knew how to attract followers by his importance and his prudent behavior. He threatened his enemies with his power and acknowledged himself now a subject of Russia and now that of China (3), depending on the occasion,

3. Some Kazaks who came within our borders stated that Ablai spoke Chinese.

being in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can notice this especially after the year 1771, when he made less [643] effort to conserve appearances of an external submission to Russia, and having become less hypocritical, he openly took the title of khan.

[261 cont.]
×643 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[264 cont.]

648 643 The election of Vali by Ablai's Kazak subjects and his confirmation by Russia did not prevent another khan from appearing in the same horde. He was chosen by the Naiman descent line and confirmed by the emperor of China. The descendants of the ancient Naimans, who had blended into the mass of the Kazak people of the time, obeyed, at the time of Ablai, Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet and brother of Pulat, the khan of Turkestan. And although he had had some relations with the Orenburg authorities and had even requested a stipend, he was nevertheless a subject of China. He died in 1783, leaving a son named Bupu and a son-in-law, Khan Khodja, son of Barak, whose acquaintance we have already made. One of these princes was to inherit Abulfenz's authority, but each had his partisans, who could not come to an agreement on the choice and who set the entire Naiman descent group in commotion with their quarrels. The majority of the votes were in favor of Khan Khodja, however, so that this prince became the sovereign of the former subjects of Abulfenz, and the troubles were ended. When the emperor of China learned this, he sent him a certificate as khan by one of his high officials. The ministry in Peking considered this a necessary measure because it regarded the entire Middle Horde as subjects of China and because it had named Ablai a Chinese prince. When it was seen that Ablai's son Vali was submitting [662] himself to Russia, he was speedily replaced, for the dignity of the empire, by another Kazak prince who was submissive.

648 With the exception of Vali, the other sons and close kinsmen of Ablai had few relations with Russia. Some of them proudly acknowledged themselves to be subjects of China.

This was the behavior adopted by Sultan Chingis, who [265] marched in 1784 with an army raised in the steppes to put down a revolt which had broken out in Tashkent. Another brother of [186] Khan Vali, Sultan Tyz, who was also devoted to China, is known to us only for his hatred of the Buruts.

Tyz was not the only one to attack his bloodthirsty neighbors. [721] Several sections or branches of the Kazaks who lived near the Chinese borders continued to maintain the war against the Buruts

[270 cont.]
X 648 had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under
721 the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken.
For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line,
[724] and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable
victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent
against them.

X 648 In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration
668 of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and
very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it
was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her
ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe
the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable
result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of
governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian
border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the
Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the
[721 provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding
727] about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an
attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the
work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they
carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The de-
tachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more
daring.

X 648 His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first
721 events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in
● 662 Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali
hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage
was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that
Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was
even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order
[271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for
the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force
and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The
Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and
requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643 a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 152] assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [728] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[276 cont.]

he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[278 cont.]

X643 promise given to Abulkhair by Empress Anna to choose khans
177 only from among his successors. Third, Nurali had on his side
643 not only his kinsmen but also the most powerful princes of the Middle Horde, the most important of whom was Sultan Khudai Mendi, a man as distinguished for his intelligence as for the large number of his followers and the authority he had acquired over them.

X648 Vali Khan took a great interest in Nurali's fate and argued
664 vigorously with the Russian government (2) on his behalf, and he

2. See Baron Igelstrom's report of December 18, 1786.

also wrote the same thing and warmly defended the descendants of Abulkhair, whom he called the father of all the Kazak khans subject to Russia and the first creator of the submission of the Little Horde (3). Finally, in 1787 a large part of the national

3. See another of Baron Igelstrom's reports, that of September 29, 1787.

assembly expressed the desire to see Nurali returned to the horde, out of respect for Abulkhair, who was considered a saint by many Kazaks. All these circumstances spoke in Nurali's favor, but they did not promise peace among the Kazaks in the future. Therefore, the execution of the latest intentions of the Russian government, to introduce in the Little Horde an organization conforming to that of the interior guberniyas continued unabated.

X648 Meanwhile Batyr Syrym regained his freedom and once again
662 began to influence the people in accord with the plans of the
177 Orenburg authorities, which he seconded as long as they were not contrary to his own views. Under the guise of devotion to Russia and gratitude to the local authority which had chosen him as its instrument, Syrym helped Baron Igelstrom greatly in the reforms which he made in the Little Horde in 1787, which we are about to describe.

[279 cont.]

×648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him ×648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 771 186 662 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[281 cont.]

648 721 771 186 662

to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg government. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia [721 578] as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

[285 cont.]

pleaded since 1784 to be admitted under the suzerainty of Russia, once more repeated his request. His letter was sent to St. Petersburg, and on October 31 of the same year an ukase was given to receive him as a vassal of the empire.

Meanwhile Syrym was manifesting more and more his desire to avenge the destruction of his power and the loss of the influence he had wielded in the horde during the time when the position of khan was considered unnecessary. At this time he had not completely lost the regard of his compatriots, which he owed to his earlier importance and his personal bravery. He still had enough means of doing harm to Russia and to the sultans who were devoted to Russia, above all when he had united what was left of his group with the subjects of Kaip, who had died shortly before and who had bequeathed to his children all the hatred of the descendants of Abulkhair which he had inherited from his father and his grandfather. After Kaip's death, the Kazaks who had recognized his authority passed under that of his sons, Sultans Abulgazy and Burkan (1). Syrym allied himself [286] with them

1. Their third brother, Shirgazy, was then in the service of Russia. He lived [286] in Petersburg for a long time, became accustomed to the glitter of Catherine's court, and seemed to have become European. But when he returned to the horde at the beginning of this [19th] century, he showed himself to be the worthy descendant of his bloodthirsty ancestors. Nothing of remark is known about his other brothers.

and knew how, with the superiority of his intelligence, to make them the instruments of his plans.

Being unable to do without their help, Syrym ceased to inspire the people with contempt for the position of khan in general, as he had done before. But he proclaimed everywhere

[286 cont.]
that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

[295 cont.]

×648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643 661] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639 721] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[203 cont.]

x648 The order given in this letter was not carried out. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave orders that the Kalmuks as well as the Kazaks were to be prevented from crossing the Ural to attack each other.

[726] It must be supposed that the government changed its mind because of the troubles which broke out at that time on the Siberian frontier. The Dzungarian kungtaidji suddenly advanced with his troops toward the Russian border, and his subjects began to threaten the garrisons with war, while the rumor spread that he wished to attack the establishments of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, where he was attracted by the mines of precious metals.

At this time the Dzungars were still formidable, and an attack by them could not be compared to the raids of the Kazaks. Therefore it was indispensable to prepare adequate forces against them. As a result the insolence of the Kazaks was forgotten, and Nepluev received an order (1) to persuade them to

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 3, 1744.

make raids against the Dzungars.

It was a difficult task to carry out. Khan Abulkhair still [186] held resentment against Russia in spite of the indulgence granted for his crimes. Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, retreated toward Turkestan in order to avoid Abulkhair's intrigues, and thus practically put an end to his relations with the border authorities. Besides he had less need for the help of Russia than the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, who held his son as hostage. [662] Finally, Abul Mahmet sought to be khan at Turkestan, and this city recognized the authority of Galdan Tsyren.

[204] Sultan Barak, who had sworn allegiance to Russia two [664] years earlier, lived far from her border, and fearing the Dzungars more than the Russians, he, like Abul Mahmet, had given his son to Galdan Tsyren as hostage.

[662] The latter sought to attach the sultans and the common people of the Middle Horde to himself by every means. To attain

X 648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

X 648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X 648
[664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[214 cont.]

x 648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
● [649] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
x 643 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had
662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
[439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

x 648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
[765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

[221 cont.]
x[43] ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[43] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[72] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[72] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[64] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[72] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[16] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[43] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[278 cont.]

X643 promise given to Abulkhair by Empress Anna to choose khans
177 only from among his successors. Third, Nurali had on his side
643 not only his kinsmen but also the most powerful princes of the Middle Horde, the most important of whom was Sultan Khudai Mendi, a man as distinguished for his intelligence as for the large number of his followers and the authority he had acquired over them.

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2. See Baron Igelstrom's report of December 18, 1786.

also wrote the same thing and warmly defended the descendants of Abulkhair, whom he called the father of all the Kazak khans subject to Russia and the first creator of the submission of the Little Horde (3). Finally, in 1787 a large part of the national

3. See another of Baron Igelstrom's reports, that of September 29, 1787.

assembly expressed the desire to see Nurali returned to the horde, out of respect for Abulkhair, who was considered a saint by many Kazaks. All these circumstances spoke in Nurali's favor, but they did not promise peace among the Kazaks in the future. Therefore, the execution of the latest intentions of the Russian government, to introduce in the Little Horde an organization conforming to that of the interior guberniyas continued unabated.

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177 Orenburg authorities, which he seconded as long as they were not contrary to his own views. Under the guise of devotion to Russia and gratitude to the local authority which had chosen him as its instrument, Syrym helped Baron Igelstrom greatly in the reforms which he made in the Little Horde in 1787, which we are about to describe.

[287 cont.]

[648] This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali. [554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era. 621 [622]

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1] 580 613 [621] [494]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons. 595 [622] 596 [587]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system. 595 [587]

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect. 665

Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the 177

[1]Ibid., p. 86.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Chapter 6

THE PARTY

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If one were to ask what organization gives direction to the development of public affairs and private lives in Kazakhstan, the answer would be simple: it is the Communist Party. This hierarchical body is by its very structure and character totally alien to the Kazakh way of life of a few decades ago. The idea was imported from Russia, the establishment entrusted to Russians. Or, in the more flowery language of Kazakhstanskaia Pravda:

> "During the time of tsarist oppression the Russian Party guided the struggle of the Kazakh toilers. Russian bolshevists living in Kazakhstan carried on propaganda. . . . Russian workers, leading bolshevists, were pioneers and leaders of the Kazakh masses. . . . The best sons of Russia were shining examples for Kazakhstan during those trying times."[1] [When the Revolution and the Civil War came] "the Kazakh Party stood in the vanguard of those fighting Dutov, Kolchak, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalist party 'Alash Orda', and other hirelings of Anglo-American imperialism. . . . Training of Communists was closely linked to the names of Lenin and Stalin. Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kalinin, Frunze, Kaganovich, brothers-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin, played an important role in the creation, development and strengthening of the Kazakh Party organization."[2]

From "about 2,000 Communists" in the villages and auls of Kazakhstan in 1918, the membership increased rapidly with the turn of the civil war, so that the first Provincial Conference of Kazakh Bolsheviks[3] meeting at Orenburg in June 1921 represented about 30,000 members and membership candidates. By now, the Communist Party of the KSSR has close to a quarter of a million members.

KN [563]

The role of the Party as a leader and teacher of the masses took on a special significance in the national minority areas of the USSR. In Stalin's words, it is the task of the Party "to eliminate the economic, political and cultural backwardness bequeathed to oppressed peoples by

[1] "The Role of the Russian People in the Socialist Transformation of Kazakhstan," *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 5 Apr 47.

[2] "The First Provincial Conference of Kazakh Bolsheviks," *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.

[3] The nomenclature for Communist Party gatherings is confusing. These meetings were called "conferences" until the establishment of Kazakhstan as a union republic (1936); since then they have been called "congresses" and are numbered consecutively. Before the establishment of Kazakhstan as an autonomous republic within the RSFSR (1924), the term "provincial conferences" was used.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

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[our] predecessors, and thus enabling backward nations to catch up with Central Russia. The Party must get into the thick of the struggle . . . against chauvinist great-power deviations as well as against native bourgeois nationalism." The first step toward the goal must be taken by "going out among the non-party toilers and bring about a closer relationship between the Party, the working masses and the peasants. . . ."[1]

The programmatic statements of the early days foretold the Party's continuous involvement in the solution of many complex tasks. In that respect the Kazakh Party is, of course, not different from the Communist Party throughout the Soviet Union. Daily events in every phase of life are considered within the legitimate concern and responsibility of the Party. In order to keep up its ubiquitous control, the Communist Party maintains a highly ramified apparatus composed of several kinds of bodies.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE KSSR

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Organizationally, the Communist Party varies little from one republic to another (except, of course, for the RSFSR). Here, only a brief outline will be given of its organizational structure in the KSSR. For greater detail the reader is referred to the sources on which this outline is based.[2]

One may, first of all, distinguish four levels at which the various bodies operate (see Figure 4):

(1) Republic (KSSR)
(2) Region (Oblast), 16 in number[3]
(3) District (Raion) or city (Gorod), 239
(4) Primary organization level, 14,416

At each level, one finds a representative organ which convenes at regular intervals. These are called congress (at the central or republic level), conference (region, district, and city), or general meeting (primary). At the three top levels, the representative organs elect committees (Russian terms: TsK, KP (b), KSSR; Obkom; Raikom or Gorkom), executive bodies which carry out Party work while the respective representative organs are not in session. Both the representative and executive bodies are guided by the decisions of the All-Union Party and the directives of the higher echelon. At the sessions of the representative organs, reports by the Committee, the Audit Commission, and others are heard and approved. Here, too, delegates to the representative bodies of the next higher level are elected. At the same occasion the Committee elects a small group of persons[4] (including three secretaries[5]) who form the bureau, the day-to-day executive office of the Party, Committee

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.

[2] Towster (123), 1951; Meisel and Kosura (97), 1950, esp. pp. 327-345; Grelow (57), 1953, pp. 29-32; Fainsod (48), 1953, pp. 189-208.

[3] These figures were reported at the Fourth Kazakh Communist Party Congress, 1949.

[4] Eleven at republic and regional level, seven to nine at the district or city level.

[5] Secretaries must have been Party members for at least five years (three years for district or city). The All-Union Communist Party Central Committee must confirm the selection of the first secretaries of the regional bureaus. The secretaries of the district and city need confirmation by the regional and republic committees.

KN 665

The chief concern of district and city organizations is the activity of primary Party organizations, over which they have control. According to latest available information, there were over 14,000 such organizations within the KSSR in 1949 (as compared with about 350,000 for the USSR as a whole[1]).

The primary organizations are the "grass roots" of the Party, the broad base of its hierarchical pyramid. From Fainsod's detailed description of their functions one fact emerges clearly: These units play the part of the eyes and ears of the Party—they are not designed to represent the "voice of the people" in the authoritarian organization of the Party. KN [676]

For purposes of psychological warfare it would be interesting to speculate about the self-image of the typical member of the primary organization. Does he perceive that his position in the Party does not correspond to the status ascribed to him by the surrounding community? Or does he see himself as an important and influential (or at least potentially influential) citizen, by ignoring the fact that the goals and needs of the individual member and of the primary organization are not respected by the higher authorities? It is easy to infer that in the first case the discrepancy between ascribed status of influence and actual impotence may lead to persistent frustration on the part of the voiceless Party member. And if this situation were typical among the 200,000 primary organization members, they might well be considered as a special target group for psychological warfare.

On the other hand, material gathered in refugee interviews by the Harvard Russian Research Center seems to indicate that the second hypothesis is more plausible, at least for Russian primary organization members.[2] In fact, on the basis of that information, it may be argued that these people are probably the least promising audience for psychological warfare operations. However, the lowly Communist of Kazakh nationality may find himself in a position quite different from his Russian counterpart.

Unfortunately, no information is available about the state of mind of the Kazakh Communists, as distinct from the problems and actions of the Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR. Nevertheless, it seems pertinent to look at whatever is known about the members and role of the Kazakhs within the Party. KN 665 K 665

The latter can best be evaluated by analyzing the past and present leadership of the Party in terms of ethnic background and progression of assignments. This task will be undertaken at the end of the next chapter within the discussion of leadership overlap between Party and Government.[3]

Data on ethnic composition are not plentiful, but published figures seem to indicate that the Kazakhs are not underrepresented in the Party, at least not numerically. Table 8 summarizes the information available for certain key years.

To a certain extent, the proportion of women in the Communist Party reflects the Party's appeal to the women of Kazakhstan. Frequent KN [562]

[1] Ibid., p. 196.
[2] Personal communication from Raymond A. Bauer.
[3] [See category 116, pp. 105-108 -- analyst]

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 8

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PROPORTION OF KAZAKHS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	Population	Kazakh Proportion of Total Population (%)	Party Members and Candidates	Kazakh Proportion of Total Membership (%)
1926	6,503,000[a]	57[b]	32,000[c]	35[c]
1939	6,146,000[a]	42[b]	109,000[d]	32[d]
1949	6,650,000[e]	41[f]	229,000[g]	40[h]

[a]USSR Census.
[b]Lorimer and Goldsmith estimates (89).
[c]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[d]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[e]By interpolation from Goldsmith estimates for 1948 and 1950 (89).
[f]Based on Goldsmith's report on KSSR population (89).
[g]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[h]*Ibid.*, 16 Jun 51.

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Table 9

WOMEN IN THE KSSR COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	All Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)	Kazakh Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)
1927[a]	7.7	1.3
1940[b]	13.9	ND
1945[b]	32.1	ND
1949[c]	19.2	4.0

[a]Goloshchekin, 1931.
[b]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[c]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jun 51.
ND: No data available.

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[562]

criticisms by Party leaders indicate that more women would be welcomed into the ranks and that the Kazakh Communist Party has a bad recruiting record; one can therefore assume that the rather low number of women in the Party is not due to any officially stated policy of exclusion. Only during the war years were any significant gains made. Especially poor is Party recruiting performance among women of Kazakh nationality (see Table 9). A set of figures, however, cannot adequately describe the role women play in the Kazakh Communist Party. In recent times women have been placed in responsible positions in increasing numbers. In 1951, for example, 12 out of 85 members of the Central Committee were women, and every regional committee and almost 90 per cent of the districts and cities had one female secretary.[1]

[1]According to figures in Meissner's book (98) and in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47 and 26 Feb 49, women took a considerably more active part in government. From 1947 through 1952, consistently over one-third of all local Soviet delegates were women; out of 400 Supreme Soviet members, 149 were women (37%); *Sovetskaia Zhenshchina*, Sep-Oct, 1952.

KN 4A 665 numbers in the Kazakh SSR (and probably in any minority republic where the non-Russian native population is less well educated than the Russians) is that "qualification for a job" implies not only technical proficiency but also political reliability. For higher-ranking positions political sophistication and active participation may actually be required in addition to professional training and experience.

K [665] [661] Adding to these conditions Moscow's continuous demand that more and more natives be brought into the machinery ("korenizatsiia aparata"), one can see the predicament of the Kazakh bosses. In the past it has often happened that the only candidates qualified in terms of training and political reliability were relatives of those already in administrative positions. The accusation of nepotism is, therefore, fairly frequent. This and other complaints in connection with the cadre system are voiced in some detail in a Central Committee decree of March 1947, "On the selection, training, and placement of Party and Soviet cadres by Kazakh Communist Party organization." The most pertinent clause of this decree, repeated recently in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda (21 September 1952), reads: ". . . selection of cadres [of Party workers] on a basis of friendship, personal devotion, family ties and kinship is incompatible with membership in the Party."[1] The social basis of nepotism in Central Asia has been discussed previously, in regard to family relations.

KN 665 933 964 At present the men in charge in Kazakhstan seem to be counting on an increase in the general level of education to solve this knotty problem. The importance of the economic problem for the Kazakh Party is shown by the fact that its two most powerful first secretaries lost their jobs over manpower and production failures. The energetic Goloshchekin was replaced when too-rapid and brutal collectivization procedures resulted in social and economic disaster. More recently Shaiakhmetov, probably the most skillful politician to dominate Soviet Kazakhstan, was demoted (together with other responsible officials) when agricultural production failed—by a wide margin—to reach the planned level.

It is perhaps surprising that Shaiakhmetov managed to remain in power as long as he did (seven years). Since the end of World War II, Moscow had been applying pressure for better exploitation of Kazakhstan's potential in animal husbandry and grain production. Warnings by the Central Party organs (including Pravda) were numerous and explicit. The historical details are not important here except insofar as they support the argument that the 1954 demise of several Kazakh leaders was primarily an economic rather than a political purge. This interpretation was reinforced recently by the report that Comrade Shaiakhmetov had been "re-elected" by Alma-Ata voters.

The problem of production efficiency and adequately trained manpower arises in industry as well as in agriculture, although less frequently and less violently. It may be that factories and mines by their

[1] The most dramatic case was that of Nurusov, former KSSR minister of justice, who was expelled from the Party by the Central Committee of the All-Union Party for "corruption." At that time, other functionaries were ousted with him for "deception of Party organs and unworthy conduct in respect to cadre affairs."

175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarḫān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Djān ʿAlī that was elected Khān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Khān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemish, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Khān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

361 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Süyünbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Djān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviii^th^ century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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p. 837-B

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[206 cont.]
×648 him in the name of the Empress (1) to make Abulkhair refuse it,

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 21, 1745.

but the latter would not have paid any attention to his advice if other circumstances had not prevented him from acceding to the wishes of the Khivans. Nurali received a letter from the son of the Shah of Persia inviting him to come to him. This prince considered the khanate of Khiva his property, being the conqueror. Nurali was on the point of departing for Khiva when his wife, whom he had left in that city, sent word that the Persians were only inviting him there in order to put him to death (2). This news kept

2. Continuation of the history of Orenburg by Rychkov, events of 1745.

him back with his father.

[643] Meanwhile the leaders of the Middle Horde, who had had no relation with Russia for nearly two years, approached the Russian border and renewed their assurances of devotion to the Empress. Abul Mahmet left Turkestan to join his horde and sent a messenger to St. Petersburg to volunteer his services; later he renewed his oath of loyalty. Sultan Barak did likewise. He also sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

[668] The Kazaks were not yet at peace when disturbances took place in the Volga Kalmuk horde. The rumor spread that a large section wished to leave Russia, on the invitation of Galdan Tsyren, to join their compatriots, the Dzungars. This rumor, which was confirmed in fact 26 years later, was false at this time, but it disturbed the government, especially when the news had been received from the Ural that a large number of Kalmuks had crossed over from the Russian bank to the Kazak side, and [207] when reports from Siberia stated that the Dzungarian [726] armies had reached the Irtysh /River/ in some places. Subsequent [727] events showed that the passage of the Kalmuks across the Ural

[212 cont.]

[643] This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Almost all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she liked the Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this

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1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

[270 cont.]
X 648 had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under
721 the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken.
For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line,
[724] and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable
victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent
against them.

X 649 In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration
● 668 of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and
very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it
was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her
ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe
the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable
result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of
governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian
border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the
Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the
[721 provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding
727] about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an
attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the
work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they
carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The de-
tachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more
daring.

X 648 His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first
721 events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in
662 Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali
hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage
was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that
Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was
even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order
[271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for
the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force
and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The
Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and
requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[272 cont.]

x648 No one stopped to reflect on the possibility or impossibility of carrying out this measure, because the Orenburg administration had proposed it itself and must have the means of accomplishing it.

[177] Having received the approbation of the court, Baron Igelstrom at once began to introduce the new order of things.

His first step produced results which were in perfect harmony x648 with the end to which he aspired.

646 Without the intermediary of the Khan, he sent solemn procla-
728 mations throughout the entire horde, in which, without speaking
● 668 of the Khan nor of the sultans, he invited the elders and the peo-
177 ple to form an assembly in order to come to an agreement on the means of maintaining order in the horde and living in obedience to the Russian government. He advised them to renounce brigandage and raids and to expect the pardon they deserved for their repentance or severe punishments for the crimes which had been disturbing public order. These proclamations almost completely destroyed the last vestiges of the weak power of the Khan. Many Kazaks who were followers of the Khan abandoned him and joined his enemies, and all together they formed a national assembly which did not contain one sultan, and where Batyr Syrym, of whom we have spoken, twice presided as chief.

x648 The confidence shown by the people in Syrym in this instance
646 is very common, and is in perfect harmony with the Kazak notions
728 of the greatness of spirit. But who would fail to be surprised at the consideration given in Orenburg to this [273] man who the year before had been the leader of a band of brigands, at whose head he had attacked Russian troops and forts?

All Syrym's actions showed that he was a man of vast intelligence but one unsatisfied, restless, and vindictive, and moreover, of an enterprising character rarely found among a half-savage people. After having distinguished himself among the bandits, he soon came to eminence in the council which had assembled to re-establish the general peace, as he believed that new and brilliant advantages lay in this for him. As he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Khan, not so much because of specific disputes with Nurali as of the longing he felt for the heriditary

[276 cont.]
he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

×648 [277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to
● 668 this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to
643 recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

×648 The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head,
177 and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge
643 themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

×648 Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas.
[579] First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva,
[177 643] [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[283 cont.]

x648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[642] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

x648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

x648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

[285 cont.]

×648 pleaded since 1784 to be admitted under the suzerainty of Russia, once more repeated his request. His letter was sent to St. Petersburg, and on October 31 of the same year an ukase was given to receive him as a vassal of the empire.

×648 648 662 Meanwhile Syrym was manifesting more and more his desire to avenge the destruction of his power and the loss of the influence he had wielded in the horde during the time when the position of khan was considered unnecessary. At this time he had not completely lost the regard of his compatriots, which he owed to his earlier importance and his personal bravery. He still had enough means of doing harm to Russia and to the sultans who were devoted to Russia, above all when he had united what was left of his group with the subjects of Kaip, who had died shortly before and who had bequeathed to his children all the hatred of the descendants of Abulkhair which he had inherited from his father and his grandfather. After Kaip's death, the Kazaks who had recognized his authority passed under that of his sons, Sultans Abulgazy and Burkan (1). Syrym allied himself [286] with them

1. Their third brother, Shirgazy, was then in the service of Russia. He lived [286] in Petersburg for a long time, became accustomed to the glitter of Catherine's court, and seemed to have become European. But when he returned to the horde at the beginning of this [19th] century, he showed himself to be the worthy descendant of his bloodthirsty ancestors. Nothing of remark is known about his other brothers.

and knew how, with the superiority of his intelligence, to make them the instruments of his plans.

Being unable to do without their help, Syrym ceased to inspire the people with contempt for the position of khan in general, as he had done before. But he proclaimed everywhere

[286 cont.]
that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to his groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 127

The fact that positions of responsibility are filled by Slavs means that they are almost the only ones in Kazakhstan to be seen enjoying the material rewards so conspicuously granted to members of the Soviet elites. Regardless of whose fault this may be, it must at times breed resentment among the Kazakhs. Similarly, the preponderance of Slavs in higher governmental, Party, executive, and judicial positions means that the Kazakhs are almost never governed, judged, or defended by their fellows. It must often happen that Kazakhs who feel they are the victims of injustice identify this as discrimination. KN 665 563 554 648

NATIONALITY POLICY

Soviet policy toward the minority nationalities within the USSR has also created a long-standing dilemma in the case of the Kazakhs—a dilemma which appears to provide an important vulnerability for psychological warfare exploitation. This policy strives to create national political units which are "socialist in content, national in form." This means in effect that the political structure and economy of the various national groups are organized along standard Soviet lines and their energies are directed toward Soviet objectives, but the symbols of nationality (particularly the local languages) are retained to grant a sense of continuity with past traditions. The devising and implementing of this policy was the earliest responsibility assumed by Stalin under Lenin's guidance. It has had varying degrees of success in different areas, but in the balance has proved to be a very useful tool of Soviet administration. KN 563

The Kazakhs, however, are a people still too deeply attached to their old life and its traditions and values to accept mere lip service to their national heritage. Every time an effort has been made to raise Kazakh morale and productivity by permitting public attention to national heroes and literature, the result has been an enthusiasm the Soviets have viewed as threatening. This was particularly true when, during World War II, national patriotism was extensively exploited throughout the USSR to inspire the people to defend their homeland. Among the Kazakhs this developed into a cult glorifying their native heroes and culture, a phenomenon which had also appeared during the 1920's and had grown until it became such a threat that it was ruthlessly suppressed by the Soviets. After the war Kazakh nationalism, left unsuppressed, continued to grow in strength until finally in the 1950's a purge was required to check its growing force. K 186 668

It seems certain that these sentiments will lie for a long time close beneath the surface, available for mobilization through psychological warfare, regardless of the turns Soviet nationality policy might take in the event of another war. For this reason, considerable attention has been devoted in this report to Kazakh history, including its national heroes, and to Kazakh cultural values and traditions. K 121

One method which the Soviets employ to make the minority republics "national in form" is the utilization wherever possible of native Communists to fill positions in the local Party and government. As might be expected, in the Kazakh SSR there is a chronic shortage of KN 563 665

east, he gained support among many elements of the Great Horde, the easternmost of the Kazakh divisions. He sought the support of China, which was promised him, and the allegiance of the Kirgiz, which they refused. His strategy was to use the Kirgiz mountain pastures as his base of operations against the Russians. He campaigned against the Kirgiz and was at first successful, but in the spring of 1847 he fell into a trap, was defeated by the Kirgiz, taken prisoner, and executed. 175 648

During much of Russian rule Kazakhstan was a place of exile. Banished there were such outstanding individuals as Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of the Ukraine, and Dostoevsky, great Russian novelist.

In the economic sphere, outside capital was brought in during this period by traders and bankers of Tatar and Russian origin. In an isolated case, a British mining development was undertaken at Ridders in northeast Kazakhstan. Religious dissidents came to settle and farm the north and northeast portions of the region. In general, however, the commercial and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and Russia were not deep.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1900

The Kazakhs were sensitive to political developments in Russia, however. During the revolution of 1905 the Kazakhs had a distant echo of the events in European Russia. During World War I they engaged in a rebellion of their own, a year before the Russian Revolution of 1917. In this revolt the Kazakhs objected to military conscription and to confiscation of their property, which was presumably taken over for war purposes but in fact often ended up in private, non-military hands. There is some indication that Russian private interests "provoked" the revolt in order to confiscate Kazakh land and herds. 175 648 668

At the time of the 1917 Revolution, the Kazakhs already had a year's experience of revolt behind them. In opposition to and under the influence of Russian contact, the Kazakhs underwent their own political evolution; that is, they evolved a political expression of their nationalist consciousness. It took the form of the Alash-Orda party. This was not really a party, for it lacked a formal organization and a platform or explicit political philosophy; it was vague in its aims and in its external relationships to other parties and nations. Its leaders were Kazakh intellectuals who later disbanded, some joining the Bolsheviks, some fleeing to Turkey.

During the civil war, from 1918 to 1922, the White generals Kolchak and Dutov were faced by the Red Army commander, Frunze, who appealed to the workers in Turkestan to support him. In April 1919 the Central Committee of the Party issued a decree calling for a founding Congress of Kirgiz Soviets in Orenburg (now Chkalov, in the southern Urals). In July of that year, a Revolutionary Committee for the Administration of the Kirgiz Districts was established. (At that time, the area including the present Kazakh and Kirgiz republics was administered as one unit, which bore the name Kirgiz.) 175 648

By the end of 1919, Kolchak was defeated. With the destruction of Kolchak's southern army in the fall of 1919, direct contact between

Most of these early estimates were phrased in terms of number of Kazakh households. Assuming an average of five persons per household, one can derive such figures as the following for the number of Kazakhs in the Russian empire in the 19th century: 1,950,000 in 1824, 2,000,000 in 1832, and 2,200,000 in 1871. The 1897 Census, which included all but a few thousand Kazakhs resident in China, gave the Kazakh population as 3,800,000. This was the only 19th century estimate with any claim to accuracy. 161

These estimates indicate a general consistency to the population trends of the 19th century. The increase occurred despite a series of wars of liberation, rebellions, and other evidences of unrest; this was the era of the Kazakh wars and uprisings against the Russians. [668]

The rapid increase which started in the last three decades of the 19th century continued into the beginning of the 20th. In 1911 the number of Kazakhs living within the Russian empire was estimated at 4,400,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent in 14 years.

From the beginning of the 19th century, then, when the earliest extensive Russian investigation of Central Asia took place, to the eve of World War I the Kazakh population approximately doubled. The rate of increase appears to have been low at the beginning of the period, rising toward the end.

KAZAKHS IN THE 1926 CENSUS

According to the 1926 Census of the Soviet Union,[1] there were 3,970,000 Kazakhs in the USSR. Of these, some 3,700,000 lived in Kazakhstan (comprising 57% of the population of the republic) and 270,000 outside the republic.[1]

The absolute drop from 1911 to 1926 was thus 430,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the Kazakh population. This loss reflects the political conditions of the time. The relatively peaceful period prior to World War I, which had permitted the increase from 1897 to 1911, was followed by a Kazakh uprising in 1916, then by the Russian Revolution and civil war. In the years after the civil war, 1922-1926, improved conditions allowed the Kazakhs to recover to a point slightly exceeding their 1897 number but still considerably below the population estimate of 1911. [668]

In 1926 the great majority of the Kazakhs still maintained their traditional economy of herding. Seventy per cent of all economically active Kazakhs were reported as herders, 27 per cent as agriculturalists (largely mixed farming, i.e., with some herding mixed in), and less than 3 per cent in all other economic activities (such as industrial and white-collar work). 162

Of the 783,000 Kazakh households in Kazakhstan, 205,000 or 26 per cent were permanently settled. While this figure was based only on Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, it agrees with the total farming percentage. Agriculture is a sedentary way of life; approximately the same proportion of total Kazakhs were reported as occupied in agriculture as were reported as sedentary in Kazakhstan. [361]

[1] *TSUNKHU, Perepis' SSSR* (Census of the USSR), 1926 *et seq.*

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others'. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 648 [474]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 32.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 208.
[3] Tagzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

177 648 According to the official line, Kazakh society belonged to the feudal stage of development at the time of the Russian conquest. This formulation has survived to the present day. It is supported by a stage theory of history, derived from Karl Marx. According to this theory, all societies prior to the Russian Revolution were either tribal or divided into classes; class societies were either capitalist or feudal. According to this theory the Kazakhs are not tribal because they are divided into classes, but they are not capitalist; therefore they are feudal. Never, however, did the proponents of this theory make a detailed comparison between Kazakh society and the nations of medieval Europe.

The Kazakhs, by this doctrine, were permitted to retain their national heroes, the khans of old, among them the leaders of revolts [668] against the Russian conquest, Batyr Srym, Taimanov, Kenesary, Nurmuhammed. In the Soviet Union of the 1930's, the Tsars were still considered hated oppressors of all men, Russians and non-Russians, in the Russian empire. The Tsars were an absolute and unrelieved evil, and a war for colonial liberation was progressive and good. Yet during the 1930's, writers tended to stay away from the description of these revolts against the Tsars by Kazakhs and other peoples. Most of the writings were concerned with such topics as Kazakh participation in the 1905 revolution, or the revolt of the Kazakhs in 1916. During World War II, however, a number of books and articles were written describing [538] the 19th century revolts as great events, true expressions of anti-Tsarist sentiment, part of the general hatred of Tsarism in which the Bolsheviks shared. Vlatkin, Bekmakhanov, Sholnbaev and others—for the most part Kazakhs—wrote in admiration of the Kenesarys and Taimanovs.

Then with the 1950's began a violent purge of these writings. In the current phase, Tsarism is still regarded as an exploiting and oppressive institution, but a new twist has been added to the story. The Tsars by their conquests are now said to have saved the Turks of Central Asia from an even worse fate, conquest by English and the Germans, by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Turkism would bring all Turks together under one government—not that of Moscow—and is subjected to the most bitter denunciations by the Soviet press as bourgeois-nationalist, cosmopolitan, and so forth. Pan-Islamism would bring all Moslems together, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; although it is somewhat less realistic in its appeal to the Kazakhs, it is also sharply denounced in the Soviet press.

Whether England or Germany or the Pan-Turks would have swallowed up Central Asia is a matter of historical speculation which need not detain us here. On the other hand, the denunciation by the modern Soviet writers of the older Kazakh leaders such as Kenesary and Taimanov is of great interest. The Soviet specialists in Central Asia seek to differentiate Kazakh revolts into two types, those which were progressive and those which were not. The revolts of Nurmuhammed, Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov are all depicted as reactionary and antihistorical, because they sought to tear the Kazakhs away from the Russian empire and to retain the age-old oppression by the khans. Other figures such as Batyr Srym are treated as progressive historically because they led [668] a revolt not against the Tsars but against the nobility of their own society.

systematic, and subject to a number of qualifications. What data there are, however, suggest that among the people of Kazakhstan Russians marry Russians and Turks marry Turks. Again it appears that the Kazakhs do not wish to mingle with the Russians, just as, in the political domain, they do not join the Party nor engage in other political activities with the Russians. In general, on the basis of what direct evidence there is, this attitude may be summed up as noncompliance, or a kind of passive resistance. Corroborative data are seen in the economic domain, where the Kazakhs are not fulfilling plans.

177 186 668

THE SOVIET THEORY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

177 [121]

The theory of acculturation in anthropology has been devised to describe the social process which occurs when two different cultures come into close contact with each other. This theory has arisen out of the reflections of western European and American ethnologists on contact between their own culture and others. But there is in western civilization no general theory of culture which deals with total control of the social relations and direction of change resulting from such contact. The Russian policy toward minorities within the Soviet Union is nothing other than a theory of controlled acculturation. In their theory of history and in the formulation of their minority policy the Soviet theoreticians have proclaimed a method whereby they—and they alone—are able to control the processes of social development. They boast control over the direction in which the different peoples of the Soviet Union will change; they claim the power to dictate the manner of the change and the form that the ultimate society will take.

Starting out as a society of pastoral nomads in which membership was based on paternal kinship traced from a common male ancestor (a society also divided into aristocrats and commoners), the Kazakhs joined—or rather, were drafted into—the Soviet world. The Soviet ethnographers depict the Kazakh society as an amalgam of institutions surviving from the past, coupled with Soviet features such as collective farm organization, Party membership, and government by soviets. The survivals include the family as the unit of production and consumption, and the traditional village organization, upon which the collective farm has been superimposed. Another survival is nepotism, which is ever present in Kazakh political life. A society steeped in traditions of kinship thinks of kinship as the means for social cooperation; hence, nepotism is inherent in the very nature of Kazakh society and inevitably finds its way into the political life. But it is incompatible with the Soviet pattern and it is attacked as such.

Soviet criticism of these features, and the constant drive to eradicate them, are essential elements in the theory of controlled social and cultural change. This change originating in the contact between the Russian and the Kazakh cultures becomes a part of the general pattern of controlled acculturation. This, however, is only the theory.

In reality there is little evidence that the grand plan for social change is being carried out, or even that there is a means for carrying

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1] Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orient Moderne* (37), 1942, p. 372.
[2] Bonniguez (11), 1952.
[3] One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

121 668 and seeking a revival of their own native culture. They frequently do this by attributing a mystical power to their aboriginal culture and selecting from it elements to serve as a source of strength in their present battle with the western world. These elements then become combined with features of western culture. The general term nativism has been used to describe this pattern of cultural development. The concept is applicable to many contemporary situations; the Celtic revival in Wales and Ireland may be regarded as a revivalistic form of nativism, and certain elements in the foundation of the state of Israel belong under the same heading.

Although the symbols and professed aims of nativistic movements are cultural and political in nature, their primary motivating force is essentially religious. Despite their frequent lack of purposeful organization, nativistic movements can have great strength; they are born of desperation and fed by a fervor much like that which characterizes messianic religions. Frequently, in fact, the leaders become in effect messiahs; in other cases the revered figures of the movement are heroes of the past.

668 Nativism among the Kazakhs has followed the latter course, focusing on the mythical ancestors and later heroes of Kazakh history. During the period 1916-1922, a nativistic political movement arose in what is today Kazakhstan (at that time Kirgizia). This movement—the Alash-Orda—was not a political party in the strict sense of the term, although it undertook a broad range of political activities, within the European frame of meaning; it supplied a leadership and ideology to a movement seeking the cultural as well as the political unification of the Kazakh nomads. The general chaos on the steppes of Asia after the collapse of Tsarism and before the solidification of the Soviet rule provided the opportunity for such a movement. In those years, the nascent era of the Soviet regime, Moscow was involved in revolution and civil war, and had little time or manpower to spare for the integration of Central Asia into Bolshevik-Leninism. In fact, Moscow reacted in a vaguely friendly way to the Alash-Orda since it too was antagonistic to Tsarism. For a brief moment, it appeared to the members of the Kazakh political movement that Moscow would supply the means for the liberation of the Kazakhs.

The Alash-Orda had no specific political program other than urging itself as the representative of the Kazakh people. It made no real effort toward political separatism from the Russian regime; possibly it felt that this would come naturally, or that the time was not yet ripe and the leaders themselves not far enough advanced politically to call for such a move. The general slogan, the name Alash-Orda, under which these Kazakh leaders and intellectuals sought to unify their people, reflects their desire for unity as a people.

The Orda is the horde, the broad organizational unit of Kazakh society, which in recent centuries had known no unity, but only a division into three and later four separate hordes. The name represents the revival of a social and political organization from the distant past of the Kazakhs. Even the smaller hordes had but little meaning for the Kazakhs after the middle of the 19th century. And the unification of all

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [173] [126]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 299-300.
[2] For a summary, see Togaibaev, 1934, passim.

648 668 is little evidence of contact between the Alash-Orda and the Basmachi, at least at the beginning of the 1920's. But of late the various movements have become combined in the minds of the survivors, and this integration is attributed by them to the past of 30 years ago. Among the most active in this connection is Zeki Walidi Togan, a Turkic historian, now in Turkey, and once a leader in these movements.

The Kazakh revivalists were actively sought out and suppressed by the Soviet regime in the late twenties and early thirties. However, when the USSR was attacked by Germany, Moscow sought to use all tactics at its disposal to encourage the peoples in the Soviet Union to resist Hitler. One such tactic was the encouragement of local cultural traditions among the various peoples, the creation of a native pride which they might fight to preserve. The Kazakhs were encouraged to develop their own history, with the sole proviso that the Soviet era be depicted as the culminating point in their development. This policy was related to the previously cited theory which viewed Tsarism as the lesser evil to Turkestan's being swallowed up by the English, the Germans, or the Chinese. The Soviet policy during World War II produced a great revival of Kazakh in-group feeling, centered around the glorification of Kazakh heroes of the past. Since the Kazakhs had developed their own historical studies [814] during the past century, a process which was accelerated in the Soviet period, the movement to popularize Kazakh heroes and their deeds was turned over to the historians.

Khan Kenesary Kasymov was much written about, discussed, and praised; his name became a popular byword among the Kazakhs in the 1940's, after a century of oblivion. One Kazakh historian, Gabidullah Bekmakhanov, wrote a full-length history of Kenesary's activities against the Russians; this work, prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1943, was published in 1947 in Alma-Ata. An official history of Kazakhstan written by Abdykalykov, a Kazakh, and the nominal co-author Pankratova (who since has become president of the Historical Section of the All-Union Academy of Sciences) likewise assigned a great and positive historical role to Kenesary. Other pronouncements of the period were less temperate; Sharipov, a Kazakh historian writing in 1949, pictured Kenesary as the prime national liberator. Two professors of history, Ismailov and Djumaliev, took the same line, the latter in a history book written for Kazakh school children.

The movement sought other heroes in the Kazakh past, especially those who had been active against the Russians: Batyr Srym was presented as a heroic figure by his official biographer, Viatkin; the historical significance of Isatai Taimanov, a rebel or liberator of the middle of the 19th century, was advanced by one Shakhmatov; an obscure figure who led a revolt among the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya against the Russians, Batyr Djankhodji Nurmuhammed, was described by T. Shoinbaev.

The historical tradition which developed was clearly Kazakh, the result of the Kazakhs' search for a native expression of their own, the recreation of a tradition which had lain dormant for several decades.

668 Kazakh nativism as a broad movement with a politico-religious orientation has taken the form of a many-faceted cultural revival. The

choice of the figure Alash, the founding ancestor of Kazakhdom, reflects 668
the general structure of Kazakh society. In reviving its cultural heritage,
a society established on the principle of patrilineal descent and organ-
ized according to carefully traced genealogies naturally would seek to
re-emphasize those genealogies and to glorify the founding ancestors,
whether mythical, fictional, or actual. Mythical Alash was not, at least [113]
not entirely, for he lived in the time of Tamerlane. It is not clear that
he is the ancestor of all Kazakhs, or even of all Kazakhs of the "white-
bone" or nobility. He is the founding ancestor of all Kazakhs by a con-
venient fiction, a fiction which includes the descent lines of the nobles,
for only a few of the nobility can demonstrate an actual descent from
Alash. Nevertheless, he counts as the ancestor of all, and as such he
enters the shadowy domain of half-myth, half-history, which suits the
temper of the present Kazakh traditionalism admirably.

Descent from a wolf and a doe is no longer an acceptable expression
for one's lineage; the world of the steppe has become disenchanted. But [114]
a great historical figure out of the past—distant enough and glorious
enough—is a suitable expression of the Kazakh quest for social, politi-
cal, and cultural unity. The emergence of Alash as a battle cry, the
invoking of a distant ancestor in the formation of a modern party, is a
Kazakh solution peculiarly their own. The concern of the Kazakh his-
torians of the 1940's with similar figures, in this instance the leaders
of resistance to the Russian conquest, emerges from the same cultural
theme, with certain additions. The figures of the 19th century Kazakh
rebels, Kenesary, Srym, Taimanov, and the others, are ancestors taken
from the past. They are the ancestors of many descent lines whose
living members are conscious of the relationship; they are symbols of
an anti-Russian movement.

the uneven commodity flow creates an unbalanced economy. The Kazakh republic is far from becoming economically self-sufficient. Fourth, the key to understanding the industrial picture in the KSSR is the total economic dependence of the Kazakhs on Russia for all consumer commodities. These include clothing, processed foods, furniture, and all electrical and electronic commodities, such as light bulbs and radios; motor supplies, automobiles, and the gas and lubricants necessary to run them; stoves and all other heating devices for using the coal and lignite the Kazakhs themselves produce. KN 433 439

A good example is afforded by the chemical industry. Kazakhstan has long been known for its riches in salts and other chemicals. In the 19th century, shortly after the annexation of the territory by Russia, a small-scale chemical plant was established at Chimkent. To this day, this remains the sole chemical-pharmaceutical plant in the entire republic, although it has been expanded under the Soviets. The bulk of the chemicals are extracted as raw materials, shipped elsewhere for processing, and only then made available to Kazakhstan, within the framework of the general pattern for distribution of these materials. KN [381] KN [648]

Finally, it is clear that this economic dependence on Russia serves to reinforce Moscow's political control over the peoples of Kazakhstan.[8]

The problem of manpower and the training of labor is central here. The industry of Kazakhstan, aside from the prerevolutionary mining centers, was established by means of forced labor camps at Karaganda, which during the 1930's was an NKVD area, and by the transfer of workers from Leningrad in the same period; during the war, workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Donbass were brought in for work in industry and mining. The Kazakhs have not participated in this industrial development. Very few industries requiring skilled labor have been established in Kazakhstan, and those few are based on a labor force derived from Russia and the Ukraine. The Kazakhs are not being introduced to the techniques which Russians are learning to master in the process of their industrial growth. The industrial picture confirms the conclusion drawn from the examination of the social and political scenes: The native Kazakhs are being encouraged by the Soviets to enter into industry, but they are not coming forward to be trained; they are holding back from participation in Soviet life. KN 464 K [463] K [177] [668]

[8]Kasaev, 1949.
[9]Balsak (6), 1949.

one cannot escape the fact that the various societies and peoples of the Soviet Union are being reshaped and remolded with the image of Soviet culture as the target. The political life is that of Moscow's creation, as is the economic; the religious is that which is permitted by the central regime. The language of each nationality—as it is taught in the schools, or written in the newspapers—is the one which Moscow has decided upon. The various nationalities themselves have been regrouped, often arbitrarily, for the purpose of greater convenience of administration by Moscow. 177

The grandiose and sweeping nature of the changes planned under Soviet nationality policy is sufficient to assure that major change is in fact taking place. A question exists only in regard to the direction such change will take and how far it will deviate from the plan. Whatever the direction of change, the cost in dislocation and suffering among the minority peoples will remain enormous.

KAZAKH ART AND LETTERS

In the chapter dealing with Kazakh religion and religious developments, a discussion of current trends in history writing in Central Asia was included to illustrate the rise of nativism, the idealization of native culture. While the connection between historiography and religion is not immediately apparent, there is an underlying relationship. This relationship may be more easily traced when one is applying the methods of cultural anthropology, as was the case in the discussion of religion. If one starts with the premise that the various aspects of a people's life are an interrelated whole, it follows that the religious life bears upon the economic, the economic on the religious, the political on the artistic. The concept of nativism has been used as a means of synthesizing the different cultural trends in Kazakhstan. The significance of the glorification of their past by native Kazakh historians during the Soviet era is clear. The historical traditions of the Kazakhs are important to them; around those traditions they were building in the 1940's the nucleus of an independent revival of Kazakh culture. The Soviets regarded this as dangerous, and the participants were either purged or warned away from the theme. 668 [814]

This sort of cultural revival is a type of nativism known in many parts of the world; the common feature such revivals share is a distinctive religious tone. But it is not the old religion which is being revived among the Kazakhs; rather, the old traditions are being treated in a religious fashion. These traditions become a religion, and the renewed interest in them a religious revival. The movement among the Kazakhs to revive the traditions of the past immediately became involved in politics. The Russian term kultura usually implies such political ramifications. In this sense there is a cultural politics in the Soviet Union.

The cultural taste of the regime in Moscow serves as a model for the rest of the empire. This cultural taste includes in part that which is pleasing to the political leaders of the Soviet Union. It includes 53 177

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] Iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs.

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture.

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form.

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.

The form is also imposed by Moscow, whether it concerns the introduction of the novel form in literature or the imitation of the massive architectural style in public buildings. Only the ornament and embellishment are locally derived.

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HISTORY

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The same lines of criticism which the Soviets have directed at Kazakh literature and art have been applied to the writing of Kazakh history. The revival of Kazakh historical traditions during World War II developed into a great movement involving many Kazakh historians and writers. In 1950, Pravda published an editorial denouncing the entire movement, choosing for its main target the luckless Bekmakhanov, for his history of the Kenesary movement.[1] The Kazakh Party and press were slow in following the line laid down in Pravda. Only after a four-month delay did Kazakhstanskaia Pravda take up the attack, printing a policy statement from the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, which commented on the Pravda editorial of the previous December and called for a formal Party hearing on the subject. This hearing took place in April and was reported in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 24 April 1951, in an article giving the general Party findings and those of the Party primary organization of the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute. Kenesary was denounced at one meeting as "an enemy of the Kazakh toiling masses" by 11 speakers representing the Party leaders and the academic world. The attack was directed at others: school textbook authors Ismailov and Dzhumaliev, both professors of history; Sauranbaev, director of the Social Science Section of the Academy of Sciences; and one Adilgireev, all in addition to Bekmakhanov. But this was only the beginning.

The attack on Kazakh revivalism continued, centered around the figure of Kenesary, with a different series of authors subjected to the sternest criticism. The line now advanced by Pravda, the Party press of Kazakhstan, and the History Section of the Academy of Sciences, was that there were two kinds of leaders in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries—good leaders and bad. The Kazakh leader Kenesary was bad; he was called a class enemy, a reactionary feudal lord. Other Kazakh leaders were classified as good, for they sought to lead their peoples into an alliance with the oppressed Russian masses, seeking a common solution for their jointly shared troubles. The Kazakh leader Isatai Taimanov, for example, revolted not against the Tsar but against Russian capitalists who were exploiting his people.[2] This indicates, the Soviets conclude, that the Tsars had parallel interests with the poor Russians, while the enemies of both the poor Russians and the poor Kazakhs were the Russian capitalists.

The central Soviet historical journal, Voprosy Istorii ("Questions of History"), published in April 1951 a lead editorial, "On Certain

[1] Pravda, 26 Dec 50.
[2] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda, 19 Apr 51.

668 Questions of the History of the Peoples of Central Asia." According to this source, the Turks and Iranians of Central Asia must not look beyond the borders of Russia for the highest expression of their own culture. The editorial asserts: "The investigations of Soviet scholars have shown that the ancient populations of Central Asia were not only eastern Iranians, but also Turkic tribes, that the culture built by them had its indigenous traits. The modern peoples of Central Asia are not immigrants from abroad: they are in the process of historical development from local tribes." Nor was Central Asia only a peripheral area to regions in the south. "To the contrary, the latter must be regarded as peripheral to the ancient cultures of Central Asia."[1]

Shortly thereafter, the attack went beyond all bounds: The Uzbek newspaper Pravda Vostoka censured the great Russian historian Barthold for speaking of Iranian influences on Uzbek civilization.[2] In the late 1940's the famous Arabist Krachkovsky had been accused of mentioning Arab contributions to the civilizations of the North Caucasus.[3] Similar criticisms were aimed at 19th century anti-Tsarist leaders of the Caucasus, such as the Iman Shamil of Ossetia. In Kazakhstan the denunciations of the Kazakh revival included the issues of Pan-Turkism, cosmopolitanism, and finally, the fostering of anti-Russian sentiments. Thus the true dangers to Moscow inherent in the movement were finally expressed.

The Soviet denunciation of revivalism also touched on the dangerous myth of racism. Movements parallel to that in Kazakhstan occurred among the Bashkirs, the Azerbaijani, the Uzbeks, and other Turkic peoples of the Russian empire, both in the 1918 period and during the 1940's. The 1951 Voprosy Istorii editorial proclaimed that the modern peoples of Central Asia are descendants of local tribes. This stressing of purity of descent and lack of admixture with foreign elements is not only untrue, it is totally irrelevant from any scientific standpoint. Culture is transmitted not only by immigration and emigration, but many other means as well. The obvious mixture of descent lines and genes from time immemorial among the peoples, nations, tribes, and states of Central Asia need scarcely be mentioned. Central Asia is possibly the one area of the world where race mixture can be unequivocally demonstrated.

The statement on racism in Voprosy Istorii was tendered cautiously. The local press of the USSR was not so bounded, however. In Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan and the oil capital of the Soviet Union, the newspaper Bakinskii Rabochii sought to "save" the Azerbaijani from Pan-Turkism by asserting that the Azerbaijani were not at all Turkic, but were descendants of the ancient Medes.[4] A statement of similar intent regarding the Bashkirs appeared in a popular book on Bashkiria published in 1950.[5]

[1] *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 1, pp. 1-5.
[2] *Pravda Vostoka*, 17 Aug 51.
[3] *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, 12 Jan, 26 Jan, and 5 Feb 49.
[4] *Bakinskii Rabochii*, 20 Jul 52.
[5] Tokbaev, 1950, p. 120.

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The Soviet leaders have not attempted to block the national revivalism, but have sought instead to divert it to their own ends. The chief premises of the current Soviet thinking on the question of nationalities are as follows. First, the national culture of the peoples of the USSR evolved independently of all foreign influences; it is a purely autonomous and original development. Secondly, this national culture is superior to that of the peoples dwelling beyond the frontiers. Thirdly, the peoples occupying the present territory of the Soviet Union have long formed a great family, united and solidary, of which the Russian people have been the senior members; this united group has always opposed invaders from beyond the present-day borders. Finally, all citizens of the USSR are ethnically, culturally, and racially distinct from the Turkic and Iranian peoples living beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

KN 815 [182]

One sees, then, that in matters of literature and history, art is made to serve the state. The same may be said of science. A Soviet declaration states that the main task of the Academy of Sciences is to assist the great current projects of the Soviet regime. The Academy of Sciences of the KSSR was established shortly after World War II. It consists today of 20 institutes and many other separate scientific centers. It is active in nearly all fields, and is the body which establishes the official policy in the arts and sciences. The Academy has been severely criticized for diverging from the official line in the fields of history, literature, and linguistics. On the other hand, it has been praised by the regime for its record in such fields as engineering, technology, and agronomy, where liaison with industry, transport, and experimental agricultural stations has been satisfactory.[1]

KN [819]

K [815]

One source of trouble in the organization of scientific work in Kazakhstan has been the relatively small number of Kazakhs on the scientific staffs of their native republic. Of 102 degrees of Doctor of Science awarded in Kazakhstan, only 17 have been earned by Kazakhs. Out of a total of 811 other advanced degrees, about 160 were awarded to Kazakhs. Thus, of these 913 actual and potential leaders in science, 20 per cent are Kazakhs—about half of the proportion of Kazakhs in the total population of Kazakhstan.[2]

KN 812

The educational system of Kazakhstan is identical with that found throughout the USSR. Primary education is compulsory for all children aged eight or older. A decree of 10 August 1930 made education through the first four school years compulsory; in 1950 attendance was made compulsory through the seventh grade.

The schools are divided as follows: Primary school comprises the first four years, incomplete middle school covers the fifth through seventh years, and middle school covers the eighth through tenth years.

[1] *Central Asian Review* (20), 1953, No. 1, pp. 75-77.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.

S N 175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
648 four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

S 563 The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
[241] is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S [441] by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K 563 Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
K 563 Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
36 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Commun-
[177] ists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
S K control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders)
S N responsible to the Chinese officials.

563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be 643
divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking [644] sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious.

There are references[34] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for 646
the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[35] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[36] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs."

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated 631
above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during 642
the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[37]

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingisids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[34] Grodekov, *Kirgiz i Karakirgiz*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[35] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[36] *Kirgiz i Karakirgiz*, 25.

[37] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

[171 cont.]

648 only slavery and oppression in this submission, not the tranquility and peace which would be its fruit, and they forcibly opposed the Kazaks who were partisans of Russia.

648 This opposition was not enough for them, and they attacked the Bashkirs living within Russia, but were driven back by force. 669 Shortly afterward a second attack was prepared against the Bashkir settlements, and Khan Shemiaka, who had sworn loyalty to Russia, did not refuse to lead the campaign. However, this second attempt was just as unlucky for them as the first.

648 The unrest fomented by these displays of the partisans of liberty affected those Kazaks who had sworn the oath of loyalty. They became uncertain once more and began to disavow their oath, and Tevkelev's position again became very critical. At that time he began to dream of ways of returning to Russia, but they did not wish to allow him to leave. Yielding to circumstances and lucky to escape death, he had to be content with permission to send his suite back to Russia with reports on the state of matters entrusted to his charge. He himself remained with the horde under the protection of Abulkhair.

Thus it appeared that Tevkelev had been abandoned as a sacrifice to the semibarbarous Kazaks. The danger which menaced [[66] him seemed to become even more imminent when he was forced to accompany Abulkhair when he went to camp at the mouth of the Syr [Darya]. But this journey, on the contrary, was the source of the very successes for which the government had hoped and which its representative among the hordes had striven to obtain.

Abulkhair's move to the Syr took his subjects further away from [172] those who stood for independence and from his personal enemies, and it brought them closer to the peaceful Karakalpak nation, which had long been oppressed from all sides. As soon as they perceived the power of Russia, they sought her protection through Tevkelev, acknowledged themselves as subjects of the empire, and took the oath of loyalty immediately. Abulkhair was the man who took the most active part in this event, for two reasons: first, to make his power and services more glorious in the eyes of Russia; and second, in order to use this example in

[181 cont.]
*48 and left Petersburg on June 15, 1734.

The extent of the means afforded Kirilov, the indulgence and generosity with which the government gratified all his demands, the authority with which he was invested, the privileges granted to the city of Orenburg, which was planned to be built, and the zeal with which relations were opened with the new subjects at once, show the degree of importance attached by the cabinet in St. Petersburg to the submission of the Kazaks and the number of advantages it expected from this. Unfortunately most of the plans made on this basis were not realized, first because of the revolt of the Bashkirs, and then because of the premature death of Kirilov.

The new mission with which he had been charged during his trip from Petersburg to Ufa had the same fate. At this time troubles broke out among the Volga Kalmuks, and Kirilov was ordered to prepare the Kazaks to punish them if they did not resume their duties soon (1).

1. See the ukase of August 26, 1734 under the name of Kirilov at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Instead of busying himself with all these political matters with the Kazaks, when Kirilov arrived at the border he had to [69] devote his full attention to pacifying the revolt of the Bashkirs.

This people presented obstacles to the realization of all the new plans. From the time of their submission to Russia, the limits of the lands they occupied had not been fixed, and they had had complete liberty to extend their camping grounds on all sides and complete ease not only in crossing the Yaik /Ural/ River freely and [182] attacking the Kazaks, but also in using the first favorable opportunity to rise against Russia herself.

With the erection of cities on the Yaik and the setting of the border on this river, which left the Bashkirs surrounded by Russian colonies and Russian troops, they felt their danger. In order to impede the execution of these measures, they formed a plan to oppose Kirilov's passage to the mouth of the Ori, where he had been ordered to lay the foundations of the new city and fortress.

[182 cont.]

[48] This attempt was fruitless, however. Although some detachments did suffer from their attacks, Kirilov himself reached his goal, and on August 15, 1735, he laid the foundations of the new city on what is now the site of the fortress of Orsk.

As soon as the fortifications began to rise, and troops and artillery had been introduced, Sultan Niaz, kinsman of Abulkhair Khan, was sent to the horde with several elders to announce to the Khan that his request had been fulfilled, in other words, that Orenburg had been built on the site which he had chosen, and also to invite him to present himself with all the chiefs of the hordes in the spring of 1736 in the new city to confer with Kirilov. At this same time the merchants of Tashkent who had come into [39] Russia with goods were sent back. In order to induce them to come and trade in the new city, various assistance was given them and many gifts, and they were informed of the privileges accorded to Orenburg.

[69] Moreover the revolt of the Bashkirs far from being put down grew more and more violent, and constant attacks were made on the supplies of our armies. Count Rumiantsev, commander in chief of the armies and father of the famous Zadunaiskii (1),

1. This means "beyond the Danube" and was a nickname given the famous Rumiantsev after his Turkish campaign. Note of [French] translator.

was appointed to force them to submission. Meanwhile Kirilov, who was constantly occupied with him about Bashkir matters, had no time to make closer contacts with the Kazaks.

[183] These facts indicated to him that another fortified line from this river to Samara, independent of the line of fortresses on the Yaik, was indispensable in order to guarantee the safety of Russia's relations with her Yaik colonies. As soon as he saw a chance, Kirilov endeavored to establish both the one and the other. From his reports to the imperial cabinet (1)

1. See the report of October 27, 1736.

[185 cont.]

×648 was never sent and still remains today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg (1).

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of December 30, 1737.

×648 669 The Bashkir revolt had still not been put down. Abulkhair was afraid to take any part in this revolt, and he himself suggested to Tatishchev that he help to subdue the rebels. The higher authority was informed of this proposal and gave permission for it to be accepted (2), authorizing the Khan to enter the land of the

2. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 22, 1738.

Bashkirs, provided however that in acting against the rebels he would leave in peace those who remained loyal and would defend their persons and properties if necessary. In defiance of this order, ×648 726 Abulkhair pillaged the lands of the Bashkirs for two consecutive months without distinguishing between rebels and loyal subjects, and the results proved that he had no other end in proposing his [667] services but to gorge himself and his Kazaks on booty. It is even asserted that he intended to make his son khan of the Bashkirs, ×648 726 727 and when he entered the lands of this people, he announced himself their protector and defender before the Russian government, but when he saw that his deceit was a failure he began the pillage. As a consequence it was commanded that he be made to depart from the lands of the Bashkirs as soon as possible. Tatishchev carried out this order with gentle means and without wrangling.

The son of Abulkhair Khan, Erali, remained in Orenburg as hostage, however.

While Abulkhair was carrying out his ravages against the Bashkirs, part of his horde, which was camping at the mouth of the Ural, renewed its attacks against the Kalmuks and took many Russians prisoners during one of the raids (3). Fearing the just

3. See the reports sent from Astrakhan,

[195 cont.]

x 648 [726]

Border Commission the reports of the Tatar Zhanaiev, already mentioned, who himself was in Khiva during the siege.

[669] his generals as khan. But this new prince had few troops at his disposal, and the Khivans were not slow in getting rid of him.

Nurali, son of Abulkhair, was chosen to replace this chief, who had done nothing more than appear, but his reign was no longer than that of his predecessor. When he learned that Nadyr was angered at the revolt of the Khivans and was preparing an army to punish them, he hastened to leave Khiva and to rejoin his father within the pasture lands of the Kazak Little Horde.

[726] He had not yet found security, however. Galdan Tsyren had grown impatient with the raids the Kazaks made while he had been engaged in war with China, and having finished his most important affairs, he again sent two bodies of troops, one of which attacked the Little Horde and the other the Middle Horde. Abulkhair appealed at once to the Russian government, requesting help. In order to respond to the Khan's wishes, the Imperial Cabinet gave orders that in case of danger he should be allowed to enter the fortress of Orenburg with his family and servants.

This permission was a kindness to Abulkhair, but it did not protect him from the attacks which the Dzungars might make later. Since he lived most of the time in the midst of the steppes or near the Syr /Darya/, [196] it was not always easy for him to seek refuge in Orenburg, which was too far away; the Dzungars could always cut him off from it by occupying the northern part of the Kazak steppes. In the west the Dzungars would have been aided by the Kalmuks, who belonged to the same race. It was still more dangerous for Abul Mahmet and Ablai. In many localities their subjects were the closest neighbors of the Dzungars and often themselves lived as nomads closer to the lands of the latter than to Orenburg.

When the danger was proven by the abduction of Ablai, the

[228 cont.]
×648 became unnecessary (2) because by then the Dzungars, the most

2. Ukase of the Senate of October 24, 1756.

terrible enemies of the Kazaks, had been almost destroyed. These were those same Dzungars who, under the reign of their kungtaidjis, Batur and Galdan Tsyren, had not only been seen to spread terror through the weak principalities of Central Asia, but also to arouse justifiable alarm in the emperors of Russia and China.

With an astonishing speed this people passed from the zenith of its power to absolute ruin. In 1745 under the commands of Galdan Tsyren it was still able to cause an important revolution in all of Central Asia. Under Galdan's sons, whose genius did not approach that of their father, this people imperceptibly lost all its energy, but its neighbors continued to fear it. In 1756 it had already been vanquished and dispersed, and so many had been
×648 annihilated that its lands became almost completely deserted.
578 The principal causes of the fall of the Dzungarian empire
669 were, as is known, the discord which took place among its last chiefs and the civil wars provoked by Amursan's ambition, which caused the ruin of the entire nation. Having quarreled with Davatsi, who disputed his authority, in 1754 he acknowledged himself a subject of China and begged this empire for auxiliary troops against Davatsi. Emperor Ch'ien Lung received him most graciously and [229] gave him a large army, which was given secret orders to accompany him not to assure him supreme power but to overthrow the Dzungars, who had so often disquieted the Chinese government. The intentions of the Emperor were realized, and in 1756 the ravaged lands of Dzungaria were annexed to China (1).

1. See the extracts from the Chinese work entitled Hsi Yu Wen Chien, Lu in /E.F./ Timkovskii's Journey to China [Puteshestvie v Kitai chrez Mongoliiu v 1820 i 21 gg. (Journey to China through Mongolia in 1820 and 1821)], Vol. I, p. 155.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars [726] and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

xK 648 [721 167] EK MO 648 [721 167] [256 cont.]

The Kazaks alone could not seize the Kalmuks, and they did not need to. The aim of their cooperation was better accomplished by their endless and repeated attacks, their pillaging and the capture of a large number of prisoners. Sultan Aichuvak routed one section on the Sagiz. Nurali delivered a violent blow to another section toward the east, and he also carried off several victories over them near the Mugodzhar Hills and on the Ishim River. Ablai [257] fought them with constant success. In some regions he acted in accord with Sultan Abulfenz, and their united forces caused immense losses to the Kalmuks, especially through the number of prisoners they took.

Erali, sultan of the Great Horde and at the same time paladin of the court of Peking, invited Ablai to join him against the Kalmuks several times. The latter refused to aid him, but this did not stop him from carrying out the plan he had devised. Erali found other allies and caused the fugitives to undergo enormous losses in men, animals, and personal belongings. We saw the details of this event in the historical account of the Great Horde.

When they were finally free of the Kazaks, the Kalmuks fell into the hands of the Buruts, and the misfortunes which the latter inflicted upon them were much worse than those they had suffered previously, particularly with regard to losses in prisoners. The Buruts, who were as greedy as they were ferocious, pursued them all the way to the Chinese border, to the new line established on the lands of the Dzungars. Ubashi crossed this line, not as he had imagined when he left the Volga as an independent sovereign, but as a humble subject who wished to save his life. He brought to China less than half of the Kalmuks who left Russia with him, the rest having perished en route.

K X648 ●669 662 c 648 669 662

In 1773 and 1774 Pugachev's revolt caused violent agitation in the provinces in the southeast of Russia. The lands washed by the Ural River, almost from its source to its mouth, were most exposed to this, because the Yaik Cossacks were the first accomplices of the false Peter, and the Bashkirs were his first allies. The troops forming the border guard assembled in the principal forts to defend them against the rebels, and the borders remained

K [257 cont.]
×648 undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside
C
648 enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an
K
C enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why
[669 there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join
662] the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K At this same time an event took place in the interior of
[643 the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen
651] tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through the high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

K In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little
[727] Horde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

[288 cont.]

X648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace with each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X648 681 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

Y648 645 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

[290 cont.]
x 648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a
council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.
x 648 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim.
Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali,
but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of
Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council,
inspired much more confidence in the government and had much
more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled
near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year
Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little
Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little
Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by
Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.
x 648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643 often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554] but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled
by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to
promise various advantages. However, what followed did not
justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not
act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
[579 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
[578 raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
721] acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde.
The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples,
which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to
dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish
the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy
which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks in-
creased from one day to the n[illegible] and finally the dissensions spread
everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences.
[669 Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River
166] withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the
descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[291 cont.]
x 648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
166 Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kalmyk AH5

K 175 648

/145 cont./

but these attempts were unsuccessful.

K 175 648 669

In the 1840's the Kirghiz /Kazak/ steppe recalled the past for the last time. Kenesary-Kasimov, grandson of Ablai Khan, eclipsing the glory of his highly popular grandfather in the folk legends, assembled several thousand horsemen from the ranks of the malcontents, /illustration appears here/ proclaimed himself the restorer of the former greatness of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people, and attempted to arouse all the Kirghiz /Kazak/ people under his banner. An enormous block of the nomadic population remained indifferent to the appeal of Kenesary, however. Yet the bravery and audacity shown by his brother Naurzbai /or Naurzbay/ and the latter's comrades won the sympathy of the population, who constantly protected the people of Kenesary and saved them from the pursuing Russian detachments, even though they did not express their sympathies actively. Thanks to this, Kenesary held sway over the Kirghiz steppe for seven years, and his followers traversed all the area from Orenburg to Karkaraly /Karkaralinsk/ and from Petropavlovsk to Turkestan, destroying Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad villages and Russian settlements and taking the people prisoner. In 1847 Kenesary and Naurzbai were killed by the Kirghiz /Kazak/, and now all that remains of their unusual audacity and bravery is a song in the memory of the people.

K [533]

K 175

With this we will end the description of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ for the time being and return to the chronological order of historical events in the life of the region.

K.K. 175 101 648 619

/146/ In the 16th century, as we have seen, a people who were known to the Russians under the name of Kalmyk appeared in the southern sector of the region, and they drove the Kirghiz/Kazak/ to the northwest. The Kalmyk represented an alliance, called Oirot, composed of several tribes (the Torgout, Khonz, Khoshout, and Dzungarians). In the beginning of the 17th century internal rivalries and the struggle with the eastern Mongols split up the alliance and it fell apart. In 1628 the Torgout went west to the upper courses of the Tobol and Ural

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again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers, the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgiz i Kara-kirgiz*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

e cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
e cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds.

[38] Riasanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riasanovskii, *op. cit.*, 77), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riasanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riasanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Koran*, 4.13.93.

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Dzhanys volost	Clans:	Chegyr	416 tents
		Dzhanys	603
/20/		Sirgeli	11
		Total	1,030 tents

6) The chief of the Perovsk uyezd reported that the administrative division of the uyezd into volosts and villages existed only officially. Actually, the volosts and villages are composed either of Kazakhs of one clan or of clans which are close to each other, and this is confirmed by the following. Three volosts, located north of Perovsk, belong exclusively to the Kypchak clan, and although there are 150 tents of Argyn and 200 tents of Naiman among them, these have no importance among the Kypchaks because of their small number, and are under the influence of the Kypchaks. The Kintub volost is composed exclusively of Dzhappas and the Dzhappas clan also rules in the Tsarskaya volost, the Konstantinovsk, the Samurunovsk and the Chagan volosts, over the less numerous Bakhtiar, Hodja, Tazlar, Naiman and other clans. The Dzhumartov volost is composed of Kereit, the Bayuzak volost of Tabyn. The Karmakchi volost consists of Alshyn and Kereit, the Nikolaevsk Kysbugut and Yany-Darya volosts are composed of Chumikei, and the Akkyr volost contains Kete. The nomads are grouping themselves in their clans by means of frequent transfers.

* * * *

The custom according to which the Kazakhs live and are judged has the Turkic name zang, or the Arabic name adat. 171 171

The origin of the zang, it must be supposed, is concealed in in that remote time when all the Turkic peoples now scattered over Asia lived one common life. This is proven among other things by the fact that such strongly Mongolized branches of the Turkic people as the Yakuts, Buriats, Tunguz and other Siberian natives have many customs in common with the Kazakhs. (The Collection of Customary Law of the Siberian Indigenous Peoples by D. Ia. Samokvasov). These common customs are: the clan principle, kalym /the bride price/, the bride's belonging not to the individual but to the clan, the ex-

nge of daughters without the bride price, the term terkun with
meaning of "relative of the wife, the father's house of the wife",
fine of two head of cattle for stealing (among the Buriats), the
atory oath, the disavowal from which conviction is established
ng the Buriats), the /21/ increase of the punishment on the
tition of theft (among the Yakut), banishment for the fourth

171 theft (among the Buriats), the succession of the children without
171 allotment (among the Yakut), the obligation to reciprocate in giving gifts (among the Yakut), Suyunchi (among the Buriats), matchmaking at a young age (among the Buriats); the woman's lack of property (among the Yakut); her private property consists of clothing and ornaments; in place of the dead bride, her sister is given away (among the Buriats); the widow marries a kinsman of her husband (among the Buriats); she is free not to marry at all (among the Buriats and Tunguz).

Among the Kirgiz, the zang or adat is the same as it is among the Kazakhs, with small deviations.

171 In the customary law the customs of private life are not distinguished from judicial customs; moral duties are not demarcated from juridical duties, nor domestic and administrative payments from court payments.

In the old customary law there was no difference between authority, being of good birth, and the court and administrative powers.

The word "law" /pravo/ in the European sense does not exist in the Kazakh language. The word khak means: 1) truth, 2) God, and 3) the right to receive something.

The oldest law was the right of the strong. (1) There could be

1. There are the proverbs: for one person two persons are God; "the people is holy", i.e., the will of the people is holy.

no individual rights. (2) Freedom (kengchilik) was not differentiated

2. On the contrary, the individual was entirely in the power of the clan. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers articles were entered from the collection of Kaitakh customary laws of Rustem khan of the 12th century: "if any village which belongs to the Kaitakh society detaches itself, it must pay 300 rubles" and if any one person detaches humself from the society he must pay 100 rubles."

om willfulness. The violation of someone's interests led to a fight
sulting in victory or reconciliation. In the course of time the custom
as worked out of reconciliation on the basis of mutual satisfaction.
oluntary concessions, for example, kunakasy, the allotment of inchi,
e founded on the fear of confiscation by force.

Now the individual is undoubtedly beginning to be conscious of

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the possibility of making use of the conveniences put at his disposal 671
by the /22/ existing order, in the sense of freedom of action, protection by law from persecution, the appeal of decisions, etc. The closer to the town, the more the rights of the individual are respected.

The main theses of the oral tradition of customary law are the 671
same everywhere. The details vary according to time and place. There 178
is already fear that the unity of the Kazakhs is disappearing (kazaktyng birligi kitedi), as a result of the decline of the clan principle and the community of property. The changed conditions of life have brought forth the rise, so to speak, of a new customary law. This has been influenced by the conversion to Islam of the Kazakhs, the proximity of the Kokandians in the fortresses, the transition of a part of the nomads to sedentary life, and the moral influence and decrees of the Russian administration. The main features of the new customary law are: the limitation of the clan bond and clan property to a narrower circle, which was also the aim of the law, according to which the Turkestan region was administered until 1887; (1) giving brides and

1. The Draft of a Code for the Administration in the Semirechie and Syr-Darya regions, 1867.

widows the freedom to choose a husband; the introduction of the use of written acts; the exchange of reckoning by livestock to reckoning by money, etc.

Now the old customary law has lost its force (adattyng kushi ketti), and a new customary law is rising. Formulas like these have begun to be used: in accordance with the customary law of the extraordinary session between these and these uyezds. A considerable part of the business of the present sessions of the biis consists of the adjudication of money for bills of exchange and receipts. Quite often such documents are examined as the certificates of Russian doctors, decisions concerning the capture of thieves corpus delicti, fraudulent records and receipts, reports with the special opinion of the minority, and information from the transport office. One finds complaints concerning the non-issuance of a copy with a decision, on the appropration of money which had been made over to be deposited in the uyezd pawn-broker's with the interest, ver watch which was lost at a prostitute's, etc. The session es land and other decisions (osu ishni nygytamyz), collects the es of those who have been pacified, in /23/ anticipation of a d claim for the wergeld, and finally, it even ordains judgment ult, an innovation unheard of in the old customary law. Philo-

671 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an ex-
178 ample we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim. . . . In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz) " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671 562 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on

since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on

the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

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as a slave (churi khisabi bulady), and 2) she is not easily beguiled by strangers since she lives on the steppe and works beside her husband, loading the camels, milking cows and nursing the children (bagane adamga kub kungul' bermeidi, bayina kyzmet kylyb tyuya artib mal saub bala chagasyna karab yuredi).

custom (minez rasm) of the Kazakhs and they enjoy great freedom (kazak keng bulady). Torgai spoke of the customary law in this way: "The customary law is really a suckling pig" /24/ (chuchkanyng bel'gi balsy). He does not subordinate himself to the customary law. As Kyul'baev, a Kazakh of the Kurama uyezd, expressed it, the customary law is the stable boy of the Shariat (adat shariatyng yilaukeri). In the Kurama uyezd a small number of sedentary Kazakhs have accepted the Shariat, but most of them hold to the customary law. However the administration is constantly receiving requests to introduce the Shariat among them. The best people are judged by the kazi, where they can soon be absolved by their personal oath, while with the bii, the oath is imposed on a kinsman in the third lineage or further removed, which makes the position of the litigant more difficult. In the Kurama uyezd the people are asked if they want to be judged by the customary law or by the Shariat, and they know that the customary law is agreeable (makul) to the Russians.

In the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd one finds the phrases: "by customary law"," by the full customary law" (toluk adat buyunsha), "by the Shariat" and "by the law." The last, by the interpretation of several Kazakhs, is intended to give the decision greater force.

Makovetskii, in the foreword to the first part of his Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridicheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov /Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/, (Omsk, 1886), distinguishes innovations from old customs, relating primarily to precepts established under the khan Az Tauke. Khan Tauke assembled seven biis at Kul'-Tyube (in the Syr-Darya region) /old Tashkent uyezd/, among whom was the famous bii Tule Alimbekov, and these biis combined the old customs of the khans Kasym and Ishim ("Kasymkhannyng

zhol"-The Pure Road, of khan Kasym, and "Isymkhannyng Iski
-The Old Road, of khan Ishim) into new customs, called Dzhety
. These customs were not written down, but were given the
short sayings and proverbs, which have been retained to a
able degree until now, and enjoy universal respect. (1)

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1. Levshin says of khan Tyavka (Tauke): This is the Licurgus, the Draco of the Kazakh hordes. He lived in Turkestan, and commanded all the Kazakhs, as a whole. For the supervision and direction of each horde there were three chiefs subordinate to him: Tylya in the Great horde, Kazbek in the Middle horde, and Aitak in the LIttle horde (Part II, p. 64).

Bii Mikebai of the Perovsk uyezd acknowledged himself to be in complete ignorance /25/ of the tradition related above. He had only heard the expression: "kazaktyng kaska yoly" in the meaning of the "the real customary law of the Kazakhs." The biis Sultan and Khalbii know that all three hordes used to gather annually for conferences (maslagat), (1) on the Martube hill (in the mountains near Sairam).

1. Concerning the gradual change of the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers under the influence of maslagat, both of courts and of councils, see Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /The Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, pp. 7-22.

near Sairam). The subjects of the conferences were questions of where to camp in the winter, where to go in the summer, how to achieve peace (buitsek tynchyimyz) and how to make war. But bii Sultan states positively that they did not change the customs (rasm). Until a new meeting of the hordes, the decisions of the last one were not broken (buzbeidy). Under Tauke khan, seven biis met together, "dzheti dzhargysh" or more exactly, "dzheti dzhargy," i.e., seven collaborators (ish bittiretgun). Among their number there were three eminent biis, one from each horde: Tule from the Great horde, from the Middle horde kaz dausty Kazbek, i.e., Kazbek with the voice of a goose (loud), and Aiteke from the Little horde. Sultan and Khalbii do not know that Tule Alibekov (and not Alimbekov) and the other biis combined the customs of khans Ishim and Kasym. The pure road of khan Kasym and the ancient road of khan Ishim are to them two names of one road through Kuk-Tyube, around Turbat, along which the khans had to nomadize when the Karakalpaks, having conquered Tashkent, expelled them from the valley. They do not give these expressions the significance of customs. At that time Tule ruled Tashkent, while he himself lived

in Sar-Tyube, near Tashkent. In the village of Kybrai lived his kinsman Kybrai the batyr. In the village of Bairikurgan lived his kinsman Baitik. In his old age Tule made his stable-man Yunus-Hodja of the Halcha tribe a collector of taxes or duvanbegi in Tashkent. After the death of Tule, Yunus-Hodja expelled the Kazakhs from Tashkent. The war with them continued for 15-20 years, until Mamet Sherif-Atalyk who came from Kokand to help him, vanquished the Kazakhs. This was about a hundred years ago.

Concerning the same question of the Kazakhs in the Chimkent uyezd /26/ Isa Batyrbekov reported: "Esim Khan or the stoop-shouldered man Esim (esegey buli er Esim), as he was departing for Bukhara, told his vizir Kasym-Khan that he should be khan until his return (hence his nickname Khantursun), but made an agreement with him that he should not kill Esim Khan's family. After his return, 12 years later, Esim Khan found his family imprisoned in the Cheb or Khanym-chebi fortress on the upper course of the Sairam river. The proverb "the pure road, etc.," signifies the Kazakh customary laws established by both khans, or else the military road through the villages of Sailyk and Khatynailyk."

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423 side, i.e., the actual proprietors have no documents, these last are
695 required to swear an oath on the quantity of the land in dispute.

If land is planted by two clans, and one of the clans makes a complaint against the other, and during the investigation it is ascertained that one side has a document, and the other does not, and also lacks khan, kazi or beg documents showing that the land is in common between the two clans, then the side which has documents can refuse the other the use of the land.

If both sides on the disputed land have documents they must be carefully examined by learned mullahs who must decide which side has authentic documents and which has fraudulent ones, or those not worthy of attention. Nevertheless, an oath concerning the quantity of the disputed land is required from the side presenting the authentic, weighty documents, in order to support the suit.

If a dispute arises between two clans using common land, on which both sides have buildings, mills and trees, and if one side has nominal documents from khans or begs, while the names of the other /107/ side are not noted in this document, the affair is decided in favor of those having documents. Meanwhile those without documents must be indemnified for the value of their buildings, and then dispossessed from the land.

If one of the disputing sides shows a document delivered by the other side during the peaceable use of the land by them, and the documents says that the side presenting it yields the other a certain locality, or a certain number of kosh (1) of land, or else that a

1. One kosh is a pair of oxen and the amount of land tilled by them.

certain locality belongs to it or a certain number of kosh of land, then the side in possession of such a document is required to take the land on the basis of the document. Their claim to a larger quantity of land and water than is mentioned in the document is ignored.

If it is impossible to settle a land dispute of two clans using common land on the basis of inquiries of persons not implicated in the case, or on the basis of documents, it must be found out which side constructed buildings on the disputed land first, and to give an oath to this side.

423 The law of 1867 did not touch upon the land organization of
671 the natives at all. Now the code for the administration of the Turkestan area (the law of 12 June, 1886) establishes the land organi-

zation of the nomadic population in the following manner.

State lands, occupied by nomads, are left to the public use of the nomads without time limit, on the basis of customs and rules established in the code of 12 June, 1886.

The lands being used by the nomads are divided into winter camps, summer camps and cultivated land.

The winter camps are left to the /108/ public use of each volost separately, without time limit according to actual use and in accordance with the customs, and in case of disputes - according to the quantity of livestock owned and the extent of the economy.

Special assemblies are designated, with the permission of the Governor, among the volosts of the uyezd for the distribution of the winter camps and the examination of disputes caused by this distribution. When there are disputes between the volosts of different uyezds, the assemblies meet with the consent of the relevant authorities. The assemblies, under the chairmanship of a person specially appointed by the Governor, consist of three elected persons from each volost. The judgments of the assemblies are presented by the chief of the uyezd for the approval of the Governor and are entered in special books, which are preserved in the regional administration.

The distribution of the winter camps is made among the masters of the tents by village meetings. The number of livestock and the extent of the economy are taken as the basis for the distribution.

Each nomad has the right to build living quarters and farm buildings on the sector put at his disposal for the winter camp, and the community may not demand their removal. These buildings constitute the property of their owners. The land occupied by the buildings is transmitted by inheritance as long as the constructions exist. When the buildings are destroyed the land reverts to the community.

The summer camps are left to the public use of the volosts of the entire uyezd, and the actual use by them is determined by customs. The Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya oblast retain the right to cross over into neighboring steppe regions for summer nomadizing, but these are used with the permission of the Turkestan Governor-General, who enters into preliminary consultations with the steppe Governor-General concerning this.

After the mutual agreement of the communities on places suitable for both their winter and summer camps, special sectors are set aside for those wishing to engage in agriculture and growing hay. The distribution of land among the agriculturalists /109/ is left to a voluntary agreement among them according to custom.

423 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their
671 property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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233 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and
221 is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men,
[782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i. e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

[271 cont.]

×648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

×648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

×648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177] namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643 a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
●[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

596 could make no such allotment; the herd belonging to such a family was too small to allow for such a division.[98] Therefore it was held in common supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom allotment during the lifetime of the father was made on the occasion of the marriage of the son, lived and herded in common with his father.[99] Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated, for example, if one brother died without male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.[100]

The general position of the family in the social
593 671 structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situ-
602 ation before the law. The criminal law of the Great
685 Horde, as codified by Grodekov, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law; and to the private delict in the somewhat more cumbersome terminology

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[98] Ibid., 2; Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[99] Izraztsov, 3.

[100] Ibid., 70.

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of Radcliffe-Brown.[101] The rustling of cattle (baranta/ barymta) was permitted in the following circumstances, according to information received by Grodekov from the biis of the Great Horde:

1. By the son from the father, or the son's son from the grandfather, regardless of how many times or how much property was involved. On the other hand, the father had the right of seizure of the entire property of the son; the father had the right to indenture his son for annual terms, and the money thus earned was applied to the father's estate, i.e., the family property.

2. Stealing between sons of brothers could not be punished:

3. The sister's son might request aid from the uncles (mother's brothers). If this aid was not forthcoming, the sister's son (dźien) might make up to three seizures on the property of the mother's brothers. If he made seizure beyond that number of times, the difference was taken away from him. If he should steal a courser, the maternal uncle might require a return of like value. If the sister's son stole a fourth time, the maternal uncle might tell him: "Thou losest the rights of a nephew."

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4. Among kin related beyond the third degree (those with a common father's father), seizure was permitted, with the obligation to repay, however, as soon and as

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[101] Durkheim, Division of Labor, 112 ff; Radcliffe-Brown, Primitive Law.

[Great Horde]

604 nological usages on the one side and inheritance prac-
601 tices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the dzien relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilateral relations highlighted in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is only a seeming one, not real. The matrilateral relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

596 We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, was more likely to attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and kept its members together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conforms more closely to a corporate entity than does the poor one; it survives the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed,
596 however, to another criterion of the corporate entity:
● 671 they were a single personality in the eyes of such legal mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the aksakal or bii stepped in only with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all.

[Great Horde]

896 We have seen how seizure of property (usually in live-
●671 stock) was not regarded as theft between son and father, nephew and father's brother, or between sons of brothers; within certain limits, seizure between sister's son and mother's brother was not regarded as theft. Theft among family members was not recognized as such even where the members had set up separate households.[103]

896 The authority pattern was patriarchal within the family, whether of a wealthy or of a poor Kazakh. According to Dingelstedt, this was a categorical phenomenon: the authority of the father over the son, or the husband over the wife, was absolute.[104] This is corroborated for the Kazakhs of the Great Horde by Izraztsov, who asserts that the wife was without any rights, all rights residing in the husband, for example, in deciding on the marriage of the son or the daughter.[105] Both these statements are extreme, and must be qualified, as will be seen in what follows. Nevertheless, the patriarchal nature of the Kazakh household and family authority pattern must be accepted as a datum subject to slight amendment. We have seen that the father could even indenture his son for a fixed term, and apply the income to the family estate which he controlled.

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[103] Dingelstedt, 148.

[104] Idem.

[105] Izraztsov, 67.

[Great Horde]

583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
562 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
562 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
43 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's[1] jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

1 [on the bii or "elder", cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

671 lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and
572 legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was
673 a matter of membership in specific corporate structures, the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

576 In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The [695] clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by [628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a [587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from [429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

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the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use;d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
[579] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[696] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

this for himself.

/35/ In extremity, the father renounces his son, khatti bizar, bizar khatt, before witnesses. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the bii places his seal on the document (for khatti bizar actually means "a letter of renunciation"). The form of the renunciation is: "If you are killed, I will not demand wergeld for you. If you kill someone, I will not pay wergeld on your behalf." In spite of this statement, however, a father cannot evade the payment of the wergeld for a murder committed by his son after that, unless, when he refuses to pay the wergeld, he permits his son to be killed as a punishment for the murder committed by him. A son who has been expelled by his father goes to one of his relatives.

Sometimes a daughter is given to an ishan or mullah (1) as an

1. The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds: there are cases when a sick father promises to give his daughter to his ishan if he recovers.

offering favorable to God (nazr), provided that he is not within the forbidden degree of kinship, and also sometimes to a blood brother.

It is said that under the pressure of poverty boys are sometimes sold in the Perovsk uyezd (for 20 sheep for example). The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov states that now they do not sell children.

A daughter is not sold, for there is a possibility of marrying her off for a small kalym. Bii Sultan Kanev recalls that in a time of famine daughters were sold for 1 or 2 heads of livestock or for 20-30 fillias /monetary unit equal to about 3-4 rubles/, and after the famine was over they demanded before him, bii Sultan, the rest of the payment up to the full kalym. The bii awarded the rest of the payment up to the full kalym of the category of "7 kulundi biya (2) and 2

2. Kulundi biya is a mare with a suckling.

buidak." (3)

3. Buidak is a two year old sheep. On the kalym /bride price/, cf. Chapter VI.

According to customary law there can be no protest against

4:Grodekov--109 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

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422 577 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

422 685 672 Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraudulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or 422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

489 /138/ Drivers (kerekesh tyuyekesh) are dependent upon caravan heads (karavanbashis) /keruanbasy/. The latter are of two kinds: 1) Well known (bel'gili) and influential (ulkun) persons, living in cities, where they give the merchants guarantees of the scrupulousness of the drivers; 2) persons who are less influential (kshi, ksi) who are placed first at the head of the caravans, and receive the invoices from them. In addition to these appointed karavanbashis, the leaders of the caravans are usually also the best people in general among the drivers.

The drivers can transfer their licenses /bilet/ to the leader of the caravan, even though each has his own camels and a special cargo.

The karavanbashis go in advance.

The custom among the urban karavanbashis to help the drivers out with favors (yagalsyb salu) until they find work, also exists among the Kazakhs. (Torgai and Umurbek).

Merchants can send their cargo without the use of karavanbashis, by drivers who have guarantors. Before sending the cargo, the merchants and the drivers, or karavanbashi in their place, exchange written bonds on the quantity of the cargo, the price of the shipping, and the time of delivery.

The karavanbashis cannot abolish the low wage established for one of the drivers, to the detriment of another.

The karavanbash chooses the time and place for halts and spending the night. He settles arguments between drivers on the road. He forces them to pay debts and imposes fines for stealing. Occasionally heavy corporeal punishment is arranged, which is administered standing, not lying down, and for this there can be no complaint. Umurbek admits even that if there is disagreement between the karavanbash and the collective opinion of the drivers he must be obeyed, although in such cases it is difficult for him to get his own way.

489 672 685 According to the old customary law, the drivers had to pay damages even without a preliminary agreement, on the basis of the rules of acceptance for safe-keeping.[1] According to the new customary law those who are not obligated by signature, the affixing of a seal and stamp /tamga/ do not pay. The exhaustion /139/ of the camels and their falling down is not taken into consideration by the sender of the cargo. The losses are born by the driver. He changes the tired camels for fresh ones, or buys others, changes the loads of the fallen animals onto other camels, etc.

According to Torgai and Umurbek, a driver is not responsible to

1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 109 -- A]

the owner of a camel, when he has rented it for money (kere) from an outsider, and it falls, for some reason or other than its load being too heavy. But he is responsible for a camel which was taken for use without pay. However, they rarely pay in full (tutas), for the bii takes into consideration the fact that the camel was given on the basis of acquaintanceship, and arranges an agreement for 1/2, 1/4 or one-eighth the value of the animal. The demand in court for the full value of the camel would be a manifest rupture of the conditions stated above. 489 672 685

If a driver loaded a greater weight on a camel than that permitted by the owner of the fallen animal, for example 648 lbs. instead of 576 lbs. (1) the value of the fallen camel is divided into as many

1. Every camel has a known lifting capacity. Some carry only up to 432 lbs., others up to 648 and even to 720 lbs. The average weight without straining is about 500 lbs.

parts as there were pounds in the load, and the driver is required to pay as many parts as there were extra pounds, in the given example, two parts.

The owner of a spring and a well can refuse to give a caravan a place for a halt and water, because of its inadequacy for his own needs, and for other reasons. It is impossible to complain about this in court. But if an owner with extra space does not allow a caravan to come in in winter during bitter cold, and people or livestock freeze as a result, customary law asks wergeld for the people and the payment of the value of the livestock. 489 [423]

Now drivers are not willingly permitted to stop near a village, for a loss may occur in the caravan for which the drivers will blame the nearest village. [672]

In case of a complaint in court concerning a loss taking place between two villages, the biis make an inspection of the place and /140/ measure the distance of each neighboring village from the place of the loss by means of a rope. Then the village is accused of the theft, which is shown to be closest (Tergai). According to other sources, the biis do not measure the distance but accuse the village which is considered less dependable. (Report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis Sagyndykov and Sultan Kanaev and other persons of the Chimkent and Kurama uyezds).

There are no drivers among the Kirgiz, since the Auliye-Ata Kirgiz have few camels.

Folk custom not only permits but also obliges the persons who have suffered to avenge the crimes committed against them. The avenger is usually the person who has suffered, but a part or even the whole clan has a right to take part in the revenge. The entire clan considers itself obligated to avenge a case of the secret kidnapping of a girl by a Kazakh of another clan, or the driving away of a considerable number of livestock, which may belong to only one person, but one who is honored by his kinsmen. Also specific insults not only of an honored member, but of any Kazakh, which are made by a mob, call for armed defense and the resentment of the entire people. 628

The limit of the revenge is considered to be doing harm to the adversary on an equal level to the harm suffered from him. Then the hostile lineages or clans already take part in pacifying their members. But if the avenger does not cease to wreak damage on his adversary, he is subjected to fines of an atton or higher, and in extreme cases to corporeal punishment on the part of his kinsmen. The fines go for the use of the person suffering from superfluous revenge.

Peaceful agreements are permissable in every offense and crime. The fines in such cases (outside of court) go to the use of the person who suffered, or else, when they are considerable, they are divided among the closest kinsmen of the receiver.

Although custom does have the concept of more /143/ serious and less serious crimes, it does not divide them into criminal and civil crimes. 673

A crime which is committed with premeditated intent increases the blame. The commission of a crime with provocation, especially if it is called forth by the sufferer, lightens the blame. Circumstances which lighten the offense are: the thoughtlessness of the transgressor, or the honor and respect he enjoyed before the crime was committed. 672

The commission of a crime in the steppe in an open place by day lessens the offense. A crime committed in a tent at night increases the offense. Poverty does not lighten the guilt. It does not excuse thievery, for example, for the clan is held responsible. A clan which has not helped a poor man, pays all claims against him three times, each time compelling him to reform, and forcing him to make promises on his oath. (1) The commission of a crime in a state of drunken-

1. After the third time he is driven out. A poor man and a person without a clan gives up his daughter in place of money, and pays off the sum required of him from the 685

685 kalym he receives for her. But if he also has no daughter, he enters into the service of the plaintiff.

672 ness lightens the blame, and in the opinion of some, even frees the offender from a fine, and he is only obligated to pay for the damages.

Official persons are not punished more severely than private persons for a crime.

Crimes committed for reasons beyond the control of the person's will (illness, temporary insanity, etc.), do not bring punishment upon the persons committing them. In such cases the kinsmen are held responsible as not having watched over the activities of their sick fellow members and not having protected the sufferers from danger. Those who are insane from birth and deafmutes are not punished for crimes committed and their kinsmen are not held responsible for them. Offenders who are under age are not punished. Their parents and close relatives are held responsible for them. Husbands are responsible for the crimes of their wives, but the wives are not responsible for their husbands. The successors of deceased criminals are held responsible in property for their crimes. /144/ In general, the responsibility in property for crimes extends to the seventh degree of kinship inclusively.

685 In Makovetskii (Pt. I p. 81) we find that punishment is decreased when a theft is committed in a strange volost. Certain 672 biis of the Syr-Darya oblast disagree with this. They maintain that suits for theft should be judged with equal strictness, whether they are committed in an outside volost or in one's own, against the defenseless (for example, from children), or against the strong. (1)

1. Aleksandrov reports that the Kazakhs of the Kazalinsk uyezd steal livestock primarily from other clans and uyezds. The people are indulgent about this, considering it something which goes with youth, although they sometimes are reproachful about it in words.

673 Careless actions which result in damage are judged as crimes. Wealthy persons compensate for the damage with property , or for harm caused to the health they pay wergeld in the amount established by custom. These cases are called angsyzdan, and the people regard them more indulgently than they do cases committed for revenge or for other aims.

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for other aims.

Accomplices (sirek) of a crime are subjected to punishment, usually in equal amount, although differences are allowed according to the extent of blame (Kunakbai). The plaintiff can, however, in the absence of the accomplices of the crime, exact a penalty from the person present, obligating himself not to make any further suit (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). (2) 672

2. It has now come into custom in the Perovsk uyezd to revenge oneself on one's personal enemies in the following fashion. If strong evidence exists against the defendant, the plaintiff names one of his personal enemies as an accomplice of the defendant, causing him unpleasantness and trouble about his oath. [578]

For the ringleaders (bashi or urybasy (3), i. e., those who first

3. According to bii Sultan, the word dzhortuulbasy, head of a gang, has not been used since the time the wars (yaugerchilik) stopped.

began to carry out the idea, punishment is not increased. (4)

4. It is said that the person who first committed robbery, giving rise to a long baranta, pays toguzy, while the others, who are guilty of taking strange property are sentenced to muynyna kosak kutine terkeu (cf. Chapter XII).[1]

According to another opinion, the ringleader is usually called into court. He pays the entire penalty, and can then /145/ split it up among his accomplices. Now they interrogate the ringleader who is called into court about his accomplices as well, in order to call in all of them. If they do not find all of them, they penalize those who are found, requiring them to split it up with the rest and recording this obligation into the report of the judgment. The distribution of the fine among the defendants is left to them. If they cannot come to an agreement, the bii apportions the payment of the value of what has been stolen, in accordance with how much each person took for himself, and the fine is divided equally.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 200-207 -- A.]

4:Grodekov--123 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•672 685 The person under whose instigation and advice the theft was made, pays a fine, after which the thief returns the object stolen without a fine (Perovsk uyezd). According to bii Sultan, instigation and calumny is a sin which God never forgives (kudanyng kechpes gunasy). There are now many instigators (azgrushi) and tell-tales (suztasushi). The biis do not believe them. In confirming the proverb entered in Makovetskii: "He who ordered the beating is not punished, he who did the beating is punished" (ur degenge zor kel'mes, urganga zor keler) bii Sultan Kanaev says that the instigator escapes punishment because he will not acknowledge his instigation, and that even though the instigation can be proved, in general it is better to impose the punishment on the actual criminal. E. A. Aleksandrov also reports that the instigators and those assisting the crime are not recognized as guilty by custom.

Those who conceal crimes and transgressors, or objects obtained by crime are called to responsibility equally with the criminals themselves. The receivers of persons under suspicion are called to account like thieves. Unconscious concealment is not persecuted. Not giving up a thief, even though he be one's own son or father, is considered being his accomplice. The person who saw the crime but did not speak of it in the inquiry is also considered an accomplice (Perovsk uyezd). According to Kunakbai of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the person who conceals property pays nothing, and if he was sentenced to pay an atton, for example, he can demand its return from the thieves. The person who conceals /146/ the thief himself does not pay. "A reprimand of him would be useless," added the bii.

Connivers and the other persons implicated are not subjected to any penalty, but they do not escape the inquiry and a reprimand (Perovsk uyezd). They are called kumekshi. The kumekshi is not a thief, but is not clean of thievery (kumekshi ury imes urydan kuru imes) as bii Sultan Kanaev expressed it.

673 The number of acts which are not considered reprehensible, or which are not prosecuted by customary law even though reprehensible, is considerable among the Kazakhs. (1)

1. In Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 60 it says: The comparatively low level of culture of the Kazakhs not only explains their general view of criminal activity, but also their attitude to many acts which are prosecuted among civilized societies, and which are considered fully lawful among the Kazakhs.

4:Grodekov--139 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

681 Reimbursement of damages is required for every kind of infliction of loss, damage to objects, etc., if it took place as a result of carelessness. For wounds and similar bodily injuries, the medical treatment and the support of the injured person is at the expense of the guilty person. If evil intent is observed in this, a fine is imposed to the value of the damages, in addition to the damages.

We append examples:

672 1) Clumsy medical treatment. A doctor (taub) who heals clumsily is suspected of evil intention, but he is not called to account. Only the expenses for the funeral (as su) of a patient who died can be referred to his account. He answers for it in the future life (akhiratda zamin).

2) Being bitten by vicious animals. If the owner of an animal did not know his qualities, he does not pay the expenses for the healing of the injured person, and for the damage suffered (bite, tisteb algan, dislocation, mirtildy, death), for "the animal does not know what he is doing." However the animal itself may be adjudged to the sufferer. But if the owner knew that his animal was dangerous to human beings, (adam khur) he should have either kept it tied up or slaughtered it, or sold it at a distant bazaar. For not having taken these precautionary measures, nor having kept an eye on the animal known to be vicious, he pays for the damage caused by it /157/ (Torgai and others), or a full wergeld to the report of Baymet Sagyndykov.

If a mounting camel or stallion bites or kills someone, the animal itself is given to the person who has suffered. Wergeld is not exacted.

If a camel walking about untethered bites someone, he is surrendered in place of wergeld. But if a person rides into a village on a camel and it bites someone, the rider pays a full wergeld. (1)

1. The owners are not held responsible if the animals bite each other. Only children arrange a fight between animals (talasteru) and they are not held responsible for damage (Perovsk uyezd).

685 3) Injury to strange animals, cutting out the tongue, disfiguring their appearance, is punishable by fine, and if the owner of the animal consents, by the buying of the animal from the owner for its original price. If the injury resulted in the death of the animal, its value is paid (Perovsk uyezd).

4:Grodekov--140 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Animals are subjected to having their tails cut off for cropping grass from strange fields. But the owner of such an animal has the right to start a suit for disfigurement, in which case he himself pays for the damage from grazing (Kazalinsk uyezd). 672 685

There have been cases in which the owner of the animal with its tail cut off died a natural death during the period of time before the tail grew back. His heirs had the right to demand wergeld from the guilty person, as for murder. (Kazalinsk uyezd).

4) Arson. The person who sets the fire is sued for the total loss, for example, the value of the house or of the material and the wages of the workers, if he cannot clear himself with an oath. He is also required to pay a fine of one-tenth the value of the property. (2) 685

2. In the Chimkent uyezd the fine for setting a winter camp afire, for brigandage and for baranta is equal to wergeld for a man.

Suits concerning arson are investigated strictly (Katta suraydy) and are not settled without oaths, solely by testimony of witnesses. For unpremeditated arson a fine is not imposed, as is the case in all /158/ unpremeditated misdemeanors (yazym), which came, as they say, from God (kuday kykdyrgan).

Fires are permitted, to clear the steppe of the tough grass the previous year, which the livestock do not wish to eat, and also for the fertilization of the land to be ploughed. Such fires are forbidden in ploughed fields, hayfields and around buildings. In the Kurama uyezd, the testimony of four dependable persons is enough for conviction for intentional arson, requiring the payment for the damages and a fine equal to this (tengurtak). For example, for a loss of 400 rubles, the fine is also 400 rubles. Wergeld is paid for persons lost during the fire.

5) No punishment is given for deceit. The property taken by deceit is simply returned.

The following are examples:

a. A gift (syuyunchi) received for the report of false news is returned. They are scolded with the word muttakham (dishonorable), etc.

b. Money demanded in the form of an order by warrant, etc. is returned. Trust is forfeited.

c. There is no suit for denying one's own stamp /tamga/ (Abdrakhman).

d. For the affixing of a strange seal, and for every sort of fraud

placing a brand on a loose animal a fine can be imposed of half the 685
value of the animal. Placing one's brand on an animal with one for safe-keeping, is not considered reprehensible if such a one is returned on the first demand. According to Kyulbaev (of the Kurama uyezd), putting one's brand on a strange animal unnecessarily (bikerge), whether it is a loose animal or one received for safe-keeping, is punishable by a fine of 20 rubles. According to the Kirgiz Daniyar, placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered as clear (zakhir) stealing, and is punished in proportion to the penalties of the assemblies (siez kesimi menen) i. e., for one sheep 4 sheep must be paid and 4 rubles in addition.

The owner of the lost object usually appears before the person 685
suspected of the theft accompanied by two or more outside impartial 627
persons (khalis ksi), exceptionally, only one, and searches (tentedi) him. The outsiders serve as witnesses. If the suspect does not permit himself to be searched (tentkizbese), he is considered to be guilty.

When a thief is caught by the owner of the stolen livestock, he usually gives up or promises to give up everything which was stolen by a certain period of time, often according to a voucher, asking only that no suit be charged for the exaction of the usual fine. The owner may be satisfied by the return of his property and by taking away a horse or a coat, i. e., atton (1) from the thief, as a reward

1. Sometimes a horse and gun or some other object is taken under this name.

to the captor.

When there are several thieves, the one who is at hand is held 685
responsible. When only the father of the thief is at hand, a suit 672
directed against him is accepted by the biis for trial, on the basis of responsibility by reason of kinship.

/167/ If a thief rode a strange horse when committing the crime, the owner of the horse is a participant in the theft.

If the plaintiff confirms the fact that when the defendant was 685
caught the latter gave him money in order to end the affair, and if later the accused clears himself by an oath, the money in question is ruled to the defendant.

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According to the communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev, a 697
thief from a distant place, whom it would be difficult to find again,

697 is imprisoned at night in a pit which is covered by a grating, and someone sleeps on top of the grating. He is not kept in the tent lest he kill someone, flee, cause a disturbance, and among other things, do wrong to someone. They put horse locks (ksen) on the legs of a thief from a nearby place, passing them through the sidepiece of the tent at night, and pemitting him to walk about in them during the day.

Among the Kirgiz, captured thieves are bound and then subjected to corporal punishment (dzharb kursetedi) until /vpred'do/ the affair is investigated by the bii. Without denying the injustice of punishment before the judgment of the affair by the bii, Kunakbay (Auliye-Ata uyezd) justifies this custom for those cases where the thief is caught red-handed or was armed with a spear or an ax (aybalta).

If the thief is caught in the act of stealing and refuses to go to the nearest volost official, arguing that he is innocent, or if he attempts to flee, then he is bound. If the thief continues to deny his guilt after that, or to make various claims, he is beaten in order to force confession (chiningdy ayt). The volost official to whom they take the prisoner asks him such questions as: "Are you a thief? Where did you steal from? (or come from). If you are not a thief, clear youself and I will let you go free. But if you did steal, I will give you over to the owner of the stolen goods." The thief is transferred into the hands of the owner. The owner of the stolen goods keeps the thief in his tent until the presentation of his suit /168/ in court. The prisoner is kept bound or in general in such a way that he cannot escape (kitpes kylyb baylaydy) his legs are fettered (ksen salady), and also he is beaten, but not much (kub savamaydy). They do not beat or abuse a well-known person(bilimdy ksi). A bii does not accept complaints from the thief for blows, saying: "That is your punishment (dzhaza)". (Communicated by bii Abdurakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

194 If the thief is captured while stealing at night, his captor confines him in the tent and interrogates him: "Why are you stealing?
172 Was it not you who also stole what was lost last year and the years before?" Bound and confused, the thief often confesses, while being beaten, to all these crimes, of which he is completely innocent, and of which they accuse him only in order to frighten him. Later they inform the volost official of his confession and send him the thief himself. The volost official also holds the thief in confinement, interogates him and notifies his relatives. The best people from among

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his relatives appear and say to the volost official: "Give up this 672
thief to us. We will interrogate him well. If he is guilty of something we will make him pay for it. If he is innocent we will present you with proof" (bul uyyny bzning kolymyzga ber, muny abdan khub suralyk; algan bulsa, maldy alyb berelik, almagan bulsa, almagan iken dib sizdi isenterelik). In agreeing to give up the prisoner, the volost official takes a receipt (tilinen khat) for the fulfillment of the promises mentioned above.

The owner who has already received his property can receive 685
a supplementary atton from the thief. Sometimes the biis and aksakals among the relatives of the thief say: "He is innocent of other thefts (uzge maldan) take atton from him and give him a voucher for the fact that you will not open suit against him for anything lost" (falan vakytda dzhogalgan degen maldy suramaska), or else: "But if you are thinking of opening a suit, give us back the atton you took from us." They never take the atton anymore, however. This custom existed under the Kokandians and khans. In this way, as was explained above, the thief was often released without bringing him to a court examination (Torgai).

/169/ A candid confession does not lighten the punishment. 685
On the contrary, when the bii sees the offender acknowledging the 695
fact of his commission of the crime without shame, he may considere him a hardened ruffian or a professional thief and impose a higher fine because of this, or punishment by whipping. (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

The plaintiff for his part, seeing that the defendant confesses from honesty and straightforwardness (er iken, muynyna, alyb otur, chinin aytty) can resign from the whole suit or part of it (Perovsk uyezd).

When there is a voluntary confession (azamat iken, uzi kelib aytty), with or without a court summons, the punishment can be reduced, and in view of repentence, completely forgiven, but only with the consent of the plaintiff (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a defendant denies the fact of his confession at a previous interrogation by a village elder, confirmed by a written act, the biis consider it possible to require a purificatory oath, as with a simple disavowal.

Stealing with house-breaking or without house-breaking, from 685
a trunk and from an open place are punished alike (Torgai). (1) There

1. According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 81, the easier a theft is, the more shameful it is considered. On this basis

695 opposing side, for example, of the defendant (dagvagerining tang-lauyncha).

The interrogation of witnesses with an oath is necessary in criminal cases, naturally, only when the defendant pleads not guilty. In civil suits if a witness was not only present, but was also invited as a witness in the conclusion of an agreement, the transmission of money, etc., he gives testimony without an oath, even though the defendant denies his guilt. Once both sides have agreed on one and the same witness, the case is decided on the basis of his words, and one side can no longer bring an exception against it afterwards.

The refusal of a witness, not from support of his own words, but of the solemn confirmation of them by presenting the oath, is now considered as a conviction of his side (Umurbek).

According to Torgai, an oath is required from a witness when the litigant declares him to be partial (spur, i. e., disputable).

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696 There are two kinds of guarantors: 1) tankefil' (1) or erefil',

1. According to Aleksandrov, tankefil' means unfaithful, so that it should be pronounced tanykefil'.

2) zarkefil' or malkefil'. The former engage themselves to present for confrontation (taub beredi): suspects who are under investigation and trial, or thieves or criminals, including those under sentence, and also in the case of non-fulfillment of some sort of pact. The latter are held responsible with their property when such persons fail to fulfill pacts and obligations. Guarantors of the second type are usually karavanbashis, while guarantors of the first type are the relatives who take a thief from the hands of the volost official for correction.

Both types of guarantors are characterized, according to Makovetskii and according to bii Sultan, by the saying: "a guarantor dies for a man, /194/ and pays for property" (erge kefil' uledi, malga kefil' tuleydi).

Both sides can have one and the same guarantor. The death of a debtor (karzdar) for whom a zarkefil' has been guarantor, does not relieve the latter from his property resposibilty for the deceased. A guarantor who has paid for the obligations of a negligent or deceased debtor can open a suit for the exaction of the losses from the heir.

4:Grodekov--174 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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The tankefil' is not held resposible for the death of a man released on bail. If he flees, the tankefil' is sentenced to the same sentence which had been imposed on the person who fled. But according to Aleksandrov, the tankefil' is held responsible according to agreement.

When a middle man becomes a zarkefil', both sides pay him kafiliane for this. This happens in obligations of debt.

If a person who has bought stolen property unknowingly has it confiscated, he turns to the person who sold it to him. If the seller declares that he did not sell it, and there were no witnesses present, then they require him to swear an oath to clear himself. The guarantor pays after the oath is sworn. If the guarantor denies that he guaranteed it, they also require him to swear a purificatory oath.

Sometimes the owner of a thing given out in debt touched the arm (bilek - from the elbow to the wrist of the arm) of the guarantor. If the fact of this contact is beyond doubt, on this basis the bii sentences the guarantor to pay the debt because of the insolvency of the debtor (Perovsk uyezd).

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Among the convincing proofs in a trial are: the confession of the defendant, contradiction of testimonies during interrogation, the generally known corruption of the accused, his disposition for lying, the absence of definite occupations, capture on the spot of the crime, the finding of the lost property with the defendant, fresh tracks leading from the place of the crime to his tent, his flight from the trial, his non-appearance at the trial, the testimony of witnesses, every sort of written document, etc. In the Perovsk uyezd one case of wergeld was broken off on the basis of the testimony of a Russian doctor that death was by natural causes, and not /195/ the consequence of blows. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the chief of the uyezd transferred the case of Suleiman Burdzhanov, who lost an eye in a fight, to an extraordinary session, on the testimony of a Russian doctor. (1)

1. In the Kazalinsk uyezd there was a case in which biis required wergeld in spite of the testimony of a doctor who stated that the loss of the eye was due to illness.

Convincing evidence loses force when the defendant denies the fact of confession, capture, the finding of tracks, the giving out of

693 arrangements.

When a suit or part of it is abandoned without consequence because of distance or some other reason, a biilyk is not collected.

A biilyk is not taken when a session is abandoned by force of an earlier decision. Also when an earlier decision is overruled, the biilyk received for it is returned.

When the bii decrees that the period of time of an oath is to be extended because of the illness of the swearer, he receives biilyk for this labor.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, a biilyk is not taken even in such cases where the defendant clears himself by oath. He pays only about 20 or 40 kopeks then, up to one ruble, for receiving the document of acquittal from the bii with the affixing of the seal. This collection is called mukhrana ("for the seal").

681 /198/ Losses and court costs (chygyn) are included in the fine itself. When the fine has already been obtained, the biis can refuse a suit for the recovery of court costs, with the exception of cases concerning wergeld, for in such cases many people are summoned into court, and the cost of the summoning adds up to a considerable sum which cannot be covered by a part of the wergeld. (1)

1. According to Torgai, the expenses for a suit concerning wergeld can be separated from the wergeld. All pay equally for the wergeld /po khunu/, but for the expenses the guilty party pays first of all, and then the clan, and the latter pays only when the former already has no property left.

When a suit ends without a fine, the winner of the case seeks reimbursement for the losses and court expenses which he has also been required to pay in one session of the court or another.

694 The period of time for the payment of the fine is recorded in the document of the judgment, but this measure appears in part to be inoperative. The customary law does not assume a period of time.

696 In the case of the defendant'sinsolvency or his absence, the exaction is extended to his group of ten (unbasilas), and when their 697 means have been exhausted, to the group of fifty, then to the village, which is noted in the document. (2) Only that which was necessary for

2. In ancient times when the payer was insolvent, the group of ten, or fifty, etc., in order, did not pay for him,

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but his entire lineage or entire clan directly. For example, in the case of insolvency of a defendant from another lineage but the same clan, the plaintiff received the exaction from the entire lineage, but when the defendant was from another clan, then he obtained it from the entire clan.

life was not taken away.

When the defendant is insolvent, if the sum of the fine is large, for example 1500 rubles, it is decreed to be paid directly by his group of fifty and his village, by-passing the group of ten.

The exaction is not extended further than to that circle upon which the oath was imposed.

An exaction from a cummunity in the order established by the biis, takes place on the basis of an apportionment made by the community itself among the tents (biiding tygyzdauy, khalktyng uigaruy buincha).

A community can refuse to pay the exaction for its member, forcing him to become a laborer. 672

/199/ Requiring the payment from the community is regarded as reasonable in that the clan which fears paying for a thief restrains him by moral influence from repeating his stealing. At the present time the imposition of property responsibility on the community is an outlived principle, since 1) the individual has freedom of action and is not obliged to ask permission of his neighbors before coming and going; (1) 2) as a consequence of the changing conditions of

1. The individual is free to be absent temporarily, but for transferring from one volost to another he remains completely dependant on the clan, which can fail to give its consent for his discharge. The poorest clan keeps a vigilant eye on its solvent member, whom it needs, not even speaking of charitable purposes, directly for the payment of taxes for the impoverished.

life, property among the Kazakhs is associated more and more with the individual and the close circle of the family.

If the defendant is a new arrival, the sentence is extended to his fellow travelers fellow tradesmen, and domestics (kosdas). If none of these exist or they are without property, the defendant can be given out as a laborer.

The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of 665

in Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 71. This ritual does not exist in the Turkestan region, as is evident from the words of Sultan Kanaev: this is anarchy (nizamsiz), the act of people who are not subject to any chief (ishbir khakimga karamagan adamnyng esi). 681 682

Wergeld is paid and received not by a person but by a clan. If the murdered person and the murderer are from one clan, then it is paid and received by the lineage, if they are both from the same lineage, by the sublineage, etc. For example, if one is of the Bisata lineage, the other of the Yamanbay lineage (both these lineages constitute the Kutenchi clan, of the main clan of Kungrat), in the Chimkent uyezd all five volosts of the Bisata pay, and all five volosts of the Yamanbays receive the wergeld. The wergeld received, taking out 100 to 300 rubles for funeral and memorial services, is distributed among the volosts, then among the villages, etc. The close and distant relatives of the murdered person and the murderer, rich and poor, must pay and receive equal shares. Even though the clan of the murderer be /234/ far away or scattered over a large area, nevertheless demands are sent for the payment of their shares of the wergeld, authenticated by the affixing of many seals. Now the distribution of the wergeld received is not above abuse from influential persons. 681 682 672

Wergeld is not exacted when there are no kinsmen to act as plaintiffs.

According to Torgai, the rule "blood for blood" (khunga khun, kanga kan) was observed earlier in several places. Even now in the Kazalinsk uyezd the clan of the murdered person tries to commit murder in order to take blood for blood, but they are not permitted to do this, for people say: "It happened by the will of God." In general the custom of taking blood for blood no longer exists.

Now, if the community on which the wergeld is imposed is insolvent because of its small number of people, none of them is killed and the community is simply considered to be in debt. (1)

1. It is said that in Bukhara there is a custom of collecting alms for the payment of wergeld.

Those who draw together to pay the wergeld and also to receive it are called comrades in the wergeld (khundas). It is practically impossible to refuse to take part in the apportioning (shesken) of the payment of a wergeld. If one did, they would not give him a share of wergelds received and would not participate in the payment of wergeld for his own commission of murder.

681 If a small community, living in the midst of a community of
682 many members, but not related to it, takes part by some chance in
the payment of wergeld for a murder committed by the large group,
672 then both communities are considered khundas, and this numerous clan
must pay for a murder committed by the small community. If it
refuses, the small group reminds it that they once were khundas. If
the large group is still not inclined to take part in the payment, the
community which is under fine is left to take a copy of the judgment
and to send it along with a demand for participation /235/ in paying
the wergeld to the place where the rest of their clan lives, to their
motherland, so to speak. At first these are unwilling to pay, and scold
them: "Why did you go away from us", but finally they do pay nevertheless.

In Kurama wergeld is not exacted from the clan but from the family: from the father, the brother and the uncle (akesi ukesi, amekesi kuyadi). Formerly there was killing for insolvency.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the wergeld is imposed in this way: after deliberation between the kinsmen of the payer of the wergeld, a part is assigned to the defendant himself, while the rest is paid by his kinsmen within the degree of kinship to which it is forbidden to marry. They divide this part among them.

681 The amount of wergeld for a man is the same, whether he be a
682 sultan, a hodja, a guest, a thief, a child, an adult, (1) etc., in accordance with the

1. In the article by Gorrovitskii, "Okonchanie del polumirom po kirgizskomu obychnomu pravu" /The ending of cases by polumir /cf. below/ according to Kazakh customary law/, (Iuridicheskii Vestnik, May, 1885, p. 194), it is stated that if the widow of a murdered man remains without means with a female child, and if the murdered man had no brother whom she could marry, then she must receive 50 horses, without any concessions. But if she is young and has a male child and consequently can count on marrying one of her husband's kinsmen, then when the case is decided by polumir (karyndas kyb)i. e., with the full confession of the murderer that he has committed the crime, the payment to the widow must be limited to 25 horses.

ance with the proverb: "The wicked and the good are equal once after death (i. e., their wergeld is the same), and another time during life" (i. e., abuse can affect everyone equally) (yaman ksi yakhsy ksige ulgende br teng keledi, tirisinde br teng keledi).

If one is to believe the claims of the sultans, for the murder of a sultan or a hereditary bii the wergeld paid is one and a half the usual amount, namely 6 yakhsy are added to the 6 yakhsy. (Communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev). 681 682

For the murder of a woman, including one's own wife, half a wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed by a woman, full wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed in a drunken state, the wergeld is unchanged.

For unpremeditated murder wergeld is not customary, but only /236/ a gift of clothing and covering the expenses for burial and memorial services (asatau).

If the murder occurred in self-defense, this must be proven before the plaintiffs in order to be freed from the payment of wergeld. However it is still a disputable question whether wergeld should be paid in such cases, i. e., when the murdered man was a thief, not allowing himself to be captured, or some other criminal defending himself by arms against the rider who has been sent to arrest him, or a bandit who is the first to start fighting. The plaintiffs demand the payment of the full wergeld, offering on their part to pay the fine for the attack, fighting, stealing and in general the offense which is acknowledged for the murdered man. They support themselves by saying the defendant is entering a false accusation against the murdered man, in order to avoid paying the wergeld. According to Mikebai, wergeld must be paid for the murder of a thief, even if he started the fight, if he was not the first to use a weapon. Wergeld, however, does not need to be paid for the murder of a thief, if he was the first to begin armed resistance. 681 682 672

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that self defense in case of the attack of plunderers and outlaws is permitted only in a measure which is not criminal. But if the defender strikes the attacker, even though unintentionally, and it results in death or injury to a part of the body, the person guilty of this pays wergeld, while at the same time the plunderers bear responsibility for the damage by them.

If the murdered person is an orphan living with his step-father, his clan demands nevertheless that wergeld be paid for his murder. In the absence of the clan, the step-father can demand wergeld in the name of the younger brother of the victim, but must put the wergeld received to one side, to be given to the clan of the victim on their first demand (Kurama uyezd). According to Khalmakammed

681 of the Chimkent uyezd, the mother may receive part of the wergeld at
682 the will of the kinsmen. She can pay part of the wergeld, if she wishes, for a murder committed by this orphan.

672 If a servant of a rich man dies and his heirs /237/ seek wergeld from the master, the biis examining the case must find out as their first duty whether the man froze to death for lack of clothing, or died of hunger, or was killed stealing or while engaged in other pernicious pursuits. If it can be proven by the testimony of witnesses that the death was caused by one of the above-mentioned circumstances, then the owner must pay the wergeld. But if the death occurred for one of these reasons and a dispute arises because the side does not confess, then four persons from the side of the defendants must swear an oath, or if a woman has been killed, two persons.

According to the biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmakammed, if a servant who is traveling in pursuit of thieves or enemies is killed, it is impossible to demand wergeld from his owner, even when the murderer belongs to a tribe like the Kalmuks, from whom it is unthinkable to demand wergeld.

681 For a murdered man, according to the communication of Baymet
682 Sagyndykov of the Chimkent uyezd, 1000 Shariat tillias are exacted of 10 tengas each, and if one counts each tillia at 4 rubles, as is customary, then it is 500 tillias or 10,000 tengas. If it is paid in livestock, then 100 camels must be paid. Absalyamov reports for the same uyezd that 100 horses and 100 rams are paid for a murdered man, or 600 tillias in money. Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd reports that for a murdered man from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld consists of 200 mares, and for a murdered woman from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld is 100 mares.

There are cases in which influential relatives succeed in exacting 3-5 wergelds for one murdered clan chief. For example, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd a total sum of 1,300 tillias and one girl was exacted as wergeld and expenses, from 500 tents, for the murder of an honorable personage of the white bone by the name of Yalangtash.

According to Sultan Daulet, the former wergeld for murder was of two types:

/238/ First Type

1) 1000 sheep = 1000 tillias = 2 girls.

2) 6 yakhsy, i. e., 2 slaves, 2 dromedary camels (nar) and 2 good horses. Wild animals such as a fox, wolf, antelope, etc. could be substituted for horses.

4:Grodekov--222 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The withdrawal of trust (isenimsizdik) is not imposed by the 681
court but is a natural consequence of a crime. Every blameworthy misdemeanor is accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by a forfeiture of trust.

The Kazakhs, like the Kirgiz, did not betray criminals in their midst, for specific fines exist for crimes. But the Kirgiz sold criminals to the Kazakhs and vice versa, and also the Sarts sold them to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz for a ransom, i. e., a fine, the sum of which was not determined by custom but was designated arbitrarily. If the kinsmen could not pay the sum demanded, because of poverty, or did not wish to because of repeated stealing, this gave the right to kill the criminal.

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/249/ Entering a tent.

To ride past the doors of a tent (aldynan yuru) and not behind 596
it, is considered impolite. If a newcomer stops only at the very doors, having already passed two panels / reshetki / of the tent (yeki kanat kerege), they say to him scornfully: What do you think you are, a chief?

It is necessary to stop and tie the horse behind the tent, and then to call the masters with the words: Syuyles! Adam barma? (I wish to begin a conversation; is the master here?). But this custom is now observed less strictly.

If a horse tied up in front of a tent kicks a child, a fine is paid [672
of 1/4 the value of the horse, i. e., 5 rubles (because the leg is one of four extremities), while if the child is killed, a full wergeld is paid. But if the horse kicked it behind the tent, the fault is laid to the child which went back there. Even if the horse kicked it to death, only the value of the horse would be exacted, or if there were aggravating circumstances which were the fault of the horse's owner - 1/2 a wergeld.

Entering a tent in the absence of the owners (otagasy) by one who is not a relative, is not regarded as nice. He is reminded of the fact that in case of loss the suspicion will fall on the person who has entered.

Unfastening the doors (of reeds - esik, of wooden folds - ergenek) in the absence of the owners is regarded as an act which

/207 cont. /

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 708 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often [782] swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

[Great Horde]

602 relationship, a man must now be aware of, respond to the economic and legal implications of, a relationship through the mother's sister. In the light of this, we must re-examine the lines of consanguinity, and we find that the agnatic line no longer satisfies all the relationships involved, or even the major proportion of them. Descent is significant in the light of the data here presented through the grandfather in general, and not through the father's father alone. A man can call on me for help if he shares a common grandfather with me, and conversely, I can call on him. This is a cognatic relationship, and not at all an agnatic one, which in the present context is of considerable theoretical interest.

●67a 681 593 A final relationship between the kinship system and the law on the steppe which is to be discussed is the legal personality of the family. The family was a person before the criminal law of the Great Horde, as it was in other parts of the steppe. Thus, if a father killed his son, no legal proceeding could be undertaken against him; nor could the law intervene if the son killed his father. The family unity could not be invaded, that is, by outside forces. Again, if the father was alive, and a brother killed a brother, the legal process could not intervene; and even if the father were dead and the sons had moved apart, only a small sum was paid to the family of the victim, more a token payment than a true wergeld.[165]

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[165] Ibid., 15-16.

672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
593 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of kalym, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yüz, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radlov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.[166]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

[166] Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 450; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

/141/ CHAPTER IX.

673 Crimes. - Thievery. - Baranta. - The salavat and limitations - Syuyunchi.

There is no word for "crime" in the Kazakh language. Dzhaman is means evil deed. That all crimes are no other than evil deeds is, of course, only in the eyes of those injured. When the latter speak of violence (zorlyk) and torture (dzhabr) the transgressors of their interests boast of their own heroism (batyrlyk).

The word guna (sin, wrong) does not fit our concept of crime. In the epic of Guruly beloved by the Kazakhs, among other things, Avaz-khan is called gunakar because he dripped a bowl. He is obliged to shoot a certain number of ducks because of this.

The people distinguish a bad act from a sin. Evil done to the detriment of religious rituals and certain forms of incest are a sin. Sin is considered more serious than crime, but according to the concepts of the majority, murder is considered more criminal than a minor sin.

The offender who is subjected to punishment is called aybdi, aybdar. The word "transgressor, criminal" is translated most closely into Kazakh by the word ury, thief.

673 695 The view of the customary law toward crime is extremely simple. Criminal acts which have been under examination or which continue, do not exist, when there is no plaintiff, or when the plaintiff retracts his suit. Therefore in all suits without exception a reconciliation is possible and the affair can be broken off by the plaintiff. Crimes which are known about by the aksakals, biis and the entire people, but /142/ on which no plaintiff declares himself(1)

1. In other words, an injury to people without a clan, or an injury to people of a clan of small numbers.

are not punished. It is obvious, that the judgments are governed not by a feeling of justice, nor by a religious feeling, but a desire to bring the sides to agreement and avoid civil war, also in part by the danger of injuring weak clans, which might join forces against the strong ones, and finally by unwillingness to destroy the foundations of family life, the clan principle, and those few customs and rules of nomadic life (zang, adat, rasm) which have been worked out over time and under which the people have lived well.

1 [Should be "dropped" -- A]

4:Grodekov--120 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Folk custom not only permits but also obliges the persons who have suffered to avenge the crimes committed against them. The avenger is usually the person who has suffered, but a part or even the whole clan has a right to take part in the revenge. The entire clan considers itself obligated to avenge a case of the secret kidnapping of a girl by a Kazakh of another clan, or the driving away of a considerable number of livestock, which may belong to only one person, but one who is honored by his kinsmen. Also specific insults not only of an honored member, but of any Kazakh, which are made by a mob, call for armed defense and the resentment of the entire people. 628

The limit of the revenge is considered to be doing harm to the adversary on an equal level to the harm suffered from him. Then the hostile lineages or clans already take part in pacifying their members. But if the avenger does not cease to wreak damage on his adversary, he is subjected to fines of an atton or higher, and in extreme cases to corporeal punishment on the part of his kinsmen. The fines go for the use of the person suffering from superfluous revenge.

Peaceful agreements are permissable in every offense and crime. The fines in such cases (outside of court) go to the use of the person who suffered, or else, when they are considerable, they are divided among the closest kinsmen of the receiver.

Although custom does have the concept of more /143/ serious and less serious crimes, it does not divide them into criminal and civil crimes. 673

A crime which is committed with premeditated intent increases the blame. The commission of a crime with provocation, especially if it is called forth by the sufferer, lightens the blame. Circumstances which lighten the offense are: the thoughtlessness of the transgressor, or the honor and respect he enjoyed before the crime was committed. The commission of a crime in the steppe in an open place by day lessens the offense. A crime committed in a tent at night increases the offense. Poverty does not lighten the guilt. It does not excuse thievery, for example, for the clan is held responsible. A clan which has not helped a poor man, pays all claims against him three times, each time compelling him to reform, and forcing him to make promises on his oath. (1) The commission of a crime in a state of drunken- 672

1. After the third time he is driven out. A poor man and a person without a clan gives up his daughter in place of money, and pays off the sum required of him from the 685

685 kalym he receives for her. But if he also has no daughter, he enters into the service of the plaintiff.

672 ness lightens the blame, and in the opinion of some, even frees the offender from a fine, and he is only obligated to pay for the damages.

Official persons are not punished more severely than private persons for a crime.

Crimes committed for reasons beyond the control of the person's will (illness, temporary insanity, etc.), do not bring punishment upon the persons committing them. In such cases the kinsmen are held responsible as not having watched over the activities of their sick fellow members and not having protected the sufferers from danger. Those who are insane from birth and deafmutes are not punished for crimes committed and their kinsmen are not held responsible for them. Offenders who are under age are not punished. Their parents and close relatives are held responsible for them. Husbands are responsible for the crimes of their wives, but the wives are not responsible for their husbands. The successors of deceased criminals are held responsible in property for their crimes. /144/ In general, the responsibility in property for crimes extends to the seventh degree of kinship inclusively.

685 In Makovetskii (Pt. I p. 81) we find that punishment is decreased when a theft is committed in a strange volost. Certain
672 biis of the Syr-Darya oblast disagree with this. They maintain that suits for theft should be judged with equal strictness, whether they are committed in an outside volost or in one's own, against the defenseless (for example, from children), or against the strong. (1)

1. Aleksandrov reports that the Kazakhs of the Kazalinsk uyezd steal livestock primarily from other clans and uyezds. The people are indulgent about this, considering it something which goes with youth, although they sometimes are reproachful about it in words.

673 Careless actions which result in damage are judged as crimes. Wealthy persons compensate for the damage with property ; or for harm caused to the health they pay wergeld in the amount established by custom. These cases are called angsyzdan, and the people regard them more indulgently than they do cases committed for revenge or for other aims.

672 685 The person under whose instigation and advice the theft was made, pays a fine, after which the thief returns the object stolen without a fine (Perovsk uyezd). According to bii Sultan, instigation and calumny is a sin which God never forgives (kudanyng kechpes gunasy). There are now many instigators (azgrushi) and tell-tales (suztasushi). The biis do not believe them. In confirming the proverb entered in Makovetskii: "He who ordered the beating is not punished, he who did the beating is punished" (ur degenge zor kel'mes, urganga zor keler) bii Sultan Kanaev says that the instigator escapes punishment because he will not acknowledge his instigation, and that even though the instigation can be proved, in general it is better to impose the punishment on the actual criminal. E. A. Aleksandrov also reports that the instigators and those assisting the crime are not recognized as guilty by custom.

Those who conceal crimes and transgressors, or objects obtained by crime are called to responsibility equally with the criminals themselves. The receivers of persons under suspicion are called to account like thieves. Unconscious concealment is not persecuted. Not giving up a thief, even though he be one's own son or father, is considered being his accomplice. The person who saw the crime but did not speak of it in the inquiry is also considered an accomplice (Perovsk uyezd). According to Kunakbai of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the person who conceals property pays nothing, and if he was sentenced to pay an atton, for example, he can demand its return from the thieves. The person who conceals /146/ the thief himself does not pay. "A reprimand of him would be useless," added the bii.

Connivers and the other persons implicated are not subjected to any penalty, but they do not escape the inquiry and a reprimand (Perovsk uyezd). They are called kumekshi. The kumekshi is not a thief, but is not clean of thievery (kumekshi 'ury imes urydan kuru imes) as bii Sultan Kanaev expressed it.

673 The number of acts which are not considered reprehensible, or which are not prosecuted by customary law even though reprehensible, is considerable among the Kazakhs. (1)

1. In Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 60 it says: The comparatively low level of culture of the Kazakhs not only explains their general view of criminal activity, but also their attitude to many acts which are prosecuted among civilized societies, and which are considered fully lawful among the Kazakhs.

Without even speaking of the many police infringements of the law, of which the Kazakhs have no concept, it is impossible not to mention here their attitudes to such acts as abortion, putting a newborn child to death, forsaking a man in danger, swindling and taking the law into their own hands. These are regarded either as entirely unreprehensible acts or else, in the case of swindling, as acts serving as the basis for civil suits. Taking the law into their own hands in the form of baranta even constitutes a kind of heroic deed.

Among the acts which are not considered reprehensible are 1) Abuse and every sort of verbal insult. 2) light blows;(2) 3) theft among

2. The sufferer of the blows considers himself satisfied if he can boast that he hit his adversary, even if only once.

kinsmen; 4) immoral acts, committed with the consent of both sides; 5) taking the law into their own hands; 6) abuse of power; 7) all crimes, committed against the defenseless. 8) all crimes, committed against members of other tribes. (3)

3. When asked about the proverb: "the property of the unfaithful is allowed (to be taken), their daughters are allowed (to be made concubines), and their blood is allowed (to be spilled)" (din sizding maly alal, kyzy alal, kany alal), bii Sultan Kanaev began to explain the word unfaithful - as someone who does not pray, does not fast, etc. - but then added: "if the padishah gives the order to make war (padsha buyursa chaubal dib), but it is not permitted in a stealing manner (urlyk pen alal imes)."

We turn now to the listing of several misdemeanors which are recognized at the present time as deserving of reprimand, reproof and even of a fine, but for which there are rarely suits in court, since the plaintiff usually has great difficulty in getting a fine to be imposed./147/ (Table follows).

4:Grodekov--125 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd
Instigation to fighting and murder (sukan-chilik)	Rebuke (1) of the aksakal and forcing to repent.		Not punished	Formerly the whip. (durra). Now a fine of 3 rubles.

( )

1. The reason why Sultan Daulet Bushaev imposes a rebuke, etc., and the biis of the Auliye-Ata uyezd do not, is that the former represents the patriarchal point of view, and the latter the present practice. In the words of Kunakbai, nowadays a rebuke, etc., does not lead to anything. (Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii Kurama uyezd
Repetition of the same misdemeanor.	Corporal punishment and shaming.		Reprimand of the bii.	Forfeiture of trust, denouncement as a mutakhan (shameless one) and banishment.
Noise and disturbance of nocturnal peace.	Rebuke or corporeal punishment.		Not punished.	It is called tentek, dzhindy. It is not punished.
False alarm, crying attan (to horse!).	Compensation for damages incurred.		Compensation for damages incurred.	Called maskharabaz. Scolded but not punished.
The same, if a woman miscarries a child from fright. /148/	From 3 to 4 camels to one-half wergeld.		Not punished. But if woman is influential 100 rubles fine.	The payment of the appropriate wergeld.
Fast riding in village, around village, or approaching tent at a gallop.	Rebuke.		Not punished.	A scolding. The offender is called akhmak.

(Table continues).

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4:Grodekov--127 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Digging holes without warning signs, or destroying these.	Rebuke and medical treatment of those hurt.		Not punished.	Warning that if someone is hurt, the digger will pay.
Slander, false denunciation. (ṣukhanchilik	Forfeiture of trust (zhenimsizdik). sizdik).	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly a whipping. (durra). Now a 3 ruble fine. ruble fine.
Not giving help when seeing theft or brigandage.	Reprimand		Not punished.	Not punished.
Not reporting the commission of a crime.		Not punished.		

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Not giving help in danger, as a result of which a person dies.		Not punished	Not punished.	They suspect murder and impose an oath.
Not helping one's own in a time of general uproar or /149/ harming one's own.	2 or 3 nines.			He is considered a traitor (ala); In time of upheaval he is killed /149/ (chaub kitedi).
Malicious luring into danger, resulting in death, e. g., from beasts.		Can demand a partial wergeld.		Full wergeld.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--128 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--129 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Not giving kunakasy.		Not punished.	Not punished.	In case of death, wergeld is paid for a person, and the value for a horse.
Affront and insult of kinsmen.	Corporeal punishment, depending on the desire of the kinsman.	Affronts and light blows administered to kinsmen, and strangers, even tiuri, is not punished.		They are pacified and warned against repetition.
False witness.	Forfeiture of trust and the remuneration for damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
False oath.	Punishment in future life and remuneration of damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Punishment in future life. Same report from Kazalinsk uyezd. Bii Sultan, of the Chimkent uyezd reports that the guilty party answers in /150/ the future life. He is called muttekh. They spit on him at the end of the oath ritual. His words are no longer believed (suzi bi igtibar) and he is not chosen to be one of the oath takers.
Cheating and deceit of any kind.		In the opinion of Kunakbai and many others, it is not punished. They only repay damages.		

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--130 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

4:Grodekov--131 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Unjust judgment of an affair by a bii.	Not punished.		Not punished.	
The acceptance of gifts by a bii who has justly (tene) decided a lawsuit.	Not punished.	----------	----------	
The extortion of gifts by a bii.		He loses respect (beti kara).		
/151/ A fight in which a horse is wounded.	Atbastagan toguz, or, according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd, atton, but if the horse dies, the value is paid.			If the horse dies of the wounds, it is paid for, otherwise not.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Unjust blows (1)	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

1. Among the Kirgiz no suit is entered for abuse and blows between equals. For abuse of an official person, the bii makes a reprimand and sentences a beating, while for blows borne by a superior, he requires sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made (el kyldyrady). For a wound to an equal, the bii requires a sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made. For a wound to a thief (uruny bashiny yarsa) no suit is brought (reported by bii Daniyar).

Blows from which death resulted.	Full wergeld	In the opinion of many others, full wergeld. (In practice it is not observed, according to reports from the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds.)	
Blows suffered by a strange woman, resulting in miscarriage.			According to Torgai, wergeld is immediately (tokhtausiz) required for miscarriage without an oath as to whether it took place with or without blows. (Table continues).

4-Grodekov--182 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--133 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Blows administered to a husband /152/ or another, because of which a which a woman miscarries.				According to Torgai, if the /152/ guilty party does not present the oath of two persons that the miscarriage was the result not of fright but of something else, he must pay wergeld according to the miscarriage. The choice of the side which must swear can also be given to the plaintiff.
Threat of murder.		Not punished, in the opinion of many. According to bii Sultan, an admonition is made: Stop, leave these ways (tasta, bu filingnan kait)!		A fine of 25 rubles.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts				
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Petrovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.	
Attempt to murder.	Three nines (tyuya-at-siir-bastagan toguz).	According to bii Sultan, "ayb for the knife", i. e., an attempt to murder (pshak ayby) costs 1-2 nines.			
/153/ Attempt at theft or brigandage.	Atton	In the opinion of Uymaut and others of the Chimkent uyezd, it is not punished. Sazabai agrees. According to Umurbek and others, there is pardon or a fine no greater than an atton.			
Fire resulting from carelessness.	Payment of damages.			Payment of damages (tuleuin beredi).	
Setting a fire maliciously.	Payment of damages, with addition of fine or prison.			Payment of damages with fine of 50 rubles.	

(Table continues).

4-Grodekov--134 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Contributing to suicide.		Not punished. But can demand partial wergeld.	Not punished.	Full wergeld.

If a violation of the rules of morality is punished, it is punished primarily by domestic measures, as is evident from the following list.

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umur-bek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai
Lewd behavior	Rebuke of aksakal, admonition (taufik) and forced repentance (tauba).			

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--135 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
/154/ Turning this behavior into a profession.	Order to husband or relatives for corporeal punishment and supervision.			
Adultery with a married woman, proven as only one visit of the lover.	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly 1 nine (1)

1. Torgai says that he posed a question to the biis (Umurbek and others) of the Auliye-Ata uyezd: "You know better than I, tell me: khatynyng amining ayby bar ma?" They answered that no fine is imposed for adultery. He answered: "You have eaten dirt! In earlier times they imposed one nine."

Adultery discovered in flagranti.	One nine.	Up to 1 nine	20-30 rubles.	
The same with a fight resulting in miscarriage.	Tyuya bastagan nine.		50-100 rubles. for miscarriage.	(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--136 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--137 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliy-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
The same with a girl.	3 nines.	Kunakbai: the corruption of a girl with her consent even though she is betrothed, and regardless of age, is not punished.	There is binding, beating and 20-30 rubles are exacted.	From 1 to 3 nines. Formerly 3 nines.

Note. If the girl was betrothed the fine goes to the benefit of the groom. If the groom /155/ renounces the bride, the fine goes to her father, who gives the groom another bride. If the girl was not betrothed, the betrothal of the guilty man to her relieves him of the fine.

The rape of a woman in general depending on the circumstances of the case.	From 2 attons to atbastagan toguz.	From 1 atton to 1 nine.	From 5-30 rubles	If she is a girl, he must marry her.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
Incest	Corporeal punishment and banishment from the village, after a public reprimand.		Death from the hands of all the people. No case had ever taken place.	
The same, by force.	The same, with humiliation.			
A sin of sodomy.	From 3-5 camels.		Not punished.	A coat and asking for forgiveness, with the slaughter of an animal.
/156/ Copulation with livestock.	Corporeal punishment and humiliation.	Not punished.	There are no male mules among the Kirgiz.	Not punished. No case of it had occurred.
Procuring.	Atton.		Not punished.	
Pimping of a mullah.	Forfeiture of clothes, all property, and banishment from the village.		The guilty man flees, abandoning everything.	

4:Grodekov--138 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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685 payment of the losses can be required. The payment for a new receipt and for court costs can be required for assistance in changing a receipt, after which the debtor is freed from the obligations of the original receipt (the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd). The Kirgiz bii Daniyar finds that there is no suit for the making out of a false receipt and affixing a strange seal to it.

e. There is no fine for the substitution of something else for what was taken for safekeeping. However the biis hold to the proverb: Whoever behaves treacherously with objects given him for safekeeping will suffer punishment in the future (amanatka khyanat kylgan akhyret dzhaz tartady).

f. The sale of an object of lower quality as something of higher type constitutes deceit, and the bargain is broken off. /159/ g. If one and the same thing is sold to two different persons, it is adjudged to belong to the one who paid the money for it first and carried out the ritual of shaking hands, with the words: bereke tap ("to good fortune"). The money is returned to the other without a fine.

h. The middle man is not held responsible for arranging a sale of something he knows has been stolen, if he can produce the seller. But if he cannot find the seller he is held responsible before the person who suffered the loss, and pays a fine, for the middle man is considered a guarantor, kefil' (bii Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, and Torgai).

i. The conscious buyer of stolen goods must also present the seller, as was stated above.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that "a small deceit in trading is investigated. In case deceit is discovered, the dealer is obligated to return the payment received for the article. But if he does not desire to make the return voluntarily, and refuses to take the affair to court, the injured party has a right to take the payment by baranta. A complaint from the sufferer from baranta is not accepted or, when it is examined, it leads to the exaction of a fine from the person who caused the baranta."

Bii Sultan Kanaev cannot remember from his practise any suits concerning acceptance of things for safekeeping. According to him, only losses due to deceit should be required to be paid.

* * * *

•673 There are no special words among the Kazakhs to express the

concepts of stealing and brigandage. Urlyk is stealing or brigandage; 673
ury is thief, robber and criminal in general, urlamak is to steal, tartyb, almak is to take away, to ransack. Theft accompanied by violence is not judged more severly than simple theft.

Among the Kirgiz, there is more severe prosecution of the theft of a considerable number of objects, for clear robbery and for taking away by force (bii Daniyar).

Robbery accompanied by violence occurs in the following 674
forms among the Kazakhs:

1) The plundering of every kind of traveler, such as Sart merchants and travelers. It usually opens with /160/ a request for nasvay, tobacco, or with a double meaning, for that "which is in the belt."

2) Driving horses out of the herd at night.

3) The latest kind of robbery is asking for a ticket, the presentation of which is ignored, the declaration by the robber that he intends to rob, and frightening by various threats and charges, with the request to give this or that. The aim of these circumlocutions is to discover whether the traveler has any chances of defense or not. However, robbery by force is rarely accompanied by murder.

According to the reports of the biis Sultan and Khalmakhammed 602
it is permissible to rob or to kidnap and not to return the objects 685
gained in the cases below:

1) The father and grandfather can rob from a son and grandson as often as desired, and as much property as desired. It is even possible to sell everything a son has. It is permissible also to sell the son into bondage, i. e., to surrender him into service for a year, and to spend the money received (balanyng uzin kyzmetke satyb zhese kham khallal').

2) A son can rob from his grandfather and father up to three times. The fourth time a fine is imposed.

3) A kinsman can rob another kinsman to the third degree of kinship (first cousins).

4) The dzhien asks his uncles (older and younger brothers of his father) for a gift, and if he does not receive it, he can rob them up to three times. If he steals too much, they take away the superfluous part from him, leaving him 1 or 2 heads of livestock. If he steals a horse which is a racer (bayge at) the uncle can demand its return in exchange for something else. If he steals for the fourth time, they tell him: "You have forfeited the rights of a nephew" (dzhien dikten ketting).

692 session of biis.

In every volost from 4 to 8 biis were elected both for the judgment of criminal cases, subject to the people's court (1) and

673 [698]

1. Murder and baranta were considered criminal cases, subject to the people's court.

The Kazakhs were judged by a military court for treason, inciting their fellow tribesmen to oppose the government, attacking the mail and military transports, the murder of Christians and other persons who had expressed the desire to become Christians, and for the murder of officials.

The Kazakhs were tried according to the common criminal laws of the empire for brigandage, stealing, attacking merchant caravans, flight into foreign domains, setting fire, manifest opposition to authorities, the manufacture and transmission of counterfeit money and the stealing of state property.

for every sort of litigation and suit.

693 The biis were elected by the people for three years.

Anyone could be chosen as a bii who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people, had not been blamed by a court, was not under investigation, and was not less than 25 years old.

The elected biis were confirmed by the military governor. They did not receive a salary, but they had the right to receive /177/ a special fee /biilyk/ for judging cases, which was established by folk customs. The fine for property suits could not be determined as higher than one-tenth of the value of the suit. For the judgment of murder cases of personal injuries, the biilyk was designated according to the customs.

692 The opposing sides in a litigation could, by mutual consent, turn to one or several biis for the examination of their case. The agreement of the litigating sides on the choice of a bii or biis for the judgment of their case had to be entered in the book established for the recording of judgments. In such a case, the judgment of the biis, as having the character of arbitration (1) was final in any amount.

1. In ancient times all courts were courts of arbitration among the Kazakhs, i. e., they were chosen each time by both sides. The plaintiff and the defendant appeared before the bii chosen by them, and if the bii was far away they

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sessions of biis for the judgment of cases up to 1000 rubles, and cases of murders and baranta, also establishing appeals of decisions according to instances. But the mass of small cases remained under the jurisdiction of individual biis and even volost sessions, consisting of a small number of these same biis, corrupted and finding themselves under the influence of rich kinsmen and volost administrators, could not act better than the trials by one person of the biis.

As a result, the trial of the biis became a corrupt trial, unpopular and subject to native officials. The unsatisfactory character of the people's court according to the law of 1867 for the examinations of the complaints of the people brought about the interference /201/ of the Russian uyezd administration in the cases of the bii's courts. The law subjected cases under 100 rubles to the jurisdiction of a bii chosen by the plaintiff from the volost of the defendant. But by using the right of challenging the biis, the defendants were constantly evading trial, and the plaintiff, in order to obtain satisfaction, was obliged to turn to the collaboration of the volost administrator, who could summon both the defendant and the biis. For the latter often failed to pay attention to the petition of the plaintiff for examination, and found justification in their own challenge by the defendant and in his disobedience. In many places there was, in practice, such an order of taking cases into the court of the biis, that not a single case was examined by the biis unless a complaint was taken directly to the uyezd chief or to his assistant, and unless a special order was taken to the volost administrator each time for the examination of the case by the biis. Thus the biis fell into direct dependance upon the volost administrators and the people's court became a field for the arbitrariness of the local authorities.

The Kazakhs, in the words of Sultan Babagaliev, adapted to the court of the biis the proverb: "If an owl is hit with a stone, the owl is killed; if a stone is hit with an owl, the owl is also killed" (tash bilyan yapalakni ursa, yapalak uledi; yapalak bilyan tashni ursa, yapalak uledi).

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The law of the 12 June, 1886, on the administration of the Turkestan region, preserved their people's court for the Kazakhs.

Submitted to the jurisdiction of the people's court is: 1) all cases concerning crimes and misdemeanors committed by natives, with the exception of the following crimes: those against the Christian faith, against the state, against the order of the administration, the state or public service, against the decree of state and land duties,

692 against the property and income of the treasury, against the public
673 welfare and well-being, the violation of quarantine regulations, the violation of decrees against epidemic and contagious diseases, the violation of rules established in case of livestock losses, against the common peace and order (the forming of /202/ gangs with malicious intent, and the receiving of persons under suspicion, false denunciations and false evidence in cases, judged according to the laws of the empire, the concealing of fugitives, and the spoiling of telegraphs and roads), against the laws of estates; against life, health, freedom and honor (murder, infliction of wounds, and fights, resulting in death, rape, unlawful detainment and confinement) against property (the violent seizure of foreign immovable property and the destruction of border landmarks and signs, setting fires and in general intentional destruction of foreign property, robbery and plundering, the stealing of treasury property and the falsification of Russian documents). 2) Cases of crimes and misdemeanors, which although not included in those mentioned above, were committed by natives against Russians, and likewise within the borders of Russian settlements. Such cases are under the jurisdiction of court establishments on a general basis.

692 Civil disputes and suits between natives and persons who do not belong to the native population, likewise cases between natives of various nationalities who have separate people's courts, and also suits based on acts carried out with the participation of Russian authorities, are carried out by justices of the peace and regional courts on a general basis.

Jurisdictional disputes concerning cases which take place between people's courts and examining magistrates, justices of the peace and also their assistants are settled finally by the regional court.

Persons not belonging to the native population who are engaged in lawsuits with natives, and likewise natives who have different people's courts in cases among themselves, can if they wish, turn to a people's court. In such a case the plaintiff forfeits the right to open suit on the same case with a justice of the peace or in a regional court.

The jurisdiction of civil cases is determined by the place of abode of the defendant, and the jurisdiction of criminal cases by the place the crime was committed. A suit which relates to several defendants is declared in the place of abode of one of them, at the choice of the plaintiff.

/203/ Cases subject to the jurisdiction of the people's court

concepts of stealing and brigandage. Urlyk is stealing or brigandage, ury is thief, robber and criminal in general, urlamak is to steal, tartyb, almak is to take away, to ransack. Theft accompanied by violence is not judged more severly than simple theft. 673

Among the Kirgiz, there is more severe prosecution of the theft of a considerable number of objects, for clear robbery and for taking away by force (bii Daniyar).

Robbery accompanied by violence occurs in the following forms among the Kazakhs: 674

1) The plundering of every kind of traveler, such as Sart merchants and travelers. It usually opens with /160/ a request for nasvay, tobacco, or with a double meaning, for that "which is in the belt."

2) Driving horses out of the herd at night.

3) The latest kind of robbery is asking for a ticket, the presentation of which is ignored, the declaration by the robber that he intends to rob, and frightening by various threats and charges, with the request to give this or that. The aim of these circumlocutions is to discover whether the traveler has any chances of defense or not. However, robbery by force is rarely accompanied by murder.

According to the reports of the biis Sultan and Khalmakhammed, it is permissible to rob or to kidnap and not to return the objects gained in the cases below: 602 685

1) The father and grandfather can rob from a son and grandson as often as desired, and as much property as desired. It is even possible to sell everything a son has. It is permissible also to sell the son into bondage, i.e., to surrender him into service for a year, and to spend the money received (balanyng uzin kyzmetke satyb zhese kham khallal').

2) A son can rob from his grandfather and father up to three times. The fourth time a fine is imposed.

3) A kinsman can rob another kinsman to the third degree of kinship (first cousins).

4) The dzhien asks his uncles (older and younger brothers of his father) for a gift, and if he does not receive it, he can rob them up to three times. If he steals too much, they take away the superfluous part from him, leaving him 1 or 2 heads of livestock. If he steals a horse which is a racer (bayge at) the uncle can demand its return in exchange for something else. If he steals for the fourth time, they tell him: "You have forfeited the rights of a nephew" (dzhien dikten ketting).

602 The wife who leaves her husband in a disagreement should not
685 take anything with her. This would be robbery.

Robbery is permissible between relatives more distant than the third degree, with the obligation of return in so far as possible in the following cases: a) for the payment of kalym. because the increase of descendants is /161/ a laudable affair; b) for the payment of a debt; c) in time of famine; d) for a necessary trip and for the pursuit of thieves. (1)

[626] 1. Sometimes when something is missing in a village. they put a bakan (pole to raise the changarak/the hoop in the center of the tent top/ when putting up the tent) up in the middle of the village and ask the thief to place the missing object under the bakan, threatening otherwise to invite the mullah in to discover him. The mullahs have various devices for discovering a thief. They bake a flat cake, blow on it (dem salady), and give everyone a piece, and when the thief swallows his piece, he will choke on it. They put a bladder (kuuk) in the hand of everyone, in turn, and in the thief's hand it swells (kebedi). They blow on a metal pitcher, calling the names of everyone in turn. When the name of the thief is called, the pitcher begins to turn around.

685 Furthermore these same biis permit taking away a horse from a known thief who is setting out to steal, if there is proof of this. They add however, that ayb is paid if the horse is taken away without proof, even though it be from a man banished from the community for stealing or one deprived of good name (muttakham). Taking away game caught by an eagle is not robbery but is taking the "chiralga" gift by force; therefore they require it to be returned without ayb. If the taking of the game were done secretly, then it would be stealing, and ayb would be paid. Finally, it is permissible to steal in return for stealing, i. e., baranta.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the words of the honorable Kazakhs, Umbet Galiev and Nurman Sarchinov, of the Kazalinsk uyezd, that stealing from the son and from the father is not permitted. In general such an act results in punishment for the younger persons, and ayb or shaming before the village for the older.

674 Horse stealing is more predominant than stealing of other livestock because horses are easier to arouse (chapchan). It takes

place especially often in the border regions of uyezds, because the search for the animal and the bringing of a suit in a strange uyezd is accompanied by difficulties, and with the solidarity of the biis, volost officials, translators and other persons with their constituents, it often ends unsuccessfully. As a result, on the borders of the uyezds boys and girls stand watch (kuzetedi) over the livestock until dawn. Long spears (nayza) with standards are erected before the tents of rich men to frighten away thieves.

/162/ Professional thieves have accomplices in the neighboring uyezd for the sale and mutual exchange of stolen goods. They steal from their own volost and from a strange volost without discernment, blindly (kuzi sokur ksidey). But there is a proverb among the Kazakhs: "A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea. It is easier for the first to perish from stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief" (uru kasyk el tengiz, ol urluk kylyb uzi kuruydi onyng ushun el kurumaydy).

Since a repetition of robbery is punished more severely by customary law, one who has fallen into stealing sometimes moves to another uyezd where he is not yet known, and in case of another conviction he is punished as though for a first case of stealing.

A thief is often registered in another volost, and in case of a complaint, the volost administrator refuses to find the stolen object on the basis that the thief is not subject to him. Meanwhile the administrator of the volost in which the thief is registered is unable to know anything because he is so far away.

The Tiuri of the Chimkent uyezd also command stealing. They [181] consider it shameful for themselves to engage in agriculture.

The tents of thieves stand alone, or in small groups of 3, 4, or 5 tents. In general the more people there are, the safer it is in the steppe.

Stolen property when it is found is confiscated in favor of the owner, even though it may have already passed into strange hands by means of sale or as a gift. The person in whose possession it is found must produce the one from whom he received it, within a certain period of time. Sometimes the bii requires the person who has the stolen property to ride with the plaintiff to that locality where he hopes to find the seller of this property, and show him to the local authorities. If he finds the actual thief there, he demands from him a reimbursement of his losses. If the accused does not carry out the demand to go to the place where he says the thief is, and asserts that

674 Stealing among the Kazakhs is a rather
685 widespread crime. They steal horses, primarily. If the thief is caught there is the custom of taking the stolen animal away from him and adding to this a fine of twice its value. As the Kazakhs say - in such cases it is almost always a question of horses - ' on the neck an addition, to the tail a support ' (in Kazakh: muinena kossau, kutenia-terkiau). This punishment is
695 called 'aip' or 'aibana'. In case there are no witnesses, the oath of some outside person is needed /346/ who is known for his honesty and who knows the accused. If such a person is found and wishes to give his oath on the innocence of the accused, then the latter is definitely released from the charge. It must be said that this is a very reliable way in
[577] general of learning the truth. It costs the Kazakh nothing to lie himself, but for some reason he will not consent to take someone else's lie upon himself.

In general, the oath, as soon as it happen between Kazakhs and not to aid an infidel, that is, a Russian, has a very serious significance and is considered sacred. At the present time it is usually given with the kissing of the Koran in the presence of an honored person or mullah, but earlier, various rites were observed. For example, it was necessary to lick the fingernail, looking at the sun, or to say the oath with the muzzle of a loaded gun in the mouth. This has already gone out of use
[778] today. In important cases, however, even now, those who are to swear are invited to some holy sepulchre and it is suggested that as they say the oath they cut off the branch of a holy tree there. It is a rare Kazakh who will consent to this sacrilege if it is a false oath.

871 somewhere into the midst of the numerous winter camps, and collect the children, almost exclusively boys, for several hours every day. The little girls learn to read and write very rarely, and only at home with their parents. [876] The instruction consists of learning verses by heart in chorus and in a singsong voice, supplemented by dictation of Tatar phrases. In the instruction there is no unity and no definite rules. As a result it often happens that the pupils of one mullah can make out only with difficulty what is written by the pupils of another, because they have learned ortography by different rules.

• 674 Moral training. The evidence from juridical statistics for the nomads is very incomplete, because most of the misdemeanors and crimes remain unknown to the authorities due to the extent of the territory and the mobility [186] of nomadic life. In addition, many crimes are concealed consciously from the Russian administration by the nomad leaders because they consider it a sufficient accounting to settle them in the native manner. Furthermore it cannot be said that justice suffers particularly because of this. In any case the people are satisfied with it and prefer a judgment according to their ancient customs to our criminal or civil court practice, which is definitely inaccesible to their concepts.

181 The character of the Kazakhs has all the qualities of the character of young nations and those, so to speak, not yet formed. In its main features their character is similar to the common Asiatic one, that is, the Kazakh has a conditional honesty and bravery as long

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other
[675] arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water, some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land, but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot remain in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back, in any case even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan, 423
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 695
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land, and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about 20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30 years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps, established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

695 in dispute or in enmity with the cummunity from which the oath taker has to be chosen.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to a report from E. A. Aleksandrov, khodjas are not freed from the oath, and in general no one is, except ishans. (1)

1. Formerly also members of the sultan's clan.

Among the Kirgiz, biis, manaps, volost officials and other persons of high standing are not excused from the oath. (2)

2. In Siberia, the agreement of the "disputable persons" who are eliminated is required before this can be done, and a voucher must be made to the effect that they or their clan are at odds with the clan of the litigant(Torgai)

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When it is necessary for someone to clear himself of suspicion outside of court, or to confirm his assertion or promise by an oath, they suggest to him that he say olda (instead of vallakhi, By God), or to drink up a quantity of water (su urttashi), or to step across a line scratched in the ground, or to make his statement facing the saint(auliyaga karab aytchi), or to lick the sharp edge of a knife (pshaktyng yuzin yala) or to lick the end of a finger, facing the moon. They attach so much importance to this oath out of court that they end a dispute informally (Torgai).

675 In making contracts the oath is sometimes used: "May God punish whichever one of us breaks this agreement" (osu suzimizdi buzganymzdy kuday buzsyn) . Or they lay a stone on the head (Makovetskii, I p. 49). This last custom no longer exists, according to Torgai, but they do say: "May your salt hit me, or the food which you have offered me, if I "etc., or: "I swear by the salt"(tuzingiz ursyn, nyanyngyz ursyn, tuzning khakynda). Swearing by the salt is a general Moslem custom.

In the conclusion of a pact for action against a common enemy /224/, the elders, yuzbashi, tubesh (standard bearer), and other honored persons in a party gather in one tent for a conference. They pledge themselves not to betray each other into the hands of the enemy, not to betray the total affair and not to hide booty, but to

present it all to be divided. After this they slaughter a white horse 675
(bozat), or a grey one with a star on the forehead (kok kaska), or a white ram with a yellow head (ak sarybas), saying: "May the one who betrays this pact be killed like this animal" (ar kim sol sherttep taysa, sol malday soyylsyn). Here shert means agreement, promise, oath (according to Torgai and Makovetskii, I, p. 49).

Among the Kirgiz, in assertions by oath (kargych) they propose the licking of a knife and saying: May God, bread or the book (Koran) strike me, or else saying: May I be mayneke. The last expression, the meaning of which was unknown to the informant, bii Daniyar, is used only by women and children.

/225/ CHAPTER XII.

Fines: atton, muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and toguz. - Wergeld. - Corporal punishment. - Shaming. - Banishment.

Fines (ayb) are exacted in suits for theft, offense, fighting, 681
disturbing the peace and the general morality. (1)

1. The Perovsk uyezd chief, Mikebai and others, say concerning the fines that they are increasing the number of fraudulent suits, opened for reasons of avarice, and inciting the biis to judge falsely, acting in secret with the plaintiff. They are also bankrupting individual owners, and whole communities, from whom the fine is exacted when the defendant has not had enough property.

No fine is imposed in civil suits over debts and other obligations. The fine goes to the use of the plaintiff, and therefore he can consent to a reduction. Sometimes the plaintiff asks only for the return of the stolen goods, waiving the obtainment of the fine and the expenses (the biis' books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If after paying the fine, the defendant later clears himself of the accusation brought against him and presents the actual perpetrator in court, the fine is returned to him.

The best known fines of the customary law are the atton, the muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and the nine /toguz/. (2)

2. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the fines are usually of the following type: a) a chapan (long coat), which is customary for a slight

Often the first plaintiff is joined by a second, in order to get 695
an easy profit because of the conviction in the first case. Therefore the case of each plaintiff and each defendant must be examined specially.

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Attorneys (vakil) already existed under the khans. They were 693
also called "those who buy suits" (dauny satyb algan).

According to Zagriazhskii, (1) minors and insane persons cannot

1. Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraia /Materials for Staistics of the Turkestan Region/, Pt. IV, pp. 194, 195.

be attorneys. The attorneys must convince the biis that the conducting of the case is specifically entrusted to them. They must /190/ be present during the testimony of the opposing side, and they procure the fine which is exacted for their principals. If the sender of the [676] trusted person is sentenced to a fine or to corporal punishment the sentence is carried out on the sender. The sender of the trusted person can protest against the judgment of the bii, if his agent abused his trust.

According to another source, the constituent can refuse the settlement of the agent in whom he has trusted, if the former has not given a written warrant.

Warrants are not the custom in the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to the communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, but persons are admitted who know how to speak in court. Such persons never appear in court without their clients.

During the swearing of an oath, only the plaintiff or only the constituent (ak iese) was present according to customary law, and this is still true today. The person entrusted by the constituent is never present during the oath of the opposing side.

Every man who has reached his majority who has seen or knows 695
of a crime is admitted to give the testimony of a witness. A true (nagz) witness (aygak, gua) is considered to be he who has brought in the captured thief with the goods, or has taken the stolen goods away from him together with a horse and a coat, or has received syuyunchi from the owner before the people and the authorities (Perovsk uyezd).

Informers are divided into those who are open(bet aygak) and those who denounce behind the back (syrt aygak). The former are called to prove the truth of their words face to face with the thief.

113, 171, 681, 604 Kazak RQ2

[For a Kalmyk parallel with Kazak legal private seizure of property, and the inheritance rights of maternal nephews, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 274-279.]

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers,[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 331.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
685 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

[684] 1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld 562
is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those [612]
who are not relatives is left to her good nature.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys [231]
are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials.

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to 848
to seek their father.

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to [628]
kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd).

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does 588
exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in

681 Reimbursement of damages is required for every kind of infliction of loss, damage to objects, etc., if it took place as a result of carelessness. For wounds and similar bodily injuries, the medical treatment and the support of the injured person is at the expense of the guilty person. If evil intent is observed in this, a fine is imposed to the value of the damages, in addition to the damages.

We append examples:

672 1) Clumsy medical treatment. A doctor (taub) who heals clumsily is suspected of evil intention, but he is not called to account. Only the expenses for the funeral (as su) of a patient who died can be referred to his account. He answers for it in the future life (akhiratda zamin).

2) Being bitten by vicious animals. If the owner of an animal did not know his qualities, he does not pay the expenses for the healing of the injured person, and for the damage suffered (bite, tisteb algan, dislocation, mirtildy, death), for "the animal does not know what he is doing." However the animal itself may be adjudged to the sufferer. But if the owner knew that his animal was dangerous to human beings, (adam khur) he should have either kept it tied up or slaughtered it, or sold it at a distant bazaar. For not having taken these precautionary measures, nor having kept an eye on the animal known to be vicious, he pays for the damage caused by it /157/ (Torgai and others), or a full wergeld to the report of Baymet Sagyndykov.

If a mounting camel or stallion bites or kills someone, the animal itself is given to the person who has suffered. Wergeld is not exacted.

If a camel walking about untethered bites someone, he is surrendered in place of wergeld. But if a person rides into a village on a camel and it bites someone, the rider pays a full wergeld. (1)

1. The owners are not held responsible if the animals bite each other. Only children arrange a fight between animals (talasteru) and they are not held responsible for damage (Perovsk uyezd).

685 3) Injury to strange animals, cutting out the tongue, disfiguring their appearance, is punishable by fine, and if the owner of the animal consents, by the buying of the animal from the owner for its original price. If the injury resulted in the death of the animal, its value is paid (Perovsk uyezd).

685 the stealing of sheep is more severely prosecuted (sheep are watched less carefully than other livestock), namely, a fine of one toguz is imposed for the theft of one or several sheep, in addition to the return of the stolen animals. It was stated in the Geographic Society's outline for the collection of folk juridical customs (p. 31) that a larger reimbursement was demanded among the Kazakhs for the theft of sheep because a high value was placed on them for their numerous offspring. It will be seen below in the chapter on punishments that this custom does not exist in the Turkestan region.

is no special punishment for damage to a wall, a lock, etc., in the process of stealing. Reimbursement for such damage is included in the fine imposed.

The theft of a fettered animal is punished in the same way as the theft of livestock grazing freely.

• 681 There is no special exaction for the hiding of traces of a crime. An exception to this is hiding the body in a murder (cf. wergeld).

[682] In Makovetskii's book, Pt. I, p. 79, it is said: "Violence during /170/ theft of property, for example, the infliction of wounds, is regarded as a separate crime and there is special punishment for the theft of the goods and the infliction of wounds." The biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmahammed find that violence and theft are judged without division. A fine is exacted as for an ordinary theft, and only expenses for the healing of the wounds are added. If there were blows without wounds, then nothing is added to the fine for the theft. The proverb: "You cannot skin two hides from one sheep" (bir koydan eki teri soymaydy) is relevant here, i. e., two punishments are not imposed on one criminal. Only an inexperienced bii can impose two fines (bil'mes bii klady eki ayb).

681 683 A criminal who has already been convicted for one and the same crime is punished more strictly. (1) For the second theft they

1. This is the opinion of many, including the Kirgiz Daniyar, and agrees with Zagriazhskii and Samokvasov, but conflicts with the opinion of the Makovetskii collection, Pt. I, p. 65.

require the confiscation of all the property of the thief, with his release on guarantee, or depriving him of liberty. For a third theft he is banished, with the declaration that they refuse to pay and receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief

693 arrangements.

When a suit or part of it is abandoned without consequence because of distance or some other reason, a biilyk is not collected.

A biilyk is not taken when a session is abandoned by force of an earlier decision. Also when an earlier decision is overruled, the biilyk received for it is returned.

When the bii decrees that the period of time of an oath is to be extended because of the illness of the swearer, he receives biilyk for this labor.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, a biilyk is not taken even in such cases where the defendant clears himself by oath. He pays only about 20 or 40 kopeks then, up to one ruble, for receiving the document of acquittal from the bii with the affixing of the seal. This collection is called mukhrana ("for the seal").

681 /198/ Losses and court costs (chygyn) are included in the fine itself. When the fine has already been obtained, the biis can refuse a suit for the recovery of court costs, with the exception of cases concerning wergeld, for in such cases many people are summoned into court, and the cost of the summoning adds up to a considerable sum which cannot be covered by a part of the wergeld. (1)

1. According to Torgai, the expenses for a suit concerning wergeld can be separated from the wergeld. All pay equally for the wergeld /po khunu/, but for the expenses the guilty party pays first of all, and then the clan, and the latter pays only when the former already has no property left.

When a suit ends without a fine, the winner of the case seeks reimbursement for the losses and court expenses which he has also been required to pay in one session of the court or another.

694 The period of time for the payment of the fine is recorded in the document of the judgment, but this measure appears in part to be inoperative. The customary law does not assume a period of time.

696 In the case of the defendant's insolvency or his absence, the exaction is extended to his group of ten (unbasilas), and when their 697 means have been exhausted, to the group of fifty, then to the village, which is noted in the document. (2) Only that which was necessary for

2. In ancient times when the payer was insolvent, the group of ten, or fifty, etc., in order, did not pay for him.

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can be subject to the examination of a justice of the peace of a regional court only at the desire of both sides, which is announced to the court in writing or orally, and entered in the document.

Cases begun in the people's court cannot be taken out of its jurisdiction even though the suit was reconveyed to a person who was not under the jurisdiction of the given court.

A case which is subject to the jurisdiction of a people's court, of which the essence is the determination even of one instance of this court, cannot be transferred to a justice of the peace or to a regional court, except in cases when the people's court makes a sentence to a punishment which is outside the limit of its authorities.

Sentences and judgments of the people's court which are decreed in excess of power, or in cases which are not under their jurisdiction, are not carried into execution, and the uyezd chief represents the procurator for them. The latter enters a protest in the regional court, which, in case the sentence is overruled, returns the case with the necessary indications to the people's court for the establishment of a new judgment, or if the case is not under the jurisdiction of the people's court, it gives it legal direction.

If the sides are not pacified, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, the people's court, independent of the determination of payments for losses and damage, imposes on the guilty parties the following punishments: a) fines in money no higher than 300 rubles, and b) confinement under guard for no more than one year and six months. 692 684

If as a consequence of the incorrigibly bad and pernicious behavior of the person under sentence, the people's court considers the punishment which it has a right to impose inadequate, then having determined it within the limits of its authority, it can intercede through the regional government to send the person under sentence from his place of habitation, after his punishment is finished.

A monetary fine designated by a people's court as a personal punishment is, in the case of insolvency of the person under sentence, substituted for by arrest of no more than three months, or by his being given over, by /204/ command of the uyezd chief to public labor for this same period of time. 681 692

People's courts are desginated, by election of the population, for three years.

The number of people's courts and the limits of their sectors are determined by the regional authorities before the elections, so that the number of courts among the nomads in the volost may be no less than four and no more than the number of village communities

present it all to be divided. After this they slaughter a white horse 675
(bozat), or a grey one with a star on the forehead (kok kaska), or a white ram with a yellow head (ak sarybas), saying: "May the one who betrays this pact be killed like this animal" (ar kim sol sherttep taysa, sol malday soyylsyn). Here shert means agreement, promise, oath (according to Torgai and Makovetskii, I, p. 49).

Among the Kirgiz, in assertions by oath (kargych) they propose the licking of a knife and saying: May God, bread or the book (Koran) strike me, or else saying: May I be mayneke. The last expression, the meaning of which was unknown to the informant, bii Daniyar, is used only by women and children.

/225/ CHAPTER XII.

Fines: atton, muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and toguz. - Wergeld. - Corporal punishment. - Shaming. - Banishment.

Fines (ayb) are exacted in suits for theft, offense, fighting, 681
disturbing the peace and the general morality. (1)

1. The Perovsk uyezd chief, Mikebai and others, say concerning the fines that they are increasing the number of fraudulent suits, opened for reasons of avarice, and inciting the biis to judge falsely, acting in secret with the plaintiff. They are also bankrupting individual owners, and whole communities, from whom the fine is exacted when the defendant has not had enough property.

No fine is imposed in civil suits over debts and other obligations. The fine goes to the use of the plaintiff, and therefore he can consent to a reduction. Sometimes the plaintiff asks only for the return of the stolen goods, waiving the obtainment of the fine and the expenses (the biis' books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If after paying the fine, the defendant later clears himself of the accusation brought against him and presents the actual perpetrator in court, the fine is returned to him.

The best known fines of the customary law are the atton, the muynyna kosak kutine terkeu and the nine /toguz/. (2)

2. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the fines are usually of the following type: a) a chapan (long coat), which is customary for a slight

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misdemeanor and goes to the use of the plaintiff; b) the atton (a horse and a long coat), which goes to the use of the plaintiff; a biilyk is not required; c) br-toguz (three horses, three camels, three cows), which is divided in such a way that one-third is forgiven or else goes to the kinsmen of the guilty party /sic/, one-third goes to the plaintiff, and one-third is taken as the biilyk; d) uch-toguz (8 horses and 1 camel; 8 cows and 1 horse; 8 sheep and 1 cow) which is divided in the same way as the br-toguz.

The biis can impose all three types of punishment for the stealing of livestock, at their own discretion, depending on the circumstances of the theft and how many times it has been committed. Now /226/ it has come into custom so much to impose muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for livestock stealing, that when this "customary law" is broken, complaints are filed. The atton is kept /ostavlen/ for small offenses, while the nine is for crimes against morality and for certain cases of fighting and mutilation.

On the basis of the proposed code for the administration of the Turkestan region, the biis can now, independently of the determination of payments for damages and losses, impose monetary fines on the guilty parties for no more than 300 rubles and confinement under guard for not more than 1 1/2 years.

When a stolen animal was been taken away from the thief by its owner or by his acquaintance, the thief was released after he had given a horse (at) and a long coat (tun) or a fur coat (ton), or other things equalling them in value, for example, a horse and a gun, and with this the case was ended. This fine went directly to the person who took away the animal and was the same sort of payment for him as the syuyunchi is now. As a result the atton is counted as a fine, but it is considered the lightest of the fines, if one does not count the astarisiz chapan, a long coat without lining, which practically signifies a peaceful settlement. The atton which is sentenced in court is sometimes received in the end in the form of one cow or even only one sheep.

The atton is exacted primarily for fighting without mutilation and for the theft of an unvalued object. If one object is stolen by several persons they divide the payment of the atton equally between them. If several objects are stolen by several persons, the bii can determine an atton for each object (Perovsk uyezd).

An attay, i. e., a horse and a colt is the equivalent in value of an atton (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

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An attuya (a horse and a camel) is sentenced, according to Torgai, for the rape of a bride (kalyndyk) after the kalym has been paid, before the wedding ceremony. This punishment can also consist of only one camel or only one horse.

/227/ The Kirgiz have the atton but not the attay or the attyuya, which are in general little known punishments.

The fine called muynyna kosak kutine terkeu is imposed only for the theft of livestock. For this, when the stolen livestock are being returned an animal must be tied to the "neck" of each one being returned, for an "addition", and another one must be tied to the "back" for "support." (1)

1. According to Aleksandrov, the terkeu is court expenses, sentenced by the judges. In the Kazalinsk uyezd these no longer exist. But in the steppe of the Orenburg dominion the biis receive a terkeu of 2 to 4 rubles above 10 % of the biilyk. In addition to this, the scribe there receives a kalamkhaky of 2 rubles.

The fine in the Perovsk uyezd for stolen livestock remains the same, even if the animal is valuable or pregnant, namely, the value which is given for such an animal of average (orta) value. Thus for example, the fine for a returned horse consists of 2 animals of 20 rubles apiece= 40 rubles. For a returned cow the fine is the same. For a returned camel, the fine is 2 animals at 40 rubles apiece=80 rubles. For a sheep, the fine consists of 2 animals at 2 rubles apiece=4 rubles.

In the Kurama and Auliye-Ata uyezds, according to Torgai, the value of the stolen animal is determined (kisedi) each time. But if it is impossible to find it exactly, they judge by the bazaar price (bazar narkhi) of the average worth of the livestock, and add not two animals but only one of the same quality. This fine is explained by the fact that animals of the fine can be younger, for example, according to Torgai:

muynyna kosak=1 bisti (5 years old)

kutine terkeu = 1 kunan (3 years old).

According to Abdrakhman, a five year old camel was formerly the equivalent of 40 rubles, and each fined camel also 40 rubles, so that the total fine for the theft of a camel equalled 120 rubles. But now such a camel costs 30 to 40 rubles, depending on the bazaar, and

681 in the fine is:

muynyna kosak= kunan atan (3 year old male).

kutine terkeu= taylak (a 2 year old).

/228/ The fines entered in Zagriazhskii, in articles 113-117, which are four times greater than the value of the stolen livestock, are explained by the fact that at various times the uyezd chiefs have proposed to the biis at meetings to impose high fines, in order to eradicate the passion of the Kazakhs for stealing. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for example, for 1 horse there was a fine of 8 horses, of which 7 went to the plaintiff and 1 for the biilyk. In the Chimkent uyezd, for one camel the fine was 40 tillias (including all expenses). In the Kurama uyezd, the fine for one sheep was 5 tillias (including the returned sheep, the fine, the expenses, the syuyunchi and bribes). (Abdrakhman).

According to Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, nine heads of livestock must be paid for one stolen animal. According to Baymet Sagyndykov, the usual fine of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu is imposed in the Chimkent uyezd. According to Absalyamov of the same uyezd, for a stolen camel they return 2 mares and a two year old foal (tay), for a horse - 7 sheep, for a cow and a bull - 5 sheep for each, for a three year old horse - 4 sheep, for a good pacer - 25 sheep, for a racing horse - 75 sheep.

Absalyamov says further that for any kind of theft, the guilty party pays the victim the same thing that was stolen but seven times more, so that the stolen article should constitute the eighth part.

In the northern uyezds, where livestock stealing is still very widespread, the fines are particularly high.

According to Tilen Kyul'baev, in the Kurama uyezd the fines for theft are:

Stolen	To the plaintiff	Biilyk and fine	Total
1 cow	7 tillias	3 tillias	40 rubles
1 horse	40 rubles	20 rubles	60 rubles
1 camel	15 tillias	5 tillias	80 rubles
1 sheep	8 rubles	4 rubles	12 rubles
1 goat	2 1/2 rubles	1 1/2 rubles	4 rubles

/ Inserted page. Picture. Caption: The white bone Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd. /7 681

/229/ The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov says that for the theft of a five year old male camel they take:

muynyna kosak=kunan atan (3 years old).

kutine terkeu=tay tyuya (2 years old).

When the animal itself (malnyng basy, kuzi) has already been returned without a trial, in the Perovsk uyezd they demand an additonal fine by the court (biis' books). According to Abdrakhman, such a return usually means that there is already agreement that the additional fine can be only very insignificant.

The name of toguz as a punishment is known to all nomadic Kazakhs (kushpe kazak) from Orenburg to Bukhara and from Khiva to Troitsk (Torgai).

Each toguz, as the word itself indicates, consists of nine animals (kara). The best among these gives its name to the toguz. For example the tyuya bastagan (or bastatkan) toguz, i. e., "nine heads, with a camel at their head", consists of a camel, a stallion, a mare, a colt, a cow, a calf, etc. to a sheep. According to the honorable Kirgiz Mullah Asan, the same toguz consists of 1 camel, 4 horses and 4 cows, while for a small offense, it consists of 9 items, including animals and things, from a camel to a long coat. He says in general that when a toguz is exacted the court defines its content exactly. According to Khalmakammed of the Chimkent uyezd, the tyuya bastagan toguz can consist of 1 camel, 1 horse and 7 long coats.

The at bastagan toguz consists of a horse, a mare, colts two, three and four years old, a cow, a calf, a ewe and a lamb.

The siir bastagan toguz consists of a cow, steers two, three and four years old, a sheep, then lambs of various ages and finally a kid.

In place of siir bastagan toguz there can be domalak toguz, ie., rounded toguz, also called tokal toguz, i. e., toguz without horns, consisting of a rug and 8 long coats of various values, of which the cheapest must be worth a ruble. There can also be things, muyum (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

/230/ In the Auliye-Ata uyezd monetary sums take the place of toguz. The value of three toguz together is determined as 175-200 rubles. In general, under the Russian dominion, the toguz is sentenced

7/A [Not reproduced -- A]

681 very rarely, and when it is, it is the less expensive type. Finally, the simple toguz are more frequent than the double or triple varieties. They are being replaced now by other fines, even by the atton.

Among the Kirgiz the toguz was formerly sentenced as a fine for mutilation, etc., but now they fine only in money.

It is asserted (Sultan Daulet Bushaev) that it was possible earlier to impose a sentence for theft of up to three toguz, namely: for the theft of one sheep, koy bastagan toguz, buydak bastagan toguz and ulak bastigan toguz; for the theft of one cow, siir bastagan toguz, kunan ukuz bastagan toguz and tay ukuz bastagan toguz; for the theft of one horse, at bastagan toguz, bie bastagan toguz, and siir bastagan toguz; for the theft of one camel, tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz and siir bastagan toguz.

[684] According to Torgai, the chief cases in which one can impose a fine of three toguz at once are the following: 1) the abduction of a girl, with or without violation. She is returned with three toguz, if her father is influential, otherwise with a smaller number of toguz. If she has a bridegroom he demands the same exaction from her father for her unchastity. However it is now very difficult to obtain even one toguz for the unchastity of a bride because the father invariably declares that the pregnancy of his daughter was caused by the groom himself. In the Kurama uyezd they have completely ceased to file such suits and they take the bride even with a child. 2) If they do not wish to impose wergeld for the loss of an eye, an arm, etc., since all wergelds, including partial ones for mutilation are apportioned among the khundas, just as they are divided among the khundas themselves, even if the guilty person is solvent, in this case they sentence to a fine of three toguz, for the toguz are apportioned in the community only after the guilty person is insolvent and are not apportioned from the community of the plaintiff.

The above mentioned fines in livestock can be translated /231/ into money. In the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd, in order to be exact they often record with the fines decreed in livestock, their value in money, especially with the large fines. In the south they usually fine directly in money. This custom exists as well in the Kazalinsk uyezd, as is evident from the order for the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd of 1886 (1), in which it is said that in the extra-

(1) Of May 28, 1886, No. 88.

ordinary sessions of this uyezd, the calculation of the wergelds are to be made in rubles, and not in livestock.

4:Grodekov--206 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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In the Chimkent uyezd, according to Absalyamov, all the property (dzhasau) and money in litigations are translated into livestock (malga chaglab).

This opinion contradicts the following indications of biis from the same uyezd:

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For theft it is customary to pay, including the value of the stolen article, a fine and all the expenses:

Theft	According to bii Sultan Kanaev	According to bii Kucherbai	
		Formerly asked	Now accepted
1 camel	40 tillias	Value of camel	-10 tillias 20 tillias
		Muynyna kosak	10 tillias
		Kutine terkeu	10 tillias
		Pay of rider	1 tillia
		Biilyk	4 tillias
		Syuyunchi	4 tillias
		To scribe (mirzakhaky)	1/2 tillia
		Traveling expenses, food etc.	1/2 tillia
			40 tillias
/232/ 1 horse	20 tillias	20 tillias	10 tillias
1 cow	15 tillias	20 tillias	10 tillias
1 sheep, 3 years old	5 tillias	5 tillias	5 tillias
1 donkey	9 tillias (the bii himself had occasion to impose this fine for a donkey.		5 rubles
1 ruble	10 rubles. (This was aimed at stopping robbery. However he could not remember a case of theft of money).		

681 Bii Sultan Kanaev explains the lowering of the fines in the second column of the information from Kucherbai as follows: This
685 happens only when the biis ask the plaintiff to forgive part of the suit because of poverty. They say "Where can a thief get such a sum? Would he have stolen if he had had means?" Bii Khalmakammed added that biis have recourse to this device who receive something from the thief.

It is not obligatory to impose a fine in money in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for the theft of money (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, one view has it that for a theft of money a fine is imposed in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu. Another opinion is that a smaller fine is determined, namely: 1) if the stolen money is all found (tugul tabylsa), then in justice (insaf kylsa) there is no other fine beyond the biilyk and syuyunchi; 2) if the money is not all found and the defendant wants to give it all but cannot immediately, /233/ then the fine, syuyunchi and all the expenses are added together into one sum, equal to half of the money which was not found. For example, if of 20 tillias, 10 tillias are given up at once and 10 tillias remain, there is a sentence to pay these 10 tillias plus 5 tillias, totalling 15 tillias.

According to Kyul'baev, for the theft of 50 tillias, if the defendant does not deny it, they ask a fine of 50 tillias plus 10 tillias (under the name of sandyk khakysy, "for the coffer", i.e., for the plaintiff), plus 5 tillias (to the bii).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for the stealing of things but not live-stock a monetary fine is imposed which is much less than the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu.

According to Torgai, for the theft of a long coat and other things to the sum of 10 tengas /silver coin/, the fine is established at 15 tengas if the total stolen amounts to 15 tengas, the fine is 20; if the total stolen amounts to 100 tengas the fine is 120 tengas, etc. The larger the amount of the suit, the smaller the percent added to the fine.

* * * *

681 For murder, a redemption of "khun" /wergeld/ is customary, and in case it is not paid, the death of the murderer him-
682 self is asked, or that of another man from his clan. (1)

1. An interesting ritual of symbolic execution of a ram at the time the wergeld is received can be found

in Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 71. This ritual does not exist in the Turkestan region, as is evident from the words of Sultan Kanaev: this is anarchy (nizamsiz), the act of people who are not subject to any chief (ishbir khakimga karamagan adamnyng esi). 681 682

Wergeld is paid and received not by a person but by a clan. If the murdered person and the murderer are from one clan, then it is paid and received by the lineage, if they are both from the same lineage, by the sublineage, etc. For example, if one is of the Bisata lineage, the other of the Yamanbay lineage (both these lineages constitute the Kutenchi clan, of the main clan of Kungrat), in the Chimkent uyezd all five volosts of the Bisata pay, and all five volosts of the Yamanbays receive the wergeld. The wergeld received, taking out 100 to 300 rubles for funeral and memorial services, is distributed among the volosts, then among the villages, etc. The close and distant relatives of the murdered person and the murderer, rich and poor, must pay and receive equal shares. Even though the clan of the murderer be /234/ far away or scattered over a large area, nevertheless demands are sent for the payment of their shares of the wergeld, authenticated by the affixing of many seals. Now the distribution of the wergeld received is not above abuse from influential persons. 681 682 672

Wergeld is not exacted when there are no kinsmen to act as plaintiffs.

According to Torgai, the rule "blood for blood" (khunga khun, kanga kan) was observed earlier in several places. Even now in the Kazalinsk uyezd the clan of the murdered person tries to commit murder in order to take blood for blood, but they are not permitted to do this, for people say: "It happened by the will of God." In general the custom of taking blood for blood no longer exists.

Now, if the community on which the wergeld is imposed is insolvent because of its small number of people, none of them is killed and the community is simply considered to be in debt. (1)

1. It is said that in Bukhara there is a custom of collecting alms for the payment of wergeld.

Those who draw together to pay the wergeld and also to receive it are called comrades in the wergeld (khundas). It is practically impossible to refuse to take part in the apportioning (shesken) of the payment of a wergeld. If one did, they would not give him a share of wergelds received and would not participate in the payment of wergeld for his own commission of murder.

681 If a small community, living in the midst of a community of many members, but not related to it, takes part by some chance in
682 the payment of wergeld for a murder committed by the large group, then both communities are considered khundas, and this numerous clan
672 must pay for a murder committed by the small community. If it refuses, the small group reminds it that they once were khundas. If the large group is still not inclined to take part in the payment, the community which is under fine is left to take a copy of the judgment and to send it along with a demand for participation /235/ in paying the wergeld to the place where the rest of their clan lives, to their motherland, so to speak. At first these are unwilling to pay, and scold them: "Why did you go away from us", but finally they do pay nevertheless.

In Kurama wergeld is not exacted from the clan but from the family: from the father, the brother and the uncle (akesi ukesi, amekesi kuyadi). Formerly there was killing for insolvency.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the wergeld is imposed in this way: after deliberation between the kinsmen of the payer of the wergeld, a part is assigned to the defendant himself, while the rest is paid by his kinsmen within the degree of kinship to which it is forbidden to marry. They divide this part among them.

681 The amount of wergeld for a man is the same, whether he be a
682 sultan, a hodja, a guest, a thief, a child, an adult,(1) etc., in accordance with the proverb: "The wicked and the good are equal once after death (i.e., their wergeld is the same), and another time during life" (i.e., abuse can affect everyone equally) (yaman ksi yakhsy ksige ulgende br teng keledi, tirisinde br teng keledi).

1. In the article by Gotrovitskii, "Okonchanie del polumirom po kirgizskomu obychnomu pravu" /The ending of cases by polumir /cf. below/ according to Kazakh customary law/, (Iuridicheskii Vestnik, May, 1885, p. 194), it is stated that if the widow of a murdered man remains without means with a female child, and if the murdered man had no brother whom she could marry, then she must receive 50 horses, without any concessions. But if she is young and has a male child and consequently can count on marrying one of her husband's kinsmen, then when the case is decided by polumir (karyndas kyb)i.e., with the full confession of the murderer that he has committed the crime, the payment to the widow must be limited to 25 horses.

681 682

If one is to believe the claims of the sultans, for the murder of a sultan or a hereditary bii the wergeld paid is one and a half the usual amount, namely 6 yakhsy are added to the 6 yakhsy. (Communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

For the murder of a woman, including one's own wife, half a wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed by a woman, full wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed in a drunken state, the wergeld is unchanged.

For unpremeditated murder wergeld is not customary, but only /236/ a gift of clothing and covering the expenses for burial and memorial services (asatau).

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If the murder occurred in self-defense, this must be proven before the plaintiffs in order to be freed from the payment of wergeld. However it is still a disputable question whether wergeld should be paid in such cases, i. e., when the murdered man was a thief, not allowing himself to be captured, or some other criminal defending himself by arms against the rider who has been sent to arrest him, or a bandit who is the first to start fighting. The plaintiffs demand the payment of the full wergeld, offering on their part to pay the fine for the attack, fighting, stealing and in general the offense which is acknowledged for the murdered man. They support themselves by saying the defendant is entering a false accusation against the murdered man, in order to avoid paying the wergeld. According to Mikebai, wergeld must be paid for the murder of a thief, even if he started the fight, if he was not the first to use a weapon. Wergeld, however, does not need to be paid for the murder of a thief, if he was the first to begin armed resistance.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that self defense in case of the attack of plunderers and outlaws is permitted only in a measure which is not criminal. But if the defender strikes the attacker, even though unintentionally, and it results in death or injury to a part of the body, the person guilty of this pays wergeld, while at the same time the plunderers bear responsibility for the damage by them.

If the murdered person is an orphan living with his step-father, his clan demands nevertheless that wergeld be paid for his murder. In the absence of the clan, the step-father can demand wergeld in the name of the younger brother of the victim, but must put the wergeld received to one side, to be given to the clan of the victim on their first demand (Kurama uyezd). According to Khalmakammed

681 of the Chimkent uyezd, the mother may receive part of the wergeld at
682 the will of the kinsmen. She can pay part of the wergeld, if she wishes, for a murder committed by this orphan.

672 If a servant of a rich man dies and his heirs /237/ seek wergeld from the master, the biis examining the case must find out as their first duty whether the man froze to death for lack of clothing, or died of hunger, or was killed stealing or while engaged in other pernicious pursuits. If it can be proven by the testimony of witnesses that the death was caused by one of the above-mentioned circumstances, then the owner must pay the wergeld. But if the death occurred for one of these reasons and a dispute arises because the side does not confess, then four persons from the side of the defendants must swear an oath, or if a woman has been killed, two persons.

According to the biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmakammed, if a servant who is traveling in pursuit of thieves or enemies is killed, it is impossible to demand wergeld from his owner, even when the murderer belongs to a tribe like the Kalmuks, from whom it is unthinkable to demand wergeld.

681 For a murdered man, according to the communication of Baymet
682 Sagyndykov of the Chimkent uyezd, 1000 Shariat tillias are exacted of 10 tengas each, and if one counts each tillia at 4 rubles, as is customary, then it is 500 tillias or 10,000 tengas. If it is paid in livestock, then 100 camels must be paid. Absalyamov reports for the same uyezd that 100 horses and 100 rams are paid for a murdered man, or 600 tillias in money. Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd reports that for a murdered man from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld consists of 200 mares, and for a murdered woman from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld is 100 mares.

There are cases in which influential relatives succeed in exacting 3-5 wergelds for one murdered clan chief. For example, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd a total sum of 1,300 tillias and one girl was exacted as wergeld and expenses, from 500 tents, for the murder of an honorable personage of the white bone by the name of Yalangtash.

According to Sultan Daulet, the former wergeld for murder was of two types:

/238/ First Type

1) 1000 sheep = 1000 tillias = 2 girls.

2) 6 yakhsy, i.e., 2 slaves, 2 dromedary camels (nar) and 2 good horses. Wild animals such as a fox, wolf, antelope, etc. could be substituted for horses.

3) Kalyngelim = a rug of 50 tillias or 100 rubles.

4) Kara nar - i. e., a dromedary camel in black.

5) Kara chulak, at, a wounded horse, i. e., the horse of the murdered man, in black.

6) Sary yipek yaulyk, a yellow silk kerchief, i. e., the kerchief of a widow, with which she covers herself as she weeps for her husband.

Second Type

1) 500 sheep or only 500 goats, or 500 kids a year old.

2) 6 yakhsy, i. e., 2 dromedary camels, 2 horses, 1 gun and 1 wild animal (karankus).

3) A cheap rug.

4) A small dromedary camel, for example, a taylak.

5) A horse 3-4 years old.

6) Yipek yaulyk, a kerchief.

Now the wergeld is the equivalent of 1,000 rams or 2,000 rubles.

At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, the amount of the wergeld was determined as 2,000 rubles for a man and 1,000 rubles for a woman.

In the Kokandian time the wergeld was larger, namely 1,000 tillias for a man.

Other kinds of livestock of the same value can be paid in place of the animals mentioned.

Often the plaintiffs agree to a smaller sum. Baymet Sagyndykov writes that "if the litigants desire to make a peaceful settlement before the examination by the biis, at the admonition of the best /239/ people and biis, the case dispenses with an oath, and the plaintiff receives half the wergeld, in accordance with the customary law concerning peaceful settlements."

A daughter or female relative of the murderer can be given instead of the wergeld.

If the murdered person is not buried but left to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, the tyuya bastagan toguz is added to the wergeld, called "wergeld for the bones" (syuyagening khuny), for the plaintiffs are not satisfied by the wergeld and demand to be given the corpse as well. If the murderer agrees to the payment of the wergeld, but wishes to hide the corpse (syuyagen kursetpese), and this is found out, then he is obligated to send the body on a "dromedary camel in black"

681 682 (kara nar), covered by a rug, and to pay a fine of from one to three toguz, counting here also the camel with the rug. A bactrian camel can be given in place of the dromedary, and even only a horse. (Torgai).

Usually influential persons, aksakals, volost officials, etc. appear as trusted figures from the clan of the murdered person before the sessions of the biis, and they count out a considerable share of the wergeld obtained for themselves, under the name of travel and other expenses (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz the wergeld is equal to 660 tillias. The receiver of the wergeld and his relatives to the third degree inclusive receive 300 tillias. He divides the remaining 300 tillias among the biis and other eminent persons, who are not related to him, because he fears their ill will "and they are used to receiving." The remaining 60 tillias go for the biilyk and various expenses. (Reported by bii Daniyar).

Everyone who has wounded or injured another is obliged, in addition to the exaction imposed by the court, to heal the injured person at his expense and to slaughter a ram to feed him. The doctor (taub) dresses the wound with the skin of this ram, and hits him on the wound with light blows, which constitutes a good sign (irim). For wounds and injuries which were unpremeditated or received in a dispute, only the healing and nursing must be paid. If the wounded person dies, /240/ a fine is exacted for the expenses of burial and memorial services, called "related wergeld" (karindas khun).

681 683 Wergeld is exacted in the following amounts for bodily injuries:

Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a light wound by a knife - from atton to at bastagan toguz.	10-15 rubles.
For a heavy wound, but not mortal - tyuya bastagan toguz. According to Umurbek, the biis are not supposed to examine the case until the safety of the patient's position is cleared up.	Compensation for the cost of the sacrificial offering (sadaka), made by the relatives for recovery.
For a wound resulting in death - full wergeld.	Full wergeld.

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
If an agreement (bitim) was made for a certain sum because of a wound which seemed light, and it was entered into a document, and then the injured person died, the agreement is invalid and a suit is opened for full wergeld.	
For fighting with injury to a leg or arm, such that they cannot move about freely, no more than 100 rubles.	30-40 rubles. The Kirgiz call such an injury dzhansirek.
For a wound of the head (bas aryisa) - atton	/no entry/
For a wound of an arm or leg, with the loss of its use - 400 rubles.	Up to 300 rubles.
For the loss of both arms or both legs - full wergeld.	200 rubles.
/241/ For premeditated blinding of an eye - half the wergeld(1) and if it is the victim's only eye - full wergeld. According to Absalyamov, for blinding one or both eyes - 50 horses and 50 rams or 330 tillias.	six members (alty san): 2 eyes plus 2 arms plus 2 legs equals 600 tillias equals one wergeld. Each of these members 100 rubles.
1. At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, wergeld for a man's eye was established at 1000 rubles, and for a woman's eye at 500 rubles.	
For the injury of an eye, from 200 to 300 rubles (Perovsk uyezd).	/No entry/
For biting of the arm, 25 rubles (books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). According to Absalyamov, for mutilation of an arm or leg, as well as for the loss of these members, 165 tillias.	

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a finger cut off - one-tenth of the wergeld (Perovsk uyezd). According to Sagyndykov, also one-tenth of the wergeld, or 200 rubles, while for one joint-one-third of this sum, i. e., 66 rubles, 66 1/2 kopeks. Only for the joint of the thumb it is one-tenth of the wergeld = 200 rubles. This is because the thumb has only two joints, and the other fingers have three.	
For making crooked and for injury: 1) to the thumb - tyuya bastagan toguz (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds); 2) to the index finger - 2 attons, and according to Kunakbai - at bastagan toguz; 3) to the other fingers - for each, an atton or attay (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). According to Umurbek, it is the same for all fingers - tyuya bastagan toguz.	1) 30 rubles. 2) 5-10 rubles.
For knocking out a tooth, according to Sagyndykov, one-twentieth of the wergeld is paid, i. e., 100 rubles. /242/ If all the teeth are knocked out - the full wergeld. For each of the four upper and four lower front teeth (kurektis), at bastagan toguz is paid (Sultan Daulet Bushaev); Umurbek reports that an atton, or a horse, or only 8-9 rubles are paid; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid; According to Khudaykul, 25 rubles apiece; in the Kurama uyezd, for the front tooth of an old man, 17 tillias are paid. In the bii's books of the Chimkent uyezd, 20 tillias are paid for one front tooth.	If the tooth /242/ is broken in half by the blow -20-25 rubles. If an old man's tooth is broken by a blow - 4-5 rubles are paid.

4:Grodekov--216 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz 683 reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For eye teeth (akyl tis), according to Kunakbai, the same is paid as for front teeth.	The plaintiff must show a swelling of the gum (erin) to prove that the tooth was knocked out and did not fall out for another reason.
For each of the eye teeth and back teeth according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev an atton is paid or 50 rubles, according to Khudaykul - 10 tillias.	
For back teeth; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid or nothing.	
For pulling out a piece of the beard - atton and an apology.	Nothing.
For cutting off the whole beard with a knife - at bastagan toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev;	Nothing.
According to Umurbek, it is impossible to define it exactly, but less than for the loss of the nose, because a beard grows back.	
For injury of the ear or the nose - from tyuya bastagan toguz to three toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev according to Umurbek, 100-400 rubles, but less for an ear at any rate.	The loss of an ear (chunak - earless) is 20-30 rubles.
/243/ For a man's loss of one ear or both, or of the nose, 50 tillias, according to Absalyamov.	/No entry/
For loss of the genital organ - full wergeld.	Not recorded.

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4:Grodekov--217 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

681 According to the report of Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov, the wergeld for the putting out of one eye in a man is determined as
683 50 mares, and for the putting out of both eyes at 100 mares. If an oath is imposed, it is required of one person in the case of one eye, and of two persons, in the case of both eyes. Otherwise the customary wergeld is: for one ear - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for 2 ears - 2 camels and 18 heads of livestock; for a nose - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for a tooth - 1 horse and 9 heads of livestock; for breaking or mutilating one arm or leg - 25 mares; the same of both arms and legs - 50 mares; for the mutilation of the genital organ - 100 mares, and if an oath is given, it falls upon two persons from the clan of the defendant. For the same mutilation of a woman, half this amount is paid.

According to Sagyndykov, if someone cuts off someone's tongue, or hits him with such cruel blows with a stick that the victim loses the ability to speak, or loses his reason, or else if he cuts off the nose or removes skin from a place where hair grows, namely, on the chin, the guilty person pays full wergeld.

681 Abortion , as well as miscarriage resulting from the blows of the husband, remains unpunished.

682 For miscarriage resulting from the will of an outside man, a fine is paid depending on the form, sex and size of the fetus, ranging from several camels to half the wergeld. If the fetus remained alive for some time, even wergeld is paid.

Half as much is paid for a fetus of female sex as for one of male sex.

If a betrothed girl who is pregnant from her legal bridegroom performs an abortion because of shame in front of her father and the people, the bridegroom, if he discovers it, can bring both the bride and the men and women who also took part in the abortion to strict accounting before the people's court, which takes the side of the groom (Kazalinsk uyezd).

/244/ If someone strikes a pregnant woman and stillbirth results from it, the guilty person pays 100 rubles as wergeld, and if the woman herself dies from the blows, which must be proved, the guilty person pays the full wergeld for a woman. But if a woman gives premature birth to a living child, as a result of blows of a stick, and the child dies only later, the full wergeld must be paid for the dead infant, if it is fully proven that the premature birth and the death of the newborn child were the result of the blows. Here the wergeld is paid depending on the sex of the infant. (Reported by Sagyndykov).

4:Grodekov--218 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

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It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which led to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. [685]

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

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1. Among the Alagirtsy and Farsalag of the Vladikavkaz okrug, if a wife is caught with a lover, her husband cuts off her nose. Among the Kurtat and Tagaur peoples, the husband kills the adulterer who is caught (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, Pt. II, pp. 41-44).

and his own wife did not pay wergeld, while the murderer only of the former did pay wergeld. Taking the law into one's own hands exists even now. According to Lt. Colonel Pankratov, there was such a case during his service in the Chimkent uyezd. They placed a thief who was bound, on burning coals, and he was roasted there until the cords were burned through. A. E. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that an outlaw is bound with a lasso to the tail of a horse or a camel.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, before the coming of the Russians, they exacted a punishment 80 to 90 blows of the lash (durra) for adultery of a bachelor with the wife of another, and if he died under them, wergeld was not demanded. But if he was married, both he and the other's wife were killed, or else they threw the latter into a sack with /246/ a cover, or thrashed her in the sack with their feet. If she did not die after that, she was freed.

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Mutilation by court order and execution were practised only by the Kokandians. They were subjected to being torn apart by horses, being hung from a gallows, (1) being stoned to death (sarsan, in place of the Persian sengsar)

1. The informant had not heard of hanging two men from both sides of a camel, as it is stated in Makovetskii, I, p. 69.

of the Persian sengsar) - this last for incest and renouncing their religion(2)

2. According to Staff Captain Grombchevskii, among the Kashgar Kirgiz the following types of tortures and lynchings exist: 1) they tie a cord around the head around the forehead, which they begin to tighten; 2) they bind the arms behind the back, and by twisting the rope draw the elbows and the shoulder bones together; 3) they throw the bound thief in front of the entrance to a sheep pen and let the sheep walk over him. The victim of this faints from pain.

and to being impaled on a stake (khada). (3)

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3. According to an eye-witness, the Kazakh Babaev, in the Kokand dominion, in Yany-Kurgan, the border point between Russia and the Kokand khanate, two Russian Kazakhs were impaled on a stake for some fault, in the following manner: they threw the criminal on the ground on his back. Then several men held him by the legs, while two thrust the sharpened end of a stake into him, 14 to 21 feet long and as thick as a man's arm. Then they lifted him into the air and fixed the stake in the ground. Some time later a Sart rode up and hit the two condemned men on the head with his Circassian saber. Both died during the night.

Among others, the following punishments existed earlier, according to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov: a) the guilty person was laid on the ground in the middle of the village with arms outstretched and face up, and his arms and legs were tied to stakes driven into the ground for that purpose, after which a herd of sheep was driven over him. The size of the herd depended on the degree of his fault. If the person subjected to such a punishment was crushed to death, his kinsmen received no wergeld. (4) b) Execution by cutting

4. According to the report of bii Sultan Kanaev, the driving of sheep over a criminal (ustinen koy aydaydy) happens only for theft from close relatives or adultery with close relatives, for example, persons of the same village. [685] [684]

off the head with a Circassian saber. Such a punishment took place with the consent of the sultan, and after the judgment of the offense by elders at a general council "maslyagat" (abbreviated: mastat).

* * *

He who is guilty of lack of respect for the fundamentals of the structure of the life, the clan, the family, etc., is subjected to the punishment of shaming, /247/ called "visiting of the people" (el aylantyrmak). They tie the guilty person's hands behind his back, smear his face with soot, put a cord around his neck or a piece of old felt (kurum) and lead him on foot around the village. One man drags him from in front, and from behind a rider drives him and beats him (Perovsk, Kazalinsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds and among the Kirgiz).

681 In the Kazalinsk uyezd, the shaming in addition to this consists of the person who has suffered telling publicly of the crime of the guilty party.

Among the Kirgiz, the guilty person is led three times around the village, with an old felt on his neck, and he is beaten and forced to say: "I committed such and such an act (men falan ish kyldym), and this is the punishment for it (dzhazal)". After this they place him in a pit to rot (churib ulib kitedi). This punishment was practised under the Kokand serkers for: 1) robbery, discovered at the moment of commission, even though done for the first time; 2) adultery with another man's wife, under the same circumstances; 3) lack of decorum before superiors. For incest it was customary to stone people (tashbaran).

[685] [684] [689]

681 The punishment for an unrestrained passion for stealing was formerly to confiscate all the property (kanau, uruganau). The house of such a thief (in the Auliye-Ata uyezd) was subjected to attack and looting (uyin chaub alyb malyn aldy), or he was given up to the Kokandians, who hung him. Now under such circumstances they establish a sentence to exile him in Siberia or to banish him (1) from

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1. The ousted person, excluded from his family and clan and therefore deprived of the support and defense of his clan, is called abrek among the Cherkes. A murderer, for whom his clan did not pay the "blood price" was made abrek primarily. Among the Mongols, exiles who departed from their kinsmen's clan and confederation were called ölöt or sabsars (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev, pp. 359-61).

his milieu, saying: "We have banished him from our midst, we will be ruined because of his stealing. Let no one defend him in court (ichimizden chykarduk, kyuymeymiz urlygina, dauyn ich kim suramasun). After this the thief becomes homeless, and is not reckoned in any volost. (2)

2. Two decrees of banishment from the community are given in Supplement No. 7. 1

681 /248/ The withdrawal of the parental blessing from children exists. This takes place in this manner: The palms of the hands are pressed together and then pulled apart from each other three times.

1 [Not translated -- A]

The withdrawal of trust (isenimsizdik) is not imposed by the court but is a natural consequence of a crime. Every blameworthy misdemeanor is accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by a forfeiture of trust. 681

The Kazakhs, like the Kirgiz, did not betray criminals in their midst, for specific fines exist for crimes. But the Kirgiz sold criminals to the Kazakhs and vice versa, and also the Sarts sold them to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz for a ransom, i. e., a fine, the sum of which was not determined by custom but was designated arbitrarily. If the kinsmen could not pay the sum demanded, because of poverty, or did not wish to because of repeated stealing, this gave the right to kill the criminal.

• • •

/249/ Entering a tent.

To ride past the doors of a tent (aldynan yuru) and not behind it, is considered impolite. If a newcomer stops only at the very doors, having already passed two panels / reshetki / of the tent (yeki kanat kerege), they say to him scornfully: What do you think you are, a chief? 596

It is necessary to stop and tie the horse behind the tent, and then to call the masters with the words: Syuyles! Adam barma? (I wish to begin a conversation; is the master here?). But this custom is now observed less strictly.

If a horse tied up in front of a tent kicks a child, a fine is paid of 1/4 the value of the horse, i. e., 5 rubles (because the leg is one of four extremities), while if the child is killed, a full wergeld is paid. But if the horse kicked it behind the tent, the fault is laid to the child which went back there. Even if the horse kicked it to death, only the value of the horse would be exacted, or if there were aggravating circumstances which were the fault of the horse's owner - 1/2 a wergeld. [672]

Entering a tent in the absence of the owners (otagasy) by one who is not a relative, is not regarded as nice. He is reminded of the fact that in case of loss the suspicion will fall on the person who has entered.

Unfastening the doors (of reeds - esik, of wooden folds - ergenek) in the absence of the owners is regarded as an act which

[220 cont.]
x648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

[244 cont.]
x 648 this distinction and paid no more attention to Russian complaints.
[721] His subjects again began their raids against the Volga Kalmuks and later insisted that they be allowed to spend the winter on the right bank of the Ural River. They had been refused this request several times, but the new refusal enraged them so that they wished to pass the border by force to spend the winter in Russia with their herds and studs. This insolence led the Empress Catherine to give
[681] Ubashi, a deputy of the Kalmuk khanate, a letter patent (2) on

2. This letter remained in Orenbúrg, where it is still preserved.

May 18, 1763 to punish the Kazaks of the Little Horde by force of arms as soon as he received word from the government of Orenburg that part of them had crossed the border. Orders were also given to authorize the Bashkirs and Yaik Cossacks to do the same. But no one gained from this, because the Kazaks remained in their steppes.

The wily Sultan Ablai, who for several years had succeeded in pleasing two powers with opposing interests, was called at this time to the aid of a third, which was less [245] necessary than the first two to his security in the horde but to whose fate he was
x 648 linked by both the laws of the Koran and his amour-propre.
721 The Chinese conquered what is called Little Bukhara almost at the same time as Dzungaria and wished to extend their conquests still further over other small Moslem states of Central Asia. The expectation of this invasion and the impossibility of repulsing it forced the khans of Tashkent and Kokand and their neighbors, who were as weak as they, to beg help against the Chinese first of all from Akhmet, sovereign of the Afghans, for with this title and as a Moslem, he should protect his coreligionists. The inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkend and other cities already conquered by the Chinese likewise asked him to deliver them from the rule of the infidels. Aroused by so many demands, Akhmet sent a strong army against the Chinese, which halted between Tashkent and Kokand to enter into discussions with the Chinese.

[287 cont.]

*648 This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali. [554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[83] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [644 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[288 cont.]

X 648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace with each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X 648 681 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

Y 648 645 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X 648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

[Great Horde]

586 a family would see to it that the husband would not get rid of the woman who was valuable both for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.[154]

587 In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first--"in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others." The new husband paid a kalym called the kalym of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original kalym, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity be-
[586] tween the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right of choosing among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.[155] Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

Criminal Law in its Relation to the Kinship System

•601 602 613 A distinction between theft of cattle--rustling--in general and seizure from specified kinsmen--baranta--

[154] Izrastsov, loc. cit.

[155] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

681 602 613

was made in Kazakh legal practices. A number of distinctions likewise existed in the punishments for taking a life. No provision was made for repressive punishment, the only practice known was restitution if it was determined that a wrong had been committed. The penalty involved was the payment of a whole or a part of a kun or wergeld. The basic kun, mentioned above, was 200 baital (baital is a horse in good condition, or the equivalent). This might vary somewhat; for example, the kun in the vicinity of what is today Alma Ata was 200 horses, 100 sheep, and a camel, or roughly 225 baital (five sheep equalled one baital, a camel equalled five baital) toward the end of the 19th century. The taking of a woman's life, other than one's wife, required the payment of half a kun.[156]

If a man was killed in a fight or in a raid, only a partial kun was paid. Of significance to the kinship system in relation to the criminal proceedings is the fact that there was always voluntary aid by the kin of a murderer, even if the murderer were wealthy, and could afford the amount himself. On the other hand, if the murderer and his kin could not make up the sum among them, wider circles of kinsmen were called in, contributing in proportion to the degree of closeness of kinship,

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[156] Izrastsov, 12.

•681 provided the man was of good standing in his community.[157]
602 If the sum could not be made up by these means, it was
613 made up by giving the daughter in marriage to a descendant of the victim, provided the daughter was not yet betrothed. It was stated, although how much meaning may be attributed to it is far from clear, that the making over of from two to four daughters could stand in lieu of a kun.[158]

The implication of such payments and the participation of the kin involved is that it is one lineage which is indemnifying another lineage for the loss of a member. The fact that a daughter could be given in partial quittance of a wergeld indicates that the offending lineage recognized that it had endangered the continuity of another and the daughter offered was a means of meeting that danger. The Turks of the Orkhon-Yenisei, it will be recalled, offered a daughter in payment for the putting out of an eye; it is possible that this practice had a similar meaning.

The recipient of the wergeld, i.e., the injured lineage, distributed it in a significant fashion: on receipt of the full amount, the kin of the victim (the sub-lineage as a rule) took one-half, which it further

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[157] Ibid., 13.

[158] Ibid., 14.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganisation of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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613
177.
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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448ff.--Analyst]
[2] [on the biij, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412--Analyst]

681 We have dealt thus far with relationships of the
W2 law to the system of consanguinity; but there were also important relationships to the affinal system. One such relationship has already been mentioned, the fact that a husband and his kin were obliged to pay the full kun to the family of the wife if he killed her. Now the children of the murdered mother in this case got nothing,[162] and the reason for this is clear. They were reckoned in the paternal kin group, and thus suffered doubly: from the loss of a mother, and from the burden of the wergeld which they had to bear as part of the father's line.

On the other hand, if the wife was murdered by a stranger, the kun was divided equally between the wife's father's kin and the kin of the husband. If a betrothed girl was murdered, the father of the girl and his line received the entire kun, and the family of the affianced youth was presented with a choice, either to accept a sister of the victim, or to have the kalym returned and seek elsewhere for a wife.[163] The ambiguous situation of the woman could not be expressed more sharply in Kazakh life than by the process of division of the kun[1] if her life was taken: she was regarded as belonging fully to no group, neither to the husband's nor to the father's.

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[162] Izraztsov, 14.

[163] Idem.

[1] [i.e. Wergeld; cf. cat. 11b, AHl Mongolia, p. 448ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

602 relationship, a man must now be aware of, respond to the economic and legal implications of, a relationship through the mother's sister. In the light of this, we must re-examine the lines of consanguinity, and we find that the agnatic line no longer satisfies all the relationships involved, or even the major proportion of them. Descent is significant in the light of the data here presented through the grandfather in general, and not through the father's father alone. A man can call on me for help if he shares a common grandfather with me, and conversely, I can call on him. This is a cognatic relationship, and not at all an agnatic one, which in the present context is of considerable theoretical interest.

67a 681 593 A final relationship between the kinship system and the law on the steppe which is to be discussed is the legal personality of the family. The family was a person before the criminal law of the Great Horde, as it was in other parts of the steppe. Thus, if a father killed his son, no legal proceeding could be undertaken against him; nor could the law intervene if the son killed his father. The family unity could not be invaded, that is, by outside forces. Again, if the father was alive, and a brother killed a brother, the legal process could not intervene; and even if the father were dead and the sons had moved apart, only a small sum was paid to the family of the victim, more a token payment than a true wergeld.[165]

[165] Ibid., 15-16.

672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
573 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of kalym, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yüz, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radlov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.[166]

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

[166] Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 450; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

[Inner Horde]

614 this function was taken over by the lineage. Here we can say that the clan could continue to be the unit of exogamy in those cases where it was co-terminous with the lineage, and was so even in the 20th century, as indeed it had been at times in the past. But the lineage, or sub-lineage, was the normal unit of exogamy and had been before Kharusin's day, and continued to be afterward.

614 [681] 608 The clan was no longer[1] responsible for the crimes of a clan-member; that it had been in the past is shown by the wergeld relationship, regarding the collection of the wergeld for transmission and its distribution on receipt. It was possible to change clan affiliation; indeed this exemplifies beautifully the principle of the fictive descent, whereby on joining another clan one was given the genealogy of the new clan, the conditio sine qua non for membership in the new clan. One of the most frequent reasons for leaving one's clan and joining a new one according to Kharusin was to escape punishment; but this reason is self-defeating, since the clan of asylum might not want responsibility for the fugitive and could demand the return of the new arrival to his old clan; in fact the notion contradicts Kharusin's point that the clan had no responsibility for its members' activities.[238]

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[238] Ibid., 44-45.

[1] [i.e. in the 19th century. Cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 496-498 -- Analyst]

8:Kostenko -33-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

681 Among alomst all ancient peoples and among the Kazakhs there existed the law of retribution, that is, death for murder or rape - and mutilation for mutilation. But time and the prevalance of a new order have changed this custom. However, down to the Russian domination, ransom was permitted for murder. For the death of a man a thousand horses were usually paid, and half that for the murder of a woman. This ransom is called 'kun', and when the crime can be hidden from the Russian authorities this is done even today.

692 In general all legal judgments, civil and criminal, just as all public affairs, according to custom can never depend on the will of one person, but are always made with the agreement of several elders, beys or honored persons in general. These persons had and still have today the right to receive a tenth part of the property of the guilty person, or, if it is a civil matter, the same share from the payment
696 of retribution which they decide. The 'baranta'
628 is a completely unique crime among the Kazakhs. The beginning of these feuds was almost always legal, that is, they usually began from the unwillingness /347/ of one of the contesting parties to abide by the decision of the elders. In such a case the injured party had the legal right to obtain satisfaction by force, that is, to make raids, steal cattle and capture the people. It is self-evident that those who were plundered did the same in return, believing that more had been taken from them than should have been according to the legal judgment. Thus the stealing, robbery and murder committed by both sides confused the question more and more, and quarrels and feuds lasted in this way for decades, eventually even dividing clans.

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other
[675] arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really 683
do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but 562
sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara.

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the
fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad 586
tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she
runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand
vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant
relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your
kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay
all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not
wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30
tillias for the benefit of the husband.

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to
leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not
permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keep-
ing her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of
divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged
to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for 682
mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship 562
as it is said.

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her 842
father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to
spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga
okutady, auliya tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr
is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys,
for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and
promises a son and a daughter.

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I 586
have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according
to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's
house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered
divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband
gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she
was not guilty in the divorce.

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she
did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The 587
fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was
married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd,

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

•182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only the latter is not customary. (1)
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1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

4:Grodekov--125 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd
Instigation to fighting and murder (sukan-chilik).	Rebuke (1) of the aksakal and forcing to repent.		Not punished	Formerly the whip. (durra). Now a fine of 3 rubles.

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1. The reason why Sultan Daulet Bushaev imposes a rebuke, etc., and the biis of the Auliye-Ata uyezd do not, is that the former represents the patriarchal point of view, and the latter the present practice. In the words of Kunakbai, nowadays a rebuke, etc., does not lead to anything. (Table continues).

681 Bii Sultan Kanaev explains the lowering of the fines in the
685 second column of the information from Kucherbai as follows: This happens only when the biis ask the plaintiff to forgive part of the suit because of poverty. They say "Where can a thief get such a sum? Would he have stolen if he had had means?" Bii Khalmakammed added that biis have recourse to this device who receive something from the thief.

It is not obligatory to impose a fine in money in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for the theft of money (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, one view has it that for a theft of money a fine is imposed in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu. Another opinion is that a smaller fine is determined, namely: 1) if the stolen money is all found (tugul tabylsa), then in justice (insaf kylsa) there is no other fine beyond the biilyk and syuyunchi; 2) if the money is not all found and the defendant wants to give it all but cannot immediately, /233/ then the fine, syuyunchi and all the expenses are added together into one sum, equal to half of the money which was not found. For example, if of 20 tillias, 10 tillias are given up at once and 10 tillias remain, there is a sentence to pay these 10 tillias plus 5 tillias, totalling 15 tillias.

According to Kyul'baev, for the theft of 50 tillias, if the defendant does not deny it, they ask a fine of 50 tillias plus 10 tillias (under the name of sandyk khakysy, "for the coffer", i. e., for the plaintiff), plus 5 tillias (to the bii).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for the stealing of things but not live-stock a monetary fine is imposed which is much less than the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu.

According to Torgai, for the theft of a long coat and other things to the sum of 10 tengas /silver coin/, the fine is established at 15 tengas if the total stolen amounts to 15 tengas, the fine is 20; if the total stolen amounts to 100 tengas the fine is 120 tengas, etc. The larger the amount of the suit, the smaller the percent added to the fine.

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681 For murder, a redemption of "khun" /wergeld/ is
682 customary, and in case it is not paid, the death of the murderer himself is asked, or that of another man from his clan. (1)

1. An interesting ritual of symbolic execution of a ram at the time the wergeld is received can be found

in Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 71. This ritual does not exist in the Turkestan region, as is evident from the words of Sultan Kanaev: this is anarchy (nizamsiz), the act of people who are not subject to any chief (ishbir khakimga karamagan adamnyng esi). 681 682

Wergeld is paid and received not by a person but by a clan. If the murdered person and the murderer are from one clan, then it is paid and received by the lineage, if they are both from the same lineage, by the sublineage, etc. For example, if one is of the Bisata lineage, the other of the Yamanbay lineage (both these lineages constitute the Kutenchi clan, of the main clan of Kungrat), in the Chimkent uyezd all five volosts of the Bisata pay, and all five volosts of the Yamanbays receive the wergeld. The wergeld received, taking out 100 to 300 rubles for funeral and memorial services, is distributed among the volosts, then among the villages, etc. The close and distant relatives of the murdered person and the murderer, rich and poor, must pay and receive equal shares. Even though the clan of the murderer be /234/ far away or scattered over a large area, nevertheless demands are sent for the payment of their shares of the wergeld, authenticated by the affixing of many seals. Now the distribution of the wergeld received is not above abuse from influential persons. 681 682 672

Wergeld is not exacted when there are no kinsmen to act as plaintiffs.

According to Torgai, the rule "blood for blood" (khunga khun, kanga kan) was observed earlier in several places. Even now in the Kazalinsk uyezd the clan of the murdered person tries to commit murder in order to take blood for blood, but they are not permitted to do this, for people say: "It happened by the will of God." In general the custom of taking blood for blood no longer exists.

Now, if the community on which the wergeld is imposed is insolvent because of its small number of people, none of them is killed and the community is simply considered to be in debt. (1)

1. It is said that in Bukhara there is a custom of collecting alms for the payment of wergeld.

Those who draw together to pay the wergeld and also to receive it are called comrades in the wergeld (khundas). It is practically impossible to refuse to take part in the apportioning (shesken) of the payment of a wergeld. If one did, they would not give him a share of wergelds received and would not participate in the payment of wergeld for his own commission of murder.

681 If a small community, living in the midst of a community of many members, but not related to it, takes part by some chance in
682 the payment of wergeld for a murder committed by the large group, then both communities are considered khundas, and this numerous clan
672 must pay for a murder committed by the small community. If it refuses, the small group reminds it that they once were khundas. If the large group is still not inclined to take part in the payment, the community which is under fine is left to take a copy of the judgment and to send it along with a demand for participation /235/ in paying the wergeld to the place where the rest of their clan lives, to their motherland, so to speak. At first these are unwilling to pay, and scold them: "Why did you go away from us", but finally they do pay nevertheless.

In Kurama wergeld is not exacted from the clan but from the family: from the father, the brother and the uncle (akesi ukesi, amekesi kuyadi). Formerly there was killing for insolvency.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the wergeld is imposed in this way: after deliberation between the kinsmen of the payer of the wergeld, a part is assigned to the defendant himself, while the rest is paid by his kinsmen within the degree of kinship to which it is forbidden to marry. They divide this part among them.

681 The amount of wergeld for a man is the same, whether he be a sultan, a hodja, a guest, a thief, a child, an adult,(1) etc., in accord-
682 ance with the proverb: "The wicked and the good are equal once after death (i.e., their wergeld is the same), and another time during life" (i.e., abuse can affect everyone equally) (yaman ksi yakhsy ksige ulgende br teng keledi, tirisinde br teng keledi).

1. In the article by Gotrovitskii, "Okonchanie del polumirom po kirgizskomu obychnomu pravu" /The ending of cases by polumir /cf. below/ according to Kazakh customary law/, (Iuridicheskii Vestnik, May, 1885, p. 194), it is stated that if the widow of a murdered man remains without means with a female child, and if the murdered man had no brother whom she could marry, then she must receive 50 horses, without any concessions. But if she is young and has a male child and consequently can count on marrying one of her husband's kinsmen, then when the case is decided by polumir (karyndas kyb)i. e., with the full confession of the murderer that he has committed the crime, the payment to the widow must be limited to 25 horses.

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If one is to believe the claims of the sultans, for the murder of a sultan or a hereditary bii the wergeld paid is one and a half the usual amount, namely 6 yakhsy are added to the 6 yakhsy. (Communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

For the murder of a woman, including one's own wife, half a wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed by a woman, full wergeld is paid.

For a murder committed in a drunken state, the wergeld is unchanged.

For unpremeditated murder wergeld is not customary, but only /236/ a gift of clothing and covering the expenses for burial and memorial services (asatau).

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If the murder occurred in self-defense, this must be proven before the plaintiffs in order to be freed from the payment of wergeld. However it is still a disputable question whether wergeld should be paid in such cases, i. e., when the murdered man was a thief, not allowing himself to be captured, or some other criminal defending himself by arms against the rider who has been sent to arrest him, or a bandit who is the first to start fighting. The plaintiffs demand the payment of the full wergeld, offering on their part to pay the fine for the attack, fighting, stealing and in general the offense which is acknowledged for the murdered man. They support themselves by saying the defendant is entering a false accusation against the murdered man, in order to avoid paying the wergeld. According to Mikebai, wergeld must be paid for the murder of a thief, even if he started the fight, if he was not the first to use a weapon. Wergeld, however, does not need to be paid for the murder of a thief, if he was the first to begin armed resistance.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that self defense in case of the attack of plunderers and outlaws is permitted only in a measure which is not criminal. But if the defender strikes the attacker, even though unintentionally, and it results in death or injury to a part of the body, the person guilty of this pays wergeld, while at the same time the plunderers bear responsibility for the damage by death.

If the murdered person is an orphan living with his step-father, his clan demands nevertheless that wergeld be paid for his murder. In the absence of the clan, the step-father can demand wergeld in the name of the younger brother of the victim, but must put the wergeld received to one side, to be given to the clan of the victim on their first demand (Kurama uyezd). According to Khalmakammed

681 of the Chimkent uyezd, the mother may receive part of the wergeld at
682 the will of the kinsmen. She can pay part of the wergeld, if she wishes, for a murder committed by this orphan.

672 If a servant of a rich man dies and his heirs /237/ seek wergeld from the master, the biis examining the case must find out as their first duty whether the man froze to death for lack of clothing, or died of hunger, or was killed stealing or while engaged in other pernicious pursuits. If it can be proven by the testimony of witnesses that the death was caused by one of the above-mentioned circumstances, then the owner must pay the wergeld. But if the death occurred for one of these reasons and a dispute arises because the side does not confess, then four persons from the side of the defendants must swear an oath, or if a woman has been killed, two persons.

According to the biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmakammed, if a servant who is traveling in pursuit of thieves or enemies is killed, it is impossible to demand wergeld from his owner, even when the murderer belongs to a tribe like the Kalmuks, from whom it is unthinkable to demand wergeld.

681 For a murdered man, according to the communication of Baymet
682 Sagyndykov of the Chimkent uyezd, 1000 Shariat tillias are exacted of 10 tengas each, and if one counts each tillia at 4 rubles, as is customary, then it is 500 tillias or 10,000 tengas. If it is paid in livestock, then 100 camels must be paid. Absalyamov reports for the same uyezd that 100 horses and 100 rams are paid for a murdered man, or 600 tillias in money. Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd reports that for a murdered man from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld consists of 200 mares, and for a murdered woman from one to one hundred years of age, the wergeld is 100 mares.

There are cases in which influential relatives succeed in exacting 3-5 wergelds for one murdered clan chief. For example, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd a total sum of 1,300 tillias and one girl was exacted as wergeld and expenses, from 500 tents, for the murder of an honorable personage of the white bone by the name of Yalangtash.

According to Sultan Daulet, the former wergeld for murder was of two types:

/238/ First Type

1) 1000 sheep = 1000 tillias = 2 girls.

2) 6 yakhsy, i.e., 2 slaves, 2 dromedary camels (nar) and 2 good horses. Wild animals such as a fox, wolf, antelope, etc. could be substituted for horses.

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3) Kalyngelim = a rug of 50 tillias or 100 rubles.

4) Kara nar - i. e., a dromedary camel in black.

5) Kara chulak, at, a wounded horse, i. e., the horse of the murdered man, in black.

6) Sary yipek yaulyk, a yellow silk kerchief, i. e., the kerchief of a widow, with which she covers herself as she weeps for her husband.

Second Type

1) 500 sheep or only 500 goats, or 500 kids a year old.

2) 6 yakhsy, i. e., 2 dromedary camels, 2 horses, 1 gun and 1 wild animal (karankus).

3) A cheap rug.

4) A small dromedary camel, for example, a taylak.

5) A horse 3-4 years old.

6) Yipek yaulyk, a kerchief.

Now the wergeld is the equivalent of 1,000 rams or 2,000 rubles.

At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, the amount of the wergeld was determined as 2,000 rubles for a man and 1,000 rubles for a woman.

In the Kokandian time the wergeld was larger, namely 1,000 tillias for a man.

Other kinds of livestock of the same value can be paid in place of the animals mentioned.

Often the plaintiffs agree to a smaller sum. Baymet Sagyndykov writes that "if the litigants desire to make a peaceful settlement before the examination by the biis, at the admonition of the best /239/ people and biis, the case dispenses with an oath, and the plaintiff receives half the wergeld, in accordance with the customary law concerning peaceful settlements."

A daughter or female relative of the murderer can be given instead of the wergeld.

If the murdered person is not buried but left to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, the tyuya bastagan toguz is added to the wergeld, called "wergeld for the bones" (syuyagening khuny), for the plaintiffs are not satisfied by the wergeld and demand to be given the corpse as well. If the murderer agrees to the payment of the wergeld, but wishes to hide the corpse (syuyagen kursetpese), and this is found out, then he is obligated to send the body on a "dromedary camel in black"

681 (kara nar), covered by a rug, and to pay a fine of from one to three
682 toguz, counting here also the camel with the rug. A bactrian camel can be given in place of the dromedary, and even only a horse. (Torgai).

Usually influential persons, aksakals, volost officials, etc. appear as trusted figures from the clan of the murdered person before the sessions of the biis, and they count out a considerable share of the wergeld obtained for themselves, under the name of travel and other expenses (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz the wergeld is equal to 660 tillias. The receiver of the wergeld and his relatives to the third degree inclusive receive 300 tillias. He divides the remaining 300 tillias among the biis and other eminent persons, who are not related to him, because he fears their ill will "and they are used to receiving." The remaining 60 tillias go for the biilyk and various expenses. (Reported by bii Daniyar).

Everyone who has wounded or injured another is obliged, in addition to the exaction imposed by the court, to heal the injured person at his expense and to slaughter a ram to feed him. The doctor (taub) dresses the wound with the skin of this ram, and hits him on the wound with light blows, which constitutes a good sign (irim). For wounds and injuries which were unpremeditated or received in a dispute, only the healing and nursing must be paid. If the wounded person dies, /240/ a fine is exacted for the expenses of burial and memorial services, called "related wergeld" (karindas khun).

681 Wergeld is exacted in the following amounts for bodily
683 injuries:

Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a light wound by a knife - from atton to at bastagan toguz.	10-15 rubles.
For a heavy wound, but not mortal - tyuya bastagan toguz. According to Umurbek, the biis are not supposed to examine the case until the safety of the patient's position is cleared up.	Compensation for the cost of the sacrificial offering (sadaka), made by the relatives for recovery.
For a wound resulting in death - full wergeld.	Full wergeld.

681 According to the report of Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov, the wergeld for the putting out of one eye in a man is determined as
683 50 mares, and for the putting out of both eyes at 100 mares. If an oath is imposed, it is required of one person in the case of one eye, and of two persons, in the case of both eyes. Otherwise the customary wergeld is: for one ear - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for 2 ears - 2 camels and 18 heads of livestock; for a nose - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for a tooth - 1 horse and 9 heads of livestock; for breaking or mutilating one arm or leg - 25 mares; the same of both arms and legs - 50 mares; for the mutilation of the genital organ - 100 mares, and if an oath is given, it falls upon two persons from the clan of the defendant. For the same mutilation of a woman, half this amount is paid.

According to Sagyndykov, if someone cuts off someone's tongue, or hits him with such cruel blows with a stick that the victim loses the ability to speak, or loses his reason, or else if he cuts off the nose or removes skin from a place where hair grows, namely, on the chin, the guilty person pays full wergeld.

681 Abortion , as well as miscarriage resulting from the blows of the husband, remains unpunished.

682 For miscarriage resulting from the will of an outside man, a fine is paid depending on the form, sex and size of the fetus, ranging from several camels to half the wergeld. If the fetus remained alive for some time, even wergeld is paid.

Half as much is paid for a fetus of female sex as for one of male sex.

If a betrothed girl who is pregnant from her legal bridegroom performs an abortion because of shame in front of her father and the people, the bridegroom, if he discovers it, can bring both the bride and the men and women who also took part in the abortion to strict accounting before the people's court, which takes the side of the groom (Kazalinsk uyezd).

/244/ If someone strikes a pregnant woman and stillbirth results from it, the guilty person pays 100 rubles as wergeld, and if the woman herself dies from the blows, which must be proved, the guilty person pays the full wergeld for a woman. But if a woman gives premature birth to a living child, as a result of blows of a stick, and the child dies only later, the full wergeld must be paid for the dead infant, if it is fully proven that the premature birth and the death of the newborn child were the result of the blows. Here the wergeld is paid depending on the sex of the infant. (Reported by Sagyndykov).

4:Grodekov--218 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

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It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which le[illegible] to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. 685

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

765 tries to bring the best kumys /mare's milk/. The kinsmen bring gifts, aza. Tents are set up for the guests, 50 to 100 steps from the village, one for every lineage, since only the best people from each lineage come and spend the night. Those who do not find a place in the tent come in by turns for the regalement. At the memorials all the things of the deceased are hung up in the tent on ropes: clothing, saddle, whip, gun, as the appurtenance of mourning (tuldab kaydy), while the widow sits on a bed with her hair loose, surrounded by lamenting women. (According to I. I. Ibragimov and Torgai). They play on the zurna /type of oboe/ at memorials among the Kirgiz.

[766] A traveler who dies on the road is buried by passers by with a short prayer. If the kinsmen find the body of their relative, already decomposed, they scrape away the flesh with a knife, collect the bones in a sack, and carry them home, wash them, close them in a shroud, and bury them according to the ritual (Perovsk uyezd).

765 Guests who are returning from a funeral are called syuyakchi, in distinction from ordinary travelers (yulauchi). There is a larger • 682 fine imposed for harm of syuyakchi. If the attacker denies his attack, but there were other witnesses of this fact, for example, witnesses from among the other syuyakchi, the attack is then accepted as proof of guilt in the murder of the deceased, and no oath is required. But if the defendant does not deny the attack but does deny the murder, then an oath is customarily imposed on this matter.

However if there is no suspicion of murder and if the attacker does not succeed in taking anything and does not inflict any wounds, there is no suit on a general basis (Torgai).

According to bii Sultan, in case of only one attack without any other evidence, this cannot serve as proof of guilt of murder.

765 /260/ In the Perovsk uyezd the syuyakchi each bring a vessel (sava) of kumys with them to the funeral feast. Before their departure horse fat (kacy, kyuyumshak) is placed in their empty vessels, with the words: "so that your vessels will not be returned empty" (savangyz kuru kaytpasyn).

The host of the funeral celebration takes the role of a guest himself, giving the presiding place at the feast (zhyinding biiligi) to an aksakal or bii kinsman. The cooking and serving of the food is taken on by one young kinsman who is called tavakshi.

The graves of different clans are placed in the cemeteries (mazar, kurum).

The cemeteries are located on hills and high places with firm ground, where water from snow cannot destroy the graves. Over the

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[579 the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of
643] Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[211 cont.]

648 This act against a people considered subject to Russia and
[726 the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made
152] Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders,
[166] and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea. Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the
[682] following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons, he was poisoned (2).

[662] 2. In the papers preserved in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg it can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little Horde who came to the Russian border then affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

9) Tush (the breast).

10) Muyun (the neck).

11) Ichay karyn (the intestines) are given to children and women, who usually get nothing of the best pieces.

Seniority is not ranked by direct line, i. e., the brother of someone, older or younger, has precedence (ulkun yol) over the son of the same person. Uncles are met with greater honor than nephews. (1)

1. The Khan is succeeded by his brothers, then his sons, then the sons of the brothers.

Before old men (aksakals), i. e., elders, mullahs and influential persons, even of strange clans, they sit properly, do not contradict, and fulfill requests. It is customary to exact an apology and a fine for reviling them or scuffling with them.

If a low person should chance to sit between high ones, he can be ousted or allowed to remain, in view of whether he and his father are good persons or not.

If a high person unjustly abuses an inferior, then a bii may say [683] to him: "Look here. If you do that again, not he but you will be fined."

When a high person beats an inferior, he is not punished for three blows, inclusively. And if the inferior responds with a blow during one of the first three blows, then he must pay a fine. /11/ Envoys are not [648] abused and not killed, according to the proverb: il'chige ulum kharam, death is forbidden to an envoy.

Inferiors, for example, young women, do not walk in front of elders, but go around behind them. If they pass in front of them by necessity, walking or riding, they show them honor (tazim) by greeting them or by some other sign of respect. If a woman bars a road to men, they stop her and force her to ride across behind them (the Perovsk uyezd).

The Tiuri are greeted after the usual salaam by the additional word aldiiar. (1) Of proud Tiuri it is said: it is a bad Tiur who prides

1. Apparently instead of "alla iar", they say "May God be a protector."

imself on an aldiiar (aldiiarga mas bulgan yaman tiure).

To ride up to a person or to a tent at a gallop is considered ameworthy. Such a person is asked reproachfully: "What happened?

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Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkun ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

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The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd. 593

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children. 683

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not bjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her sband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

For stealing from parents, children who have received their lotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is onsidered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the 593 685

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

•683 562 [581] /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (uitirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinas shykty ma?); If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber); If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The rela-

tives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The th time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was ried to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

4:Grodekov--121 E-3 (ca 1885) 1889 KQZ Kazak KQZ
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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Digging holes without warning signs, or destroying these.	Rebuke and medical treatment of those hurt.		Not punished.	Warning that if someone is hurt, the digger will pay.
Slander, false denunciation. (ṣukhanchilik	Forfeiture of trust (zhenimsizdik). sizdik).	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly a whipping. (durra). Now a 3 ruble fine. ruble fine.
Not giving help when seeing theft or brigandage.	Reprimand		Not punished.	Not punished.
Not reporting the commission of a crime.		Not punished.		

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--129 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Not giving kunakasy.		Not punished.	Not punished.	In case of death, wergeld is paid for a person, and the value for a horse.
Affront and insult of kinsmen.	Corporeal punishment, depending on the desire of the kinsman.	Affronts and light blows administered to kinsmen, and strangers, even tiuri, is not punished.		They are pacified and warned against repetition.
False witness.	Forfeiture of trust and the remuneration for damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors

	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Petrovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Ata uyezd.	Auliye-The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Attempt to murder	Three nines (tyuya-at-siir-bastagan toguz).	According to bii Sultan, "ayb for the knife", i. e., an attempt to murder (pshak ayby) costs 1-2 nines.		
/153/ Attempt at theft or brigandage.	Atton	In the opinion of Uymaut and others of the Chimkent uyezd, it is not punished. Sazabai agrees. According to Umurbek and others, there is pardon or a fine no greater than an atton.		
Fire resulting from carelessness.	Payment of damages.			Payment of damages (tuleuin beredi).
Setting a fire maliciously.	Payment of damages, with addition of fine or prison.			Payment of damages with fine of 50 rubles.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--134 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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685 the stealing of sheep is more severely prosecuted (sheep are watched less carefully than other livestock), namely, a fine of one toguz is imposed for the theft of one or several sheep, in addition to the return of the stolen animals. It was stated in the Geographic Society's outline for the collection of folk juridical customs (p. 31) that a larger reimbursement was demanded among the Kazakhs for the theft of sheep because a high value was placed on them for their numerous offspring. It will be seen below in the chapter on punishments that this custom does not exist in the Turkestan region.

is no special punishment for damage to a wall, a lock, etc., in the process of stealing. Reimbursement for such damage is included in the fine imposed.

The theft of a fettered animal is punished in the same way as the theft of livestock grazing freely.

681 There is no special exaction for the hiding of traces of a crime. An exception to this is hiding the body in a murder (cf. wergeld).

[682] In Makovetskii's book, Pt. I, p. 79, it is said: "Violence during /170/ theft of property, for example, the infliction of wounds, is regarded as a separate crime and there is special punishment for the theft of the goods and the infliction of wounds." The biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmahammed find that violence and theft are judged without division. A fine is exacted as for an ordinary theft, and only expenses for the healing of the wounds are added. If there were blows without wounds, then nothing is added to the fine for the theft. The proverb: "You cannot skin two hides from one sheep" (bir koydan eki teri soymaydy) is relevant here, i. e., two punishments are not imposed on one criminal. Only an inexperienced bii can impose two fines (bil'mes bii klady eki ayb).

681 683 A criminal who has already been convicted for one and the same crime is punished more strictly. (1) For the second theft they

1. This is the opinion of many, including the Kirgiz Daniyar, and agrees with Zagriazhskii and Samokvasov, but conflicts with the opinion of the Makovetskii collection, Pt. I, p. 65.

require the confiscation of all the property of the thief, with his release on guarantee, or depriving him of liberty. For a third theft he is banished, with the declaration that they refuse to pay and receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

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receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

Secret driving away of livestock is not called baranta, (2) but

2. In the customary laws of the Caucasian mountaineers, p. 366, it is stated: Baranta has several meanings: a) livestock; b) crime, in the sense of ordinary theft, taking away by force, and seizure of a strange object; c) military seizure, driving away or capture of people and livestock; d) punishment, in the sense of stealing and plundering according to the old Russian law, most recently the confiscation of property; e) the seizure of strange property before trial, to ensure the rights of the creditor, also in the case of lack of satisfaction for personal injury, material loss, etc.; f) measures for the assurance of the fulfillment of the court decree, g) the right of the relatives of a murdered man to rustle /"barantovat'"/ the property of the murderer before the carrying out of blood revenge. Finally h) the right of a prince to confiscate property from his subjects.

stealing. Also the word baranta should not necessarily be taken to mean a raid with the purpose of stealing without a special reason for it. For a raid to be able to be called baranta (barymta), it is necessary 1) to make the departure by day and not by night; 2) to have the raid openly announced as baranta; 3) for the raid to be aimed at obtaining satisfaction for some sort of loss, theft, murder, kidnapping of a bride or wife, offense, etc. (3) /171/ Baranta also takes place when

3. In the report on the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd (Prikaz po voennonarodnomu upravleniiu Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti / Order for the military-national administration of the Syr-Darya oblast/ of July 30, 1886) an example is entered from the books /171/ of the extraordinary session: the Kazakh widow Manteke Sundetova complained that the Kazakh Ismailov had taken her daughter by baranta /zabarantoval/ and that she had spent 100 rubles to hire people to pursue the kidnapper, and she asked that the defendant be required to pay 1280 rubles for the defamation.

the defendant does not permit the requirement of the bii to be exacted from him.

According to bii Kunakbay, baranta does not take place for only one offense, or for the rape of a bride without taking her away, etc., when no losses (chygyn) resulted because of this offense, etc.

before an exact knowledge of customary law, especially since now every bii has his own devices, which often contradict each other (chatak). 693

The biis used to be judged by other biis or clan heads, but now they are tried on the common basis.

Bad language, yelling and scuffling in court is prosecuted by the biis. No prosecution is made for infliction of wounds in court if the wounded person was guilty, but if the guilty person causes the wounds, he is liable to the payment of the same fine which is imposed for the same crime committed outside the court. [687] 683

The punishment is not made heavier for murder and fighting before the court.

If someone dishonors the bii in words, they rebuke him saying: "Your tongue touched upon the bii" (biige tiling tiidi), and he is forced to ask forgiveness, but no fine is imposed; the more so because the bii hesitates to enter a suit concerning this. 693 683

/180/ The wergeld is not changed for the murder of a bii, but a larger fine is imposed for wounding him than for wounding a private individual. There is no prosecution for blows inflicted on a bii, if he owed money, but for unjust blows a fine is imposed which is higher than the usual one. For the exaction of these higher fines it is necessary 1) that the act be proven, and 2) that the person guilty of injuring the bii should be from the district /okrug/ of that bii. The injury of a bii from a strange village is prosecuted in the same way as the injury of an ordinary person.

The word mekhkeme, i.e., tribunal or court chamber, was not used in former times. This is now the name for the place or tent designated by the bii for the admission and examination of complaints in the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds. The biis sit on felt (tekemet), in the place of honor in the tent or room - the "tur", which is opposite the entrance, and before them on the ground are the plaintiff, the defendant and other persons who have been called in. In general, however, the examination of cases takes place anywhere and at any convenient opportunity. The court is where they find the bii, be this in the road, on a visit, or at a bazaar. The most precious convenience to the nomads lies in this simplicity of the conditions of a court. An experienced bii has his book of decisions and his seal with him in all places at all times. 695

The bii first hears and enters into his book the complaint of the plaintiff (dagvager), and then gives the floor to the defendant (dzhuabger tanbys) or to the witnesses. All those called to the court

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defendant to be found, even if he has concealed himself under the ground (yerge kerib kitse de taptyramyn). But he needs remuneration for this. The plaintiff gives him something. Then the volost sends someone to tell the defendant on the sly that he should come but not to be afraid. After this the case is transferred to the bii.

After the litigants have presented a documnet with the choice of several biis, the volost official designates the place and time for their court appearance, warning the plaintiff that if he does not appear his suit will be refused, and the defendant that he will be considered convicted for non-appearance. But in spite of this, when the defendant does not appear, the case is not decided in his absence, but they send once again to his place of abode, and only if he /188/ flees from there can the volost official command that the judgment be made in his absence. Sometimes the defendant submits a complaint after all this for the biis' judgment by default. Then the biis are required to swear that he was summoned twice (Torgai). 694

In the opinion of Torgai, article 35 in Samokvasov: "If someone is sent after a person, and the envoy is beaten and receives wounds on the face, then the latter must make the same marks on the former in return" etc., is probably founded on the orders of some individual powerful volost official. Although on the other hand the Kazakhs have a proverb: A stick is rewarded by a stick (tayakka tayak kaytady), i.e., an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. 694 683

If a rider was sent by a volost official but not on the basis of an order from the uyezd chief, then there is no prosecution for signs (tamga) on his face from blows. At any rate, when there are no witnesses, and the "tamga" /brand/ is only on the rider and not on the owner of the tent, then it depends on the state in which the rider emerged. /v tom, budto prikhodil dzhigit/. The affair ends with the words: "Come out and make peace" (dalaga chygyngiz yarasyngiz), for no oath is imposed for this. (1)

1. It may happen that the rider collects people for some sort of general suit and encounters resistance in this and receives blows with signs on his face or on his body. Then the people, who want to get around the rider, give him something, but not by customary law but voluntarily, for example a horse and a coat. They ask him not to lodge a complaint, saying: "Even if your head is cut, it is under your cap, even though your arm is broken it is in a sleeve" (bas yarylsa burk ichinde, kol synsa

694 dzhing ichinde). As an excuse they use the saying:
683 "quarreling and scuffling is a path which has existed since ancient times" (uruspak talaspak burunnan kalgan yul).

Since signs on the face are visible, they set value on the face, and they say to the offender: "you put a brand on my moon-like face" (ayday betime tamga saldyng), i. e., you mutilated my clear face. A wound on the arm for example is not important, unless a bone is broken (Torgai).

694 A rider can beat the person being summoned, in order to force him to go faster. A wound inflicted during this is not prosecuted.

When the volost official delays the summoning of the litigants and the witnesses, and the biis delay the examination of a case, the defendant hastens to declare a suit completely like the suit of the plaintiff (karsy dau, karsyma karsy dau). This is also done at the time of the examination of the case, sometimes /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A session of the people's court: the plaintiff, bii Akhmet Turgaev, bii Chekaman Iskenev, bii Chokai Turgaev, the defendant. Drawing by Akhmatov. /*/189/ also by the witnesses. But the biis avert such a suit. Exceptions to this are suits concerning animals recognized at a bazaar.

695 Mutual suits between quarreling kinsmen remain without consequence because of their extreme complication, or are led to pacification "in view of kinship." When it is impossible either to avert or pacify, then an oath is required from each litigant on his suit (Perovsk uyezd).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, in mutual suits without witnesses two propitiatory oaths are given: one to the plaintiff himself, and the other to the defendant himself (bas basyna - on the head of each of them), the first on the suit which was declared earliest, the second on the cross bill. A biilyk is taken for each of these suits, but only when the suit is made good. Otherwise the biis limit themselves to collecting for the affixing of their seals (mukhrane).

If a part of a suit is shown to be just, it still does not follow from this that the entire suit is just. The part of the suit which is subject to suspicion must be approached as though it were a special suit.

The combination of crimes is not taken into consideration. Every crime is judged separately.

If a suit touches upon two objects which are usually not found in one place, the suit is divided (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

* [Not reproduced--A]

681 (kara nar), covered by a rug, and to pay a fine of from one to three
682 toguz, counting here also the camel with the rug. A bactrian camel can be given in place of the dromedary, and even only a horse. (Torgai).

Usually influential persons, aksakals, volost officials, etc. appear as trusted figures from the clan of the murdered person before the sessions of the biis, and they count out a considerable share of the wergeld obtained for themselves, under the name of travel and other expenses (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz the wergeld is equal to 660 tillias. The receiver of the wergeld and his relatives to the third degree inclusive receive 300 tillias. He divides the remaining 300 tillias among the biis and other eminent persons, who are not related to him, because he fears their ill will "and they are used to receiving." The remaining 60 tillias go for the biilyk and various expenses. (Reported by bii Daniyar).

Everyone who has wounded or injured another is obliged, in addition to the exaction imposed by the court, to heal the injured person at his expense and to slaughter a ram to feed him. The doctor (taub) dresses the wound with the skin of this ram, and hits him on the wound with light blows, which constitutes a good sign (irim). For wounds and injuries which were unpremeditated or received in a dispute, only the healing and nursing must be paid. If the wounded person dies, /240/ a fine is exacted for the expenses of burial and memorial services, called "related wergeld" (karindas khun).

681 Wergeld is exacted in the following amounts for bodily
683 injuries:

Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a light wound by a knife - from atton to at bastagan toguz.	10-15 rubles.
For a heavy wound, but not mortal - tyuya bastagan toguz. According to Umurbek, the biis are not supposed to examine the case until the safety of the patient's position is cleared up.	Compensation for the cost of the sacrificial offering (sadaka), made by the relatives for recovery.
For a wound resulting in death - full wergeld.	Full wergeld.

4:Grodekov--214 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
If an agreement (bitim) was made for a certain sum because of a wound which seemed light, and it was entered into a document, and then the injured person died, the agreement is invalid and a suit is opened for full wergeld.	
For fighting with injury to a leg or arm, such that they cannot move about freely, no more than 100 rubles.	30-40 rubles. The Kirgiz call such an injury dzhansirek.
For a wound of the head (bas aryisa) - atton	/no entry/
For a wound of an arm or leg, with the loss of its use - 400 rubles.	Up to 300 rubles.
For the loss of both arms or both legs - full wergeld.	200 rubles.
/241/ For premeditated blinding of an eye - half the wergeld(1) and if it is the victim's only eye - full wergeld. According to Absalyamov, for blinding one or both eyes - 50 horses and 50 rams or 330 tillias.	six members (alty san): 2 eyes plus 2 arms plus 2 legs equals 600 tillias equals one wergeld. Each of these members 100 rubles.
For the injury of an eye, from 200 to 300 rubles (Perovsk uyezd).	/No entry/
For biting of the arm, 25 rubles (books of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). According to Absalyamov, for mutilation of an arm or leg, as well as for the loss of these members 165 tillias.	

1. At the session of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September, 1877, wergeld for a man's eye was established at 1000 rubles, and for a woman's eye at 500 rubles.

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz, reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For a finger cut off - one-tenth of the wergeld (Perovsk uyezd). According to Sagyndykov, also one-tenth of the wergeld, or 200 rubles, while for one joint-one-third of this sum, i. e., 66 rubles, 66 1/2 kopeks. Only for the joint of the thumb it is one-tenth of the wergeld = 200 rubles. This is because the thumb has only two joints, and the other fingers have three.	
For making crooked and for injury: 1) to the thumb - tyuya bastagan toguz (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds);	1) 30 rubles.
2) to the index finger - 2 attons, and according to Kunakbai - at bastagan toguz; 3) to the other fingers - for each, an atton or attay (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). According to Umurbek, it is the same for all fingers - tyuya bastagan toguz.	2) 5-10 rubles.
For knocking out a tooth, according to Sagyndykov, one-twentieth of the wergeld is paid, i. e., 100 rubles. /242/ If all the teeth are knocked out - the full wergeld. For each of the four upper and four lower front teeth (kurektis) at bastagan toguz is paid (Sultan Daulet Bushaev); Umurbek reports that an atton, or a horse, or only 8-9 rubles are paid; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid; According to Khudaykul, 25 rubles apiece; in the Kurama uyezd, for the front tooth of an old man, 17 tillias are paid. In the bii's books of the Chimkent uyezd, 20 tillias are paid for one front tooth.	If the tooth /242/ is broken in half by the blow -20-25 rubles. If an old man's tooth is broken by a blow - 4-5 rubles are paid.

4:Grodekov--216 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Among the Kazakhs	Among the Kirgiz 683 reported by Kurpetai Dauletkulov.
For eye teeth (akyl tis), according to Kunakbai, the same is paid as for front teeth.	The plaintiff must show a swelling of the gum (erin) to prove that the tooth was knocked out and did not fall out for another reason.
For each of the eye teeth and back teeth according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev an atton is paid or 50 rubles, according to Khudaykul - 10 tillias.	
For back teeth; according to Kunakbai, an atton is paid or nothing.	
For pulling out a piece of the beard - atton and an apology.	Nothing.
For cutting off the whole beard with a knife - at bastagan toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev;	Nothing.
According to Umurbek, it is impossible to define it exactly, but less than for the loss of the nose, because a beard grows back.	
For injury of the ear or the nose - from tyuya bastagan toguz to three toguz, according to Sultan Daulet Bushaev according to Umurbek, 100-400 rubles, but less for an ear at any rate.	The loss of an ear (chunak - earless) is 20-30 rubles.
/243/ For a man's loss of one ear or both, or of the nose, 50 tillias, according to Absalyamov.	/No entry/
For loss of the genital organ - full wergeld.	Not recorded.

4 Grodekov--217 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

681 According to the report of Mullah Shanchi Chinybekov, the wergeld for the putting out of one eye in a man is determined as
683 50 mares, and for the putting out of both eyes at 100 mares. If an oath is imposed, it is required of one person in the case of one eye, and of two persons, in the case of both eyes. Otherwise the customary wergeld is: for one ear - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for 2 ears - 2 camels and 18 heads of livestock; for a nose - 1 camel and 9 heads of livestock; for a tooth - 1 horse and 9 heads of livestock; for breaking or mutilating one arm or leg - 25 mares; the same of both arms and legs - 50 mares; for the mutilation of the genital organ - 100 mares, and if an oath is given, it falls upon two persons from the clan of the defendant. For the same mutilation of a woman, half this amount is paid.

According to Sagyndykov, if someone cuts off someone's tongue, or hits him with such cruel blows with a stick that the victim loses the ability to speak, or loses his reason, or else if he cuts off the nose or removes skin from a place where hair grows, namely, on the chin, the guilty person pays full wergeld.

681 Abortion , as well as miscarriage resulting from the blows of the husband, remains unpunished.

682 For miscarriage resulting from the will of an outside man, a fine is paid depending on the form, sex and size of the fetus, ranging from several camels to half the wergeld. If the fetus remained alive for some time, even wergeld is paid.

Half as much is paid for a fetus of female sex as for one of male sex.

If a betrothed girl who is pregnant from her legal bridegroom performs an abortion because of shame in front of her father and the people, the bridegroom, if he discovers it, can bring both the bride and the men and women who also took part in the abortion to strict accounting before the people's court, which takes the side of the groom (Kazalinsk uyezd).

/244/ If someone strikes a pregnant woman and stillbirth results from it, the guilty person pays 100 rubles as wergeld, and if the woman herself dies from the blows, which must be proved, the guilty person pays the full wergeld for a woman. But if a woman gives premature birth to a living child, as a result of blows of a stick, and the child dies only later, the full wergeld must be paid for the dead infant, if it is fully proven that the premature birth and the death of the newborn child were the result of the blows. Here the wergeld is paid depending on the sex of the infant. (Reported by Sagyndykov).

[220 cont.]
×648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

837 Adultery, by the Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[56] was punishable by death. Zaleskie[57] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[58]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[59]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[60]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kanaev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[61] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful fiancé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

55. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[56] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[57] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

atives of the deceased to marriage with the widow by stealth, begins to live maritally with her. Then the lawful husband does not wish to take her "because the hem of a stranger has touched her" (itegi tiibti), but /87/ he makes a complaint nevertheless and receives satisfaction in the form of a horse or a camel(1), and the people sanction

1. The new husband at first suggests little, for example, a horse. The lawful groom does not agree to this, threatening to kill. Then they propose more, a camel, etc., until the legal groom is satisfied (razy klady).

the arrangement which is made.

If the widow marries a stranger, with the agreement of the relatives of the deceased, her children, even those not yet born, remain in the house of the former husband (2) and the new husband

2. There are cases where all the children go with the mother.

pays the family of the deceased at least half a kalym, or else provides a girl.

If after the mourning period a kinsman of the groom does not appear to receive the yesir, the biis give the widow permission (achyk khat) to marry according to her choice. (3)

3. The law of 1867, in case of an unsatisfactory decision of a people's court on marital matters, let them turn to the uyezd chief with a complaint. Usually the Russian administration has permitted the widows to marry according to their choice. This type of decision, going contrary to custom, has given birth to disputes between the choice of the heart and the lawful groom.

When the widow has already had a wedding (nika) with an outsider without the permission of the husband's relatives, then the marriage is considered valid and only the question of the amount of compensation to the husband's relatives remains open. The lawful bridegroom, even though he does not receive a full kalym, has never gone away empty-handed (kuru kalmaydy) thus far.

A bii does not believe an accuasation of marital infidelity without witnesses. 184

The lover, about whom there has been a complaint to the bii,

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

683 /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against
562 his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to
[584] the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (uitirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinas shykty ma?). If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber); If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The relatives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
695 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

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1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
/154/ Turning this behavior into a profession.	Order to husband or relatives for corporeal punishment and supervision.			
Adultery with a married woman, proven as only one visit of the lover.	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly 1 nine (1)

1. Torgai says that he posed a question to the biis (Umurbek and others) of the Auliye-Ata uyezd: "You know better than I, tell me: khatynyng amining ayby bar ma?" They answered that no fine is imposed for adultery. He answered: "You have eaten dirt! In earlier times they imposed one nine."

Adultery discovered in flagranti.	One nine.	Up to 1 nine	20-30 rubles.	
The same with a fight resulting in miscarriage.	Tyuya bastagan nine.		50-100 rubles. for miscarriage.	

(Table continues).

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4:Grodekov--131 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliy-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
The same with a girl.	3 nines.	Kunakbai: the corruption of a girl with her consent even though she is betrothed, and regardless of age, is not punished.	There is binding, beating and 20-30 rubles are exacted.	From 1 to 3 nines. Formerly 3 nines.

Note. If the girl was betrothed the fine goes to the benefit of the groom. If the groom /155/ renounces the bride, the fine goes to her father, who gives the groom another bride. If the girl was not betrothed, the betrothal of the guilty man to her relieves him of the fine.

The rape of a woman in general depending on the circumstances of the case.	From 2 attons to atbastagan toguz.	From 1 atton to 1 nine.	From 5-30 rubles	If she is a girl, he must marry her.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umurbek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai.
Incest	Corporeal punishment and banishment from the village, after a public reprimand.		Death from the hands of all the people. No case had ever taken place.	
The same, by force.	The same, with humiliation.			
A sin of sodomy.	From 3-5 camels.		Not punished.	A coat and asking for forgiveness, with the slaughter of an animal.
/156/ Copulation with livestock.	Corporeal punishment and humiliation.	Not punished.	There are no male mules among the Kirgiz.	Not punished. No case of it had occurred.
Procuring.	Atton.		Not punished.	
Pimping of a mullah.	Forfeiture of clothes, all property, and banishment from the village.		The guilty man flees, abandoning everything.	

4:Grodekov--138 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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681 very rarely, and when it is, it is the less expensive type. Finally, the simple toguz are more frequent than the double or triple varieties. They are being replaced now by other fines, even by the atton.

Among the Kirgiz the toguz was formerly sentenced as a fine for mutilation, etc., but now they fine only in money.

It is asserted (Sultan Daulet Bushaev) that it was possible earlier to impose a sentence for theft of up to three toguz, namely: for the theft of one sheep, koy bastagan toguz, buydak bastagan toguz and ulak bastigan toguz; for the theft of one cow, siir bastagan toguz, kunan ukuz bastagan toguz and tay ukuz bastagan toguz; for the theft of one horse, at bastagan toguz, bie bastagan toguz, and siir bastagan toguz; for the theft of one camel, tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz and siir bastagan toguz.

[684] According to Torgai, the chief cases in which one can impose a fine of three toguz at once are the following: 1) the abduction of a girl, with or without violation. She is returned with three toguz, if her father is influential, otherwise with a smaller number of toguz. If she has a bridegroom he demands the same exaction from her father for her unchastity. However it is now very difficult to obtain even one toguz for the unchastity of a bride because the father invariably declares that the pregnancy of his daughter was caused by the groom himself. In the Kurama uyezd they have completely ceased to file such suits and they take the bride even with a child. 2) If they do not wish to impose wergeld for the loss of an eye, an arm, etc., since all wergelds, including partial ones for mutilation are apportioned among the khundas, just as they are divided among the khundas themselves, even if the guilty person is solvent, in this case they sentence to a fine of three toguz, for the toguz are apportioned in the community only after the guilty person is insolvent and are not apportioned from the community of the plaintiff.

The above mentioned fines in livestock can be translated /231/ into money. In the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd, in order to be exact they often record with the fines decreed in livestock, their value in money, especially with the large fines. In the south they usually fine directly in money. This custom exists as well in the Kazalinsk uyezd, as is evident from the order for the revision of the Kazalinsk uyezd of 1886 (1), in which it is said that in the extra-

(1) Of May 28, 1886, No. 88.

ordinary sessions of this uyezd, the calculation of the wergelds are to be made in rubles, and not in livestock.

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

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It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which led to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. [685]

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

4:Grodekov--219 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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1. Among the Alagirtsy and Farsalag of the Vladikavkaz okrug, if a wife is caught with a lover, her husband cuts off her nose. Among the Kurtat and Tagaur peoples, the husband kills the adulterer who is caught (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, Pt. II, pp. 41-44).

and his own wife did not pay wergeld, while the murderer only of the former did pay wergeld. Taking the law into one's own hands exists even now. According to Lt. Colonel Pankratov, there was such a case during his service in the Chimkent uyezd. They placed a thief who was bound, on burning coals, and he was roasted there until the cords were burned through. A. E. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that an outlaw is bound with a lasso to the tail of a horse or a camel.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, before the coming of the Russians, they exacted a punishment 80 to 90 blows of the lash (durra) for adultery of a bachelor with the wife of another, and if he died under them, wergeld was not demanded. But if he was married, both he and the other's wife were killed, or else they threw the latter into a sack with /246/ a cover, or thrashed her in the sack with their feet. If she did not die after that, she was freed.

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Mutilation by court order and execution were practised only by the Kokandians. They were subjected to being torn apart by horses, being hung from a gallows, (1) being stoned to death (sarsan, in place of the Persian sen_sar)

1. The informant had not heard of hanging two men from both sides of a camel, as it is stated in Makovetskii, I, p. 69.

of the Persian sengsar) - this last for incest and renouncing their religion(2)-

2. According to Staff Captain Grombchevskii, among the Kashgar Kirgiz the following types of tortures and lynchings exist: 1) they tie a cord around the head around the forehead, which they begin to tighten; 2) they bind the arms behind the back, and by twisting the rope draw the elbows and the shoulder bones together; 3) they throw the bound thief in front of the entrance to a sheep pen and let the sheep walk over him. The victim of this faints from pain.

and to being impaled on a stake (khada). (3)

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3. According to an eye-witness, the Kazakh Babaev, in the Kokand dominion, in Yany-Kurgan, the border point between Russia and the Kokand khanate, two Russian Kazakhs were impaled on a stake for some fault, in the following manner: they threw the criminal on the ground on his back. Then several men held him by the legs, while two thrust the sharpened end of a stake into him, 14 to 21 feet long and as thick as a man's arm. Then they lifted him into the air and fixed the stake in the ground. Some time later a Sart rode up and hit the two condemned men on the head with his Circassian saber. Both died during the night.

Among others, the following punishments existed earlier, according to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov: a) the guilty person was laid on the ground in the middle of the village with arms outstretched and face up, and his arms and legs were tied to stakes driven into the ground for that purpose, after which a herd of sheep was driven over him. The size of the herd depended on the degree of his fault. If the person subjected to such a punishment was crushed to death, his kinsmen received no wergeld. (4) b) Execution by cutting

4. According to the report of bii Sultan Kanaev, the driving of sheep over a criminal (ustinen koy aydaydy) happens only for theft from close relatives or adultery with close relatives, for example, persons of the same village. [685] [684]

off the head with a Circassian saber. Such a punishment took place with the consent of the sultan, and after the judgment of the offense by elders at a general council "maslyagat" (abbreviated: mastat).

• • •

He who is guilty of lack of respect for the fundamentals of the structure of the life, the clan, the family, etc., is subjected to the punishment of shaming, /247/ called "visiting of the people" (el aylantyrmak). They tie the guilty person's hands behind his back, smear his face with soot, put a cord around his neck or a piece of old felt (kurum) and lead him on foot around the village. One man drags him from in front, and from behind a rider drives him and beats him (Perovsk, Kazalinsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds and among the Kirgiz).

681 In the Kazalinsk uyezd, the shaming in addition to this consists of the person who has suffered telling publicly of the crime of the guilty party.

Among the Kirgiz, the guilty person is led three times around the village, with an old felt on his neck, and he is beaten and forced to say: "I committed such and such an act (men falan ish kyldym), and this is the punishment for it (dzhazal)". After this they place him in a pit to rot (churib ulib kitedi). This punishment was practised under the Kokand serkers for: 1) robbery, discovered at the moment of commission, even though done for the first time; 2) adultery with another man's wife, under the same circumstances; 3) lack of decorum before superiors. For incest it was customary to stone people (tashbaran).

[689] [684] [689]

681 The punishment for an unrestrained passion for stealing was formerly to confiscate all the property (kanau, uruganau). The house of such a thief (in the Auliye-Ata uyezd) was subjected to attack and looting (uyin chaub alyb malyn aldy), or he was given up to the Kokandians, who hung him. Now under such circumstances they establish a sentence to exile him in Siberia or to banish him (1) from

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1. The ousted person, excluded from his family and clan and therefore deprived of the support and defense of his clan, is called abrek among the Cherkes. A murderer, for whom his clan did not pay the "blood price" was made abrek primarily. Among the Mongols, exiles who departed from their kinsmen's clan and confederation were called ölöt or sabsars (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev, pp. 359-61).

his milieu, saying: "We have banished him from our midst, we will be ruined because of his stealing. Let no one defend him in court (ichimizden chykarduk, kyuymeymiz urlygina, dauyn ich kim suramasun). After this the thief becomes homeless, and is not reckoned in any volost. (2)

2. Two decrees of banishment from the community are given in Supplement No. 7. 1/

681 /248/ The withdrawal of the parental blessing from children exists. This takes place in this manner: The palms of the hands are pressed together and then pulled apart from each other three times.

1/ [Not translated -- A]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

423 Allowance must also be made for considerable variation over so large an area and among such large numbers of groups. It must be taken into consideration too that the average informant has very little idea of the functioning of his culture beyond his own immediate milieu; the procedure, for example, by which the larger units came into occupancy of their grazing areas would be matters of high politics far removed from the knowledge of the ordinary man. In general one may say that there was no private property in grazing lands, that the larger groupings occupied the traditional areas which had been used by their ancestors before, that conflicts between such groups were settled usually by consultation and that within the boundaries of such areas family groups moved with considerable freedom subject to some pressure from local leaders and with a tendency to occupy the same spot year after year.[50]

The winter habitations, the meadows (kol) where hay was cut, and the agricultural lands may be considered as in effect private property. Grodekov says[51] that land was not considered as the property of particular individuals but belonged to them only while they were occupying and using it. Dingelstedt[52] theorizes upon this point in saying that although they did not recognize private property in land they conceded the usufruct of it in perpetuity to that individual who had improved it by constructing a house or developing an agricultural plot or irrigation system. It is doubtful, however, if the Kazak were concerned with such delicate legal distinctions. In practice one might sell one's winter dwelling, and on the death of the owner it was inherited by his youngest son.[53] One might even, according to my information, sell such property to a member of another uru.

The status of the meadow lands for raising hay is less definite, as might be expected, as a result of the recent growth of the custom of storing up winter fodder. The *Kazaki*[54] states definitely that they were the property of individual owners. My informants were less clear on the point, declaring at various times in relation to different incidents that they belonged to an entire uru, to the rich men in the uru, and finally that in theory they belonged to the uru but were for all practical purposes divided among its wealthiest and most [685] important members. Their private ownership is made clear by the fact that it was a serious act, involving the payment of damages, for any unauthorized person to take hay from land not his own. Also, in the case of a large meadow divided among several owners the portions belonging to each were delimited by shallow trenches or by piles of stones at the corners. [246] It was a matter of common knowledge who owned each section. The hay was cut and stored for the winter by the hired laborers of the owner or by his relatives working for him. A man who owned no hay fields of his own might turn his animals out to graze for

[50] Questions of the occupancy and utilization of the land during the period of Russian domination have been discussed by Pálosi, *Question de la terre*, 472–87.

[51] *Kirgizy i Kazakirgizy*, 102.

[52] *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[53] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[54] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.

4:Grodekov--30 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

601

Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkin ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

* * * *

593

The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd. 593

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily 683 punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children.

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In a similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not subjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her husband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

For stealing from parents, children who have received their 593 allotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is 685 considered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other
[675] arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute workers. 423

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/. [731]

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig. [805]

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield. 685

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues. 427 422

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depending on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 425 476 312

221
233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a [423] certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[415] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

591 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

self.

If the youngest among the travellers finds a coat, cap /tyubeteyka/ or other parts of clothing, he gives what he has found to the eldest, on the demand of the others. If all are of the same age, the thing found is given to the person of the white bone. If there is no one belonging to the white bone among them, it is given to the guest, i. e., the person of a strange clan. If there is no guest, it is given to the mullah. If there is no mullah, it is given to the married man, because married men are in general senior to bachelors. If all are married, it is given to him who married earliest. This giving out of clothing is called baylagan. 425 576

If a fox is seen in a strange trap (kakpan), the finder takes it for himself and leaves the trap. To take the trap is to steal, but taking the fox is not stealing. (1) Even in /122/ court when the 425 224

1. If an owner of a trap or a hunter with a dog catches a first fox, and if a Kazakh who rides by by chance, even a stranger, announces that he needs it /122/ for a gift or for the success of his future hunting, the hunter gives it to him. In case he refuses he pays a fine.

trap is required to be given up, it is never demanded that the fox taken at the same time be given back.

If a hunter (mirgen) kills a wild ass before others, he gives its back (sauri) to the oldest of these, or to the mullah, and in general as was related above. The giving up of the animal which has been shot is called syralyga. (All the above information from Torgai). 224

In the Perovsk uyezd, money, clothing, strange livestock joining the herd, etc., which are found, remain with the finder, and it is brought to the knowledge either of the supposed owners or of the authorities. Then the find is given back to the owners for syuyunchi, which is equal to one-tenth or one-twentieth of its value, i. e., approximately four times less than when it is taken from a thief. They are given back to kinsmen without pay. If the owner of the object does not declare himself in one or two years, the object found becomes the property of the finder. If the find was not announced to the public (dzhau kege shygarmak) with the purpose of appropriation, and then the owner of it appears, then the object, or if it no longer exists the value of it is returned to the owner, with all his court expenses, but without a fine. The concealment of a find from the investigation of an owner is considered thievery. 425 [685]

425 Among the Kirgiz a find belongs to the finder, with its division into parts for the witnesses of the find.

• • • •

422 Scrupulousness with regard to objects accepted for safe-keeping
577 (amanat) is a moral obligation, but not a juridical one, as is evident from its name: "godly amanat" (kudai amanat). Therefore objects are given for safe-keeping only to persons one knows well, or to kinsmen.

422 Objects being kept in safe-keeping are returned to the owner on his first request. The owner beats the guilty person for their fraud-
685 ulent loss and sale, calling him to account, as though for robbery. The keeper is not held responsible for an accidental loss, reported
672 immediately to the elders or authorities. The Kirgiz have /123/ the same custom. For the undeclared loss of an object which was given without witnesses, an oath is required from the defendant or the plaintiff, if they are good people. On the basis of the oath they may or may not require the return of the object and the payment of court expenses, but there is no fine or other penalty. If the object was given before witnesses, the judgment is made without the oath. If expenses were connected with the acceptance of the objects for safe-keeping, these are paid by the owner.

If the person who has accepted the object requested it himself for temporary use, he pays the expenses connected with its transfer, also for the deterioration of the object from use, and for accidental damage and loss (for example, the loss of livestock during a snowstorm).

Cargo being conveyed by drivers is also considered something entrusted for safe-keeping. The loss of the cargo by a driver who has engaged himself to deliver it to its destination is equated with premeditated robbery, i. e., the value of the cargo is returned with a fine of double the value. In case the driver was forced by necessity to transfer the cargo to another person to deliver, he is freed from the responsibility, upon presentation of a receipt from this person.

If in a fire or other general calamity (tengri kazasy) only the amanat perished and no other property, the full value of it is required to be paid. If, however, the amanat and the property of the person keeping it both perished, then the latter either pays half its value, or
422 else pays nothing at all (Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds). An agreement is made concerning the degree of responsibility for the object

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (šeriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

• • •

Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

000 usually guarantees.

It is possible to sell property in the absence of the owner only
437 under the following circumstances: in case of close kinship, of trust,
432 and by order of the authorities. (1)

1. In the latter case they choose only that animal which in not working, not in a caravan, in general the least necessary one.

/127/ An object purchased from minors is returned without fine on the demand of the father.

[685] A person who knowingly buys something stolen is considered a thief.

The buying of livestock or objects which are not in sight is
437 avoided. But if they do buy sight unseen, a horse is understood to be a five year old stallion or a three year old mare, and a camel a five year old male or a three year old female (Perovsk uyezd).

A deposit is unknown to the Kazakhs.

At the bazaars there is always a special middle man (del'del') for each type of livestock, a Kazakh or a Sart, who tries everything to bring the two sides to an agreement, putting the hand of the seller into the hand of the buyer by force.

In addition to shaking hands, the act of sale is validated by the seller by the words: Use it with good fortune, etc. (bereke tap, khayrin kur, iygliginga tutun, etc.), and by the buyer with the words: "May one be returned to you a thousandfold; May you too benefit" (biring myng bulsun, sen de bereke tap).

Both sides can still back out until the money has been paid.
437 After the payment they cannot. However the seller can take back
432 the object sold, with the consent of the buyer, for a certain sum to pay it off (pshayman, pshaymana). The buyer too can request, but not demand, of the seller the breaking off of the sale if the animal is in the same condition as it was at the time of purchase.

If in about a week's time faults are shown in the animal which were not mentioned during the sale, but outside people knew of their existence, the buyer can refuse the animal or demand the return of the money paid. In anticipation of this, it has become customary for the middle man to say to the buyer during the sale: "Look yourself, to see if the animal is absolutely healthy. Once you have bought it, it will be yours, even if it dies today." (Collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, according to the communication of

489 /138/ Drivers (kerekesh tyuyekesh) are dependent upon caravan heads (karavanbashis) /keruanbasy/. The latter are of two kinds: 1) Well known (bel'gili) and influential (ulkun) persons, living in cities, where they give the merchants guarantees of the scrupulousness of the drivers; 2) persons who are less influential (kshi, ksi) who are placed first at the head of the caravans, and receive the invoices from them. In addition to these appointed karavanbashis, the leaders of the caravans are usually also the best people in general among the drivers.

The drivers can transfer their licenses /bilet/ to the leader of the caravan, even though each has his own camels and a special cargo.

The karavanbashis go in advance.

The custom among the urban karavanbashis to help the drivers out with favors (yagalsyb salu) until they find work, also exists among the Kazakhs. (Torgai and Umurbek).

Merchants can send their cargo without the use of karavanbashis, by drivers who have guarantors. Before sending the cargo, the merchants and the drivers, or karavanbashi in their place, exchange written bonds on the quantity of the cargo, the price of the shipping, and the time of delivery.

The karavanbashis cannot abolish the low wage established for one of the drivers, to the detriment of another.

The karavanbash chooses the time and place for halts and spending the night. He settles arguments between drivers on the road. He forces them to pay debts and imposes fines for stealing. Occasionally heavy corporeal punishment is arranged, which is administered standing, not lying down, and for this there can be no complaint. Umurbek admits even that if there is disagreement between the karavanbash and the collective opinion of the drivers he must be obeyed, although in such cases it is difficult for him to get his own way.

489 672 685 According to the old customary law, the drivers had to pay damages even without a preliminary agreement, on the basis of the rules of acceptance for safe-keeping.[1] According to the new customary law those who are not obligated by signature, the affixing of a seal and stamp /tamga/ do not pay. The exhaustion /139/ of the camels and their falling down is not taken into consideration by the sender of the cargo. The losses are born by the driver. He changes the tired camels for fresh ones, or buys others, changes the loads of the fallen animals onto other camels, etc.

According to Torgai and Umurbek, a driver is not responsible to

1 [Cf. cat. 116, p. 109 -- A]

the owner of a camel, when he has rented it for money (kere) from an outsider, and it falls, for some reason or other than its load being too heavy. But he is responsible for a camel which was taken for use without pay. However, they rarely pay in full (tutas), for the bii takes into consideration the fact that the camel was given on the basis of acquaintanceship, and arranges an agreement for 1/2, 1/4 or one-eighth the value of the animal. The demand in court for the full value of the camel would be a manifest rupture of the conditions stated above. 489 672 685

If a driver loaded a greater weight on a camel than that permitted by the owner of the fallen animal, for example 648 lbs. instead of 576 lbs. (1) the value of the fallen camel is divided into as many

1. Every camel has a known lifting capacity. Some carry only up to 432 lbs., others up to 648 and even to 720 lbs. The average weight without straining is about 500 lbs.

parts as there were pounds in the load, and the driver is required to pay as many parts as there were extra pounds, in the given example, two parts.

The owner of a spring and a well can refuse to give a caravan a place for a halt and water, because of its inadequacy for his own needs, and for other reasons. It is impossible to complain about this in court. But if an owner with extra space does not allow a caravan to come in in winter during bitter cold, and people or livestock freeze as a result, customary law asks wergeld for the people and the payment of the value of the livestock. 489 [423]

Now drivers are not willingly permitted to stop near a village, for a loss may occur in the caravan for which the drivers will blame the nearest village. [672]

In case of a complaint in court concerning a loss taking place between two villages, the biis make an inspection of the place and /140/ measure the distance of each neighboring village from the place of the loss by means of a rope. Then the village is accused of the theft, which is shown to be closest (Tergai). According to other sources, the biis do not measure the distance but accuse the village which is considered less dependable. (Report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis Sagyndykov and Sultan Kanaev and other persons of the Chimkent and Kurama uyezds).

There are no drivers among the Kirgiz, since the Auliye-Ata Kirgiz have few camels.

Folk custom not only permits but also obliges the persons who have suffered to avenge the crimes committed against them. The avenger is usually the person who has suffered, but a part or even the whole clan has a right to take part in the revenge. The entire clan considers itself obligated to avenge a case of the secret kidnapping of a girl by a Kazakh of another clan, or the driving away of a considerable number of livestock, which may belong to only one person, but one who is honored by his kinsmen. Also specific insults not only of an honored member, but of any Kazakh, which are made by a mob, call for armed defense and the resentment of the entire people. 628

The limit of the revenge is considered to be doing harm to the adversary on an equal level to the harm suffered from him. Then the hostile lineages or clans already take part in pacifying their members. But if the avenger does not cease to wreak damage on his adversary, he is subjected to fines of an atton or higher, and in extreme cases to corporeal punishment on the part of his kinsmen. The fines go for the use of the person suffering from superfluous revenge.

Peaceful agreements are permissable in every offense and crime. The fines in such cases (outside of court) go to the use of the person who suffered, or else, when they are considerable, they are divided among the closest kinsmen of the receiver.

Although custom does have the concept of more /143/ serious and less serious crimes, it does not divide them into criminal and civil crimes. 673

A crime which is committed with premeditated intent increases the blame. The commission of a crime with provocation, especially if it is called forth by the sufferer, lightens the blame. Circumstances which lighten the offense are: the thoughtlessness of the transgressor, or the honor and respect he enjoyed before the crime was committed. 672 The commission of a crime in the steppe in an open place by day lessens the offense. A crime committed in a tent at night increases the offense. Poverty does not lighten the guilt. It does not excuse thievery, for example, for the clan is held responsible. A clan which has not helped a poor man, pays all claims against him three times, each time compelling him to reform, and forcing him to make promises on his oath. (1) The commission of a crime in a state of drunken-

1. After the third time he is driven out. A poor man and a person without a clan gives up his daughter in place of money, and pays off the sum required of him from the 685

685 kalym he receives for her. But if he also has no daughter, he enters into the service of the plaintiff.

672 ness lightens the blame, and in the opinion of some, even frees the offender from a fine, and he is only obligated to pay for the damages.

Official persons are not punished more severely than private persons for a crime.

Crimes committed for reasons beyond the control of the person's will (illness, temporary insanity, etc.), do not bring punishment upon the persons committing them. In such cases the kinsmen are held responsible as not having watched over the activities of their sick fellow members and not having protected the sufferers from danger. Those who are insane from birth and deafmutes are not punished for crimes committed and their kinsmen are not held responsible for them. Offenders who are under age are not punished. Their parents and close relatives are held responsible for them. Husbands are responsible for the crimes of their wives, but the wives are not responsible for their husbands. The successors of deceased criminals are held responsible in property for their crimes. /144/ In general, the responsibility in property for crimes extends to the seventh degree of kinship inclusively.

685 In Makovetskii (Pt. I p. 81) we find that punishment is
672 decreased when a theft is committed in a strange volost. Certain biis of the Syr-Darya oblast disagree with this. They maintain that suits for theft should be judged with equal strictness, whether they are committed in an outside volost or in one's own, against the defenseless (for example, from children), or against the strong. (1)

1. Aleksandrov reports that the Kazakhs of the Kazalinsk uyezd steal livestock primarily from other clans and uyezds. The people are indulgent about this, considering it something which goes with youth, although they sometimes are reproachful about it in words.

673 Careless actions which result in damage are judged as crimes. Wealthy persons compensate for the damage with property, or for harm caused to the health they pay wergeld in the amount established by custom. These cases are called angsyzdan, and the people regard them more indulgently than they do cases committed for revenge or for other aims.

672 The person under whose instigation and advice the theft was
685 made, pays a fine, after which the thief returns the object stolen without a fine (Perovsk uyezd). According to bii Sultan, instigation and calumny is a sin which God never forgives (kudanyng kechpes gunasy). There are now many instigators (azgrushi) and tell-tales (suztasushi). The biis do not believe them. In confirming the proverb entered in Makovetskii: "He who ordered the beating is not punished, he who did the beating is punished" (ur degenge zor kel'mes, urganga zor keler) bii Sultan Kanaev says that the instigator escapes punishment because he will not acknowledge his instigation, and that even though the instigation can be proved, in general it is better to impose the punishment on the actual criminal. E. A. Aleksandrov also reports that the instigators and those assisting the crime are not recognized as guilty by custom.

Those who conceal crimes and transgressors, or objects obtained by crime are called to responsibility equally with the criminals themselves. The receivers of persons under suspicion are called to account like thieves. Unconscious concealment is not persecuted. Not giving up a thief, even though he be one's own son or father, is considered being his accomplice. The person who saw the crime but did not speak of it in the inquiry is also considered an accomplice (Perovsk uyezd). According to Kunakbai of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the person who conceals property pays nothing, and if he was sentenced to pay an atton, for example, he can demand its return from the thieves. The person who conceals /146/ the thief himself does not pay. "A reprimand of him would be useless," added the bii.

Connivers and the other persons implicated are not subjected to any penalty, but they do not escape the inquiry and a reprimand (Perovsk uyezd). They are called kumekshi. The kumekshi is not a thief, but is not clean of thievery (kumekshi ury imes urydan kuru imes) as bii Sultan Kanaev expressed it.

673 The number of acts which are not considered reprehensible, or which are not prosecuted by customary law even though reprehensible, is considerable among the Kazakhs. (1)

1. In Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 60 it says: The comparatively low level of culture of the Kazakhs not only explains their general view of criminal activity, but also their attitude to many acts which are prosecuted among civilized societies, and which are considered fully lawful among the Kazakhs.

Misdemeanors

	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daule: Bushaev, Petrovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Attempt to murder.	Three nines (tyuya-at-siir-bastagan toguz).	According to bii Sultan, "ayb for the knife", i. e., an attempt to murder (pshak ayby) costs 1-2 nines.		
/153/ Attempt at theft or brigandage.	Atton	In the opinion of Uymaut and others of the Chimkent uyezd, it is not punished. Sazabai agrees. According to Umurbek and others, there is pardon or a fine no greater than an atton.		
Fire resulting from carelessness.	Payment of damages.			Payment of damages (tuleuin beredi).
Setting a fire maliciously.	Payment of damages, with addition of fine or prison.			Payment of damages with fine of 50 rubles.

(Table continues).

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681 Reimbursement of damages is required for every kind of infliction of loss, damage to objects, etc., if it took place as a result of carelessness. For wounds and similar bodily injuries, the medical treatment and the support of the injured person is at the expense of the guilty person. If evil intent is observed in this, a fine is imposed to the value of the damages, in addition to the damages.

We append examples:

672 1) Clumsy medical treatment. A doctor (taub) who heals clumsily is suspected of evil intention, but he is not called to account. Only the expenses for the funeral (as su) of a patient who died can be referred to his account. He answers for it in the future life (akhiratda zamin).

2) Being bitten by vicious animals. If the owner of an animal did not know his qualities, he does not pay the expenses for the healing of the injured person, and for the damage suffered (bite, tisteb algan, dislocation, mirtildy, death), for "the animal does not know what he is doing." However the animal itself may be adjudged to the sufferer. But if the owner knew that his animal was dangerous to human beings, (adam khur) he should have either kept it tied up or slaughtered it, or sold it at a distant bazaar. For not having taken these precautionary measures, nor having kept an eye on the animal known to be vicious, he pays for the damage caused by it /15/ (Torgai and others), or a full wergeld to the report of Baymet Sagyndykov.

If a mounting camel or stallion bites or kills someone, the animal itself is given to the person who has suffered. Wergeld is not exacted.

If a camel walking about untethered bites someone, he is surrendered in place of wergeld. But if a person rides into a village on a camel and it bites someone, the rider pays a full wergeld. (1)

1. The owners are not held responsible if the animals bite each other. Only children arrange a fight between animals (talasteru) and they are not held responsible for damage (Perovsk uyezd).

685 3) Injury to strange animals, cutting out the tongue, disfiguring their appearance, is punishable by fine, and if the owner of the animal consents, by the buying of the animal from the owner for its original price. If the injury resulted in the death of the animal, its value is paid (Perovsk uyezd).

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Animals are subjected to having their tails cut off for cropping grass from strange fields. But the owner of such an animal has the right to start a suit for disfigurement, in which case he himself pays for the damage from grazing (Kazalinsk uyezd).

There have been cases in which the owner of the animal with its tail cut off died a natural death during the period of time before the tail grew back. His heirs had the right to demand wergeld from the guilty person, as for murder. (Kazalinsk uyezd).

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4) Arson. The person who sets the fire is sued for the total loss, for example, the value of the house or of the material and the wages of the workers, if he cannot clear himself with an oath. He is also required to pay a fine of one-tenth the value of the property. (2)

2. In the Chimkent uyezd the fine for setting a winter camp afire, for brigandage and for baranta is equal to wergeld for a man.

Suits concerning arson are investigated strictly (Katta suraydy) and are not settled without oaths, solely by testimony of witnesses. For unpremeditated arson a fine is not imposed, as is the case in all /158/ unpremeditated misdemeanors (yazym), which came, as they say, from God (kuday kykdyrgan).

Fires are permitted, to clear the steppe of the tough grass the previous year, which the livestock do not wish to eat, and also for the fertilization of the land to be ploughed. Such fires are forbidden in ploughed fields, hayfields and around buildings. In the Kurama uyezd, the testimony of four dependable persons is enough for conviction for intentional arson, requiring the payment for the damages and a fine equal to this (tengurtak). For example, for a loss of 400 rubles, the fine is also 400 rubles. Wergeld is paid for persons lost during the fire.

5) No punishment is given for deceit. The property taken by deceit is simply returned.

The following are examples:

a. A gift (syuyunchi) received for the report of false news is returned. They are scolded with the word muttakham (dishonorable), etc.

b. Money demanded in the form of an order by warrant, etc. is returned. Trust is forfeited.

c. There is no suit for denying one's own stamp /tamga/ (Abdrakhman).

d. For the affixing of a strange seal, and for every sort of fraud

685 payment of the losses can be required. The payment for a new receipt and for court costs can be required for assistance in changing a receipt, after which the debtor is freed from the obligations of the original receipt (the books of the biis in the Perovsk uyezd). The Kirgiz bii Daniyar finds that there is no suit for the making out of a false receipt and affixing a strange seal to it.

e. There is no fine for the substitution of something else for what was taken for safekeeping. However the biis hold to the proverb: Whoever behaves treacherously with objects given him for safekeeping will suffer punishment in the future (amanatka khyanat kylgan akhyret dzhaz tartady).

f. The sale of an object of lower quality as something of higher type constitutes deceit, and the bargain is broken off. /159/ g. If one and the same thing is sold to two different persons, it is adjudged to belong to the one who paid the money for it first and carried out the ritual of shaking hands, with the words: bereke tap ("to good fortune"). The money is returned to the other without a fine.

h. The middle man is not held responsible for arranging a sale of something he knows has been stolen, if he can produce the seller. But if he cannot find the seller he is held responsible before the person who suffered the loss, and pays a fine, for the middle man is considered a guarantor, kefil' (bii Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, and Torgai).

i. The conscious buyer of stolen goods must also present the seller, as was stated above.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that "a small deceit in trading is investigated. In case deceit is discovered, the dealer is obligated to return the payment received for the article. But if he does not desire to make the return voluntarily, and refuses to take the affair to court, the injured party has a right to take the payment by baranta. A complaint from the sufferer from baranta is not accepted or, when it is examined, it leads to the exaction of a fine from the person who caused the baranta."

Bii Sultan Kanaev cannot remember from his practise any suits concerning acceptance of things for safekeeping. According to him, only losses due to deceit should be required to be paid.

* * * *

673 There are no special words among the Kazakhs to express the

concepts of stealing and brigandage. Urlyk is stealing or brigandage; 673
ury is thief, robber and criminal in general, urlamak is to steal, tartyb, almak is to take away, to ransack. Theft accompanied by violence is not judged more severly than simple theft.

Among the Kirgiz, there is more severe prosecution of the theft of a considerable number of objects, for clear robbery and for taking away by force (bii Daniyar).

Robbery accompanied by violence occurs in the following 674
forms among the Kazakhs:

1) The plundering of every kind of traveler, such as Sart merchants and travelers. It usually opens with /160/ a request for nasvay, tobacco, or with a double meaning, for that "which is in the belt."

2) Driving horses out of the herd at night.

3) The latest kind of robbery is asking for a ticket, the presentation of which is ignored, the declaration by the robber that he intends to rob, and frightening by various threats and charges, with the request to give this or that. The aim of these circumlocutions is to discover whether the traveler has any chances of defense or not. However, robbery by force is rarely accompanied by murder.

According to the reports of the biis Sultan and Khalmakhammed, 602
it is permissible to rob or to kidnap and not to return the objects 685
gained in the cases below:

1) The father and grandfather can rob from a son and grandson as often as desired, and as much property as desired. It is even possible to sell everything a son has. It is permissible also to sell the son into bondage, i. e., to surrender him into service for a year, and to spend the money received (balanyng uzin kyzmetke satyb zhese kham khallal').

2) A son can rob from his grandfather and father up to three times. The fourth time a fine is imposed.

3) A kinsman can rob another kinsman to the third degree of kinship (first cousins).

4) The dzhien asks his uncles (older and younger brothers of his father) for a gift, and if he does not receive it, he can rob them up to three times. If he steals too much, they take away the superfluous part from him, leaving him 1 or 2 heads of livestock. If he steals a horse which is a racer (bayge at) the uncle can demand its return in exchange for something else. If he steals for the fourth time, they tell him: "You have forfeited the rights of a nephew" (dzhien dikten ketting).

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602 The wife who leaves her husband in a disagreement should not
•685 take anything with her. This would be robbery.

Robbery is permissible between relatives more distant than the third degree, with the obligation of return in so far as possible in the following cases: a) for the payment of kalym. because the increase of descendants is /161/ a laudable affair; b) for the payment of a debt; c) in time of famine; d) for a necessary trip and for the pursuit of thieves. (1)

[626] 1. Sometimes when something is missing in a village they put a bakan (pole to raise the changarak/the hoop in the center of the tent top/ when putting up the tent) up in the middle of the village and ask the thief to place the missing object under the bakan, threatening otherwise to invite the mullah in to discover him. The mullahs have various devices for discovering a thief. They bake a flat cake, blow on it (dem salady), and give everyone a piece, and when the thief swallows his piece, he will choke on it. They put a bladder (kuuk) in the hand of everyone, in turn, and in the thief's hand it swells (kebedi). They blow on a metal pitcher, calling the names of everyone in turn. When the name of the thief is called, the pitcher begins to turn around.

685 Furthermore these same biis permit taking away a horse from a known thief who is setting out to steal, if there is proof of this. They add however, that ayb is paid if the horse is taken away without proof, even though it be from a man banished from the community for stealing or one deprived of good name (muttakham). Taking away game caught by an eagle is not robbery but is taking the "chiralga" gift by force; therefore they require it to be returned without ayb. If the taking of the game were done secretly, then it would be stealing, and ayb would be paid. Finally, it is permissible to steal in return for stealing, i. e., baranta.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports from the words of the honorable Kazakhs, Umbet Galiev and Nurman Sarchinov, of the Kazalinsk uyezd, that stealing from the son and from the father is not permitted. In general such an act results in punishment for the younger persons, and ayb or shaming before the village for the older.

674 Horse stealing is more predominant than stealing of other livestock because horses are easier to arouse (chapchan). It takes

place especially often in the border regions of uyezds, because the search for the animal and the bringing of a suit in a strange uyezd is accompanied by difficulties, and with the solidarity of the biis, volost officials, translators and other persons with their constituents, it often ends unsuccessfully. As a result, on the borders of the uyezds boys and girls stand watch (kuzetedi) over the livestock until dawn. Long spears (nayza) with standards are erected before the tents of rich men to frighten away thieves.

/162/ Professional thieves have accomplices in the neighboring uyezd for the sale and mutual exchange of stolen goods. They steal from their own volost and from a strange volost without discernment, blindly (kuzi sokur ksidey). But there is a proverb among the Kazakhs: "A thief is like a spoon, the people are like the sea. It is easier for the first to perish from stealing, than for the latter to perish from a thief" (uru kasyk ei tengiz, ol urluk kylyb uzi kuruydi onyng ushun ei kurumaydy).

Since a repetition of robbery is punished more severely by customary law, one who has fallen into stealing sometimes moves to another uyezd where he is not yet known, and in case of another conviction he is punished as though for a first case of stealing.

A thief is often registered in another volost, and in case of a complaint, the volost administrator refuses to find the stolen object on the basis that the thief is not subject to him. Meanwhile the administrator of the volost in which the thief is registered is unable to know anything because he is so far away.

The Tiuri of the Chimkent uyezd also command stealing. They [181] consider it shameful for themselves to engage in agriculture.

The tents of thieves stand alone, or in small groups of 3, 4, or 5 tents. In general the more people there are, the safer it is in the steppe.

Stolen property when it is found is confiscated in favor of the 685 owner, even though it may have already passed into strange hands by means of sale or as a gift. The person in whose possession it is found must produce the one from whom he received it, within a certain period of time. Sometimes the bii requires the person who has the stolen property to ride with the plaintiff to that locality where he hopes to find the seller of this property, and show him to the local authorities. If he finds the actual thief there, he demands from him a reimbursement of his losses. If the accused does not carry out the demand to go to the place where he says the thief is, and asserts that

685 he bought the stolen property from a person unknown to him, he himself is considered a thief.

/163/ If the accused cannot indicate the source of the stolen goods or gives confused testimony, he is considered the thief.

If the victim of the theft, without having tracks or a witness, 685 casts suspicion on someone, stating that the suspicious person was 694 around the village where it was committed on the day of the theft, or else that he was near the stolen objects, then information must be obtained as to where the person under suspicion spent the night, with whom he had the evening meal and whom he met on the day of the theft. If the persons interrogated testify that the person under suspicion did indeed spend the night and sup with them and was nowhere else on that day, or that when they met him he was innocent of theft, then he is cleared of the accusation without an oath.

If the victim of the theft puts a purely verbal suspicion of the theft on someone, it must be learned by questioning outside people, whether the person under suspicion was at home on the day of the theft or in another village. If it is shown that he was at home on that day or in another village, then he is cleared of the false accusation made against him. But if he cannot prove this or is unable to find the people with whom he was staying or those whom he met, in that case he must be considered the thief and be obligated to pay for the stolen property.

If suspicion is strengthened by the vague and evasive answers of the suspect, then he must swear for the quantity of the stolen property.

If a theft is made from someone and he, without being able to find the stolen property anywhere, presents an accusation of a certain person, saying that a guest of the accused made the theft, in such a case it must be learned when the guest departed, who saw him on the road, and where he stopped. If the accused host can show three stop-overs of his guest, he is cleared of the accusation. If a person who met the guest, or if his hosts for the stop-overs testify that he /164/ was innocent of theft, then the guest as well as his host are cleared of the accusation without oath. But if the host is unable to give answers to all the questions noted above, and then, when obliged to find that guest within a certain period of time, is unable to do so, then he must answer for it himself.

If the master of the house says that a guest stayed with him and was fed by him, but who it was and where he went is unknown to his host, and that he does not know the direction in which the

guest left in the morning, then the victim of the theft declares that he does not believe this, for the master of the house made the theft and sent the stolen goods away with the guest. If the master of the house then declares that he cannot find the guest, an oath is required from his side. 685 694

If during the investigations of the thief, evidences lead to a certain village or tent, their owners must show (izim shygaryb ber), on demand of the plaintiff, where these traces passed out of the village again. Otherwise the aksakals and the people are called as witnesses of the existence of fresh tracks which end in this village or tent, after which the relevant owners are held responsible before the court.

If someone suffers a theft and in following the tracks of the stolen property comes to a village, and the inhabitants declare that the theft was not committed by them and that they know nothing about the tracks, in case the tracks exist in the snow, an oath is required from the victim of the theft. But if there is no snow, the oath is required from the side of those who profess ignorance.

If the object in the suit was taken away not personally by the defendant but by a rider sent by him, and if the defendant disavows it, the rider is held responsible.

When a stolen head of livestock appears by itself accompanied by a loose animal, the decision is deferred, even for a year, to await information as to where the loose animal belongs. If this cannot be learned in the given length of time, then the person on whom suspicion fell earlier is held responsible. If he provides testimony about the stolen animal showing that it is homebred (koltuma), then his side is put to an oath before it is taken away from him. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Mikebay of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii. /1/

/165/ When the stolen animal is confiscated, agreements are often made of the sort that the plaintiff pays half its value to the person from whom it is confiscated, with the understanding that when the thief is found he will pay each of them the value of the animal. 685

If several animals are lost and only one is found with the thief, it is concluded from this that he also stole the others, but a special oath is decreed for them.

When the stolen livestock is being returned, the rule is observed that the animal returned should be of the same quality, sex, age, and in general of the same value as that stolen, otherwise the

1 [Not reproduced -- A.]

685 thief should pay the owner the difference in money. In this last case, and also when all the stolen livestock is paid for in money, care is taken that the animal should not be underevaluated, for otherwise the owner demands the exaction of an additional payment (tolyktyk) from the bii.

685 694 An animal recognized at the bazaar is not confiscated. The person who has brought it there must present the man from whom he received it; otherwise, if he declares it to be his own property, they go to the bii (Abdrakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

An animal which is recognized in the possession of an outside person, who did not steal it himself but bought it at the bazaar, is confiscated only if the person recognizing it proves by his personal oath, and the testimony of five (1) witnesses, and the oath of one

1. According to other information, seven witnesses.

witness that the recognized animal or other property actually belongs to him. The animal is not confiscated until the decision on the case. If a sheep is recognized in the possession of a man who bought it at a bazaar, neither testimony from witnesses nor a personal oath gives the owner the right to take it away, since the sale of sheep at a bazaar takes place without guarantors and there is no sidzhil' (2)

[695] 2. A copy of a decision of judges, kazis and other officials is called sidzhil'. According to this copy, a thing which is recognized by an outsider, who proves by the testimony of witnesses his right to it, is confiscated. A copy of such a judgment is given to the defendant, /166/ so that he can sue the person from whom he bought it for his losses. There is also a sidzhil' in civil suits for money. If an animal is confiscated by sidzhil' a karkara destroys the force of the sidzhil'.

The testimony of several persons, with their signature and seal, with the countersign of official persons is called a karkara. In this testimony it is explained that such and such an animal, with an exact description of it appended, constitutes the homebred property of such and such a person.

for them ordinarily. (Communicated by Yunusov).

685 /166/ Placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered to be stealing. According to Abdrakhman, this happens rarely. For

placing a brand on a loose animal a fine can be imposed of half the 685
value of the animal. Placing one's brand on an animal with one for safe-keeping, is not considered reprehensible if such a one is returned on the first demand. According to Kyulbaev (of the Kurama uyezd), putting one's brand on a strange animal unnecessarily (bikerge), whether it is a loose animal or one received for safe-keeping, is punishable by a fine of 20 rubles. According to the Kirgiz Daniyar, placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered as clear (zakhir) stealing, and is punished in proportion to the penalties of the assemblies (siez kesimi menen) i. e., for one sheep 4 sheep must be paid and 4 rubles in addition.

The owner of the lost object usually appears before the person 685
suspected of the theft accompanied by two or more outside impartial 627
persons (khalis ksi), exceptionally, only one, and searches (tentedi) him. The outsiders serve as witnesses. If the suspect does not permit himself to be searched (tentkizbese), he is considered to be guilty.

When a thief is caught by the owner of the stolen livestock, he usually gives up or promises to give up everything which was stolen by a certain period of time, often according to a voucher, asking only that no suit be charged for the exaction of the usual fine. The owner may be satisfied by the return of his property and by taking away a horse or a coat, i. e., atton (1) from the thief, as a reward

1. Sometimes a horse and gun or some other object is taken under this name.

to the captor.

When there are several thieves, the one who is at hand is held 685
responsible. When only the father of the thief is at hand, a suit 672
directed against him is accepted by the biis for trial, on the basis of responsibility by reason of kinship.

/167/ If a thief rode a strange horse when committing the crime, the owner of the horse is a participant in the theft.

If the plaintiff confirms the fact that when the defendant was 685
caught the latter gave him money in order to end the affair, and if later the accused clears himself by an oath, the money in question is ruled to the defendant.

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According to the communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev, a 697
thief from a distant place, whom it would be difficult to find again,

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his relatives appear and say to the volost official: "Give up this thief to us. We will interrogate him well. If he is guilty of something we will make him pay for it. If he is innocent we will present you with proof" (bul uyyny bzning kolymyzga ber, muny abdan khub suralyk; algan bulsa, maldy alyb berelik, almagan bulsa, almagan iken dib sizdi isenterelik). In agreeing to give up the prisoner, the volost official takes a receipt (tilinen khat) for the fulfillment of the promises mentioned above.

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The owner who has already received his property can receive a supplementary atton from the thief. Sometimes the biis and aksakals among the relatives of the thief say: "He is innocent of other thefts (uzge maldan); take atton from him and give him a voucher for the fact that you will not open suit against him for anything lost" (falan vakytda dzhogalgan degen maldy suramaska), or else: "But if you are thinking of opening a suit, give us back the atton you took from us." They never take the atton anymore, however. This custom existed under the Kokandians and khans. In this way, as was explained above, the thief was often released without bringing him to a court examination (Torgai).

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/169/ A candid confession does not lighten the punishment. On the contrary, when the bii sees the offender acknowledging the fact of his commission of the crime without shame, he may considere him a hardened ruffian or a professional thief and impose a higher fine because of this, or punishment by whipping. (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

The plaintiff for his part, seeing that the defendant confesses from honesty and straightforwardness (er iken, muynyna, alyb otur, chinin aytty) can resign from the whole suit or part of it (Perovsk uyezd).

When there is a voluntary confession (azamat iken, uzi kelib aytty), with or without a court summons, the punishment can be reduced, and in view of repentence, completely forgiven, but only with the consent of the plaintiff (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a defendant denies the fact of his confession at a previous interrogation by a village elder, confirmed by a written act, the biis consider it possible to require a purificatory oath, as with a simple disavowal.

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Stealing with house-breaking or without house-breaking, from a trunk and from an open place are punished alike (Torgai). (1) There

1. According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 81, the easier a theft is, the more shameful it is considered. On this basis

•685 the stealing of sheep is more severely prosecuted (sheep are watched less carefully than other livestock), namely, a fine of one toguz is imposed for the theft of one or several sheep, in addition to the return of the stolen animals. It was stated in the Geographic Society's outline for the collection of folk juridical customs (p. 31) that a larger reimbursement was demanded among the Kazakhs for the theft of sheep because a high value was placed on them for their numerous offspring. It will be seen below in the chapter on punishments that this custom does not exist in the Turkestan region.

is no special punishment for damage to a wall, a lock, etc., in the process of stealing. Reimbursement for such damage is included in the fine imposed.

The theft of a fettered animal is punished in the same way as the theft of livestock grazing freely.

681 There is no special exaction for the hiding of traces of a crime. An exception to this is hiding the body in a murder (cf. wergeld).

[683] In Makovetskii's book, Pt. I, p. 79, it is said: "Violence during /170/ theft of property, for example, the infliction of wounds, is regarded as a separate crime and there is special punishment for the theft of the goods and the infliction of wounds." The biis Sultan Kanaev and Khalmahammed find that violence and theft are judged without division. A fine is exacted as for an ordinary theft, and only expenses for the healing of the wounds are added. If there were blows without wounds, then nothing is added to the fine for the theft. The proverb: "You cannot skin two hides from one sheep" (bir koydan eki teri soymaydy) is relevant here, i. e., two punishments are not imposed on one criminal. Only an inexperienced bii can impose two fines (bil'mes bii klady eki ayb).

681 683 A criminal who has already been convicted for one and the same crime is punished more strictly. (1) For the second theft they

1. This is the opinion of many, including the Kirgiz Daniyar, and agrees with Zagriazhskii and Samokvasov, but conflicts with the opinion of the Makovetskii collection, Pt. I, p. 65.

require the confiscation of all the property of the thief, with his release on guarantee, or depriving him of liberty. For a third theft he is banished, with the declaration that they refuse to pay and receive wergeld and other exactions for a thief.

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In the Chimkent uyezd, according to Absalyamov, all the property (dzhasau) and money in litigations are translated into livestock (malga chaglab).

This opinion contradicts the following indications of biis from the same uyezd:

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For theft it is customary to pay, including the value of the stolen article, a fine and all the expenses:

Theft	According to bii Sultan Kanaev	According to bii Kucherbai		
		Formerly asked		Now accepted
1 camel	40 tillias	Value of camel	10 tillias	20 tillias
		Muynyna kosak	10 tillias	
		Kutine terkeu	10 tillias	
		Pay of rider	1 tillia	
		Biilyk	4 tillias	
		Syuyunchi	4 tillias	
		To scribe (mirzakhaky)	1/2 tillia	
		Traveling expenses, food etc.	1/2 tillia	
			40 tillias	
/232/ 1 horse	20 tillias	20 tillias		10 tillias
1 cow	15 tillias	20 tillias		10 tillias
1 sheep, 3 years old	5 tillias	5 tillias		5 tillias
1 donkey	9 tillias (the bii himself had occasion to impose this fine for a donkey.			5 rubles
1 ruble	10 rubles. (This was aimed at stopping robbery. However he could not remember a case of theft of money).			

681 Bii Sultan Kanaev explains the lowering of the fines in the
685 second column of the information from Kucherbai as follows: This happens only when the biis ask the plaintiff to forgive part of the suit because of poverty. They say "Where can a thief get such a sum? Would he have stolen if he had had means?" Bii Khalmakammed added that biis have recourse to this device who receive something from the thief.

It is not obligatory to impose a fine in money in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu for the theft of money (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, one view has it that for a theft of money a fine is imposed in the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu. Another opinion is that a smaller fine is determined, namely: 1) if the stolen money is all found (tugul tabylsa), then in justice (insaf kylsa) there is no other fine beyond the biilyk and syuyunchi; 2) if the money is not all found and the defendant wants to give it all but cannot immediately, /233/ then the fine, syuyunchi and all the expenses are added together into one sum, equal to half of the money which was not found. For example, if of 20 tillias, 10 tillias are given up at once and 10 tillias remain, there is a sentence to pay these 10 tillias plus 5 tillias, totalling 15 tillias.

According to Kyul'baev, for the theft of 50 tillias, if the defendant does not deny it, they ask a fine of 50 tillias plus 10 tillias (under the name of sandyk khakysy, "for the coffer", i. e., for the plaintiff), plus 5 tillias (to the bii).

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, for the stealing of things but not live-stock a monetary fine is imposed which is much less than the amount of muynyna kosak kutine terkeu.

According to Torgai, for the theft of a long coat and other things to the sum of 10 tengas /silver coin/, the fine is established at 15 tengas if the total stolen amounts to 15 tengas, the fine is 20; if the total stolen amounts to 100 tengas the fine is 120 tengas, etc. The larger the amount of the suit, the smaller the percent added to the fine.

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681 For murder, a redemption of "khun" /wergeld/ is
682 customary, and in case it is not paid, the death of the murderer himself is asked, or that of another man from his clan. (1)

1. An interesting ritual of symbolic execution of a ram at the time the wergeld is received can be found

4:Grodekov--218 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Among the Kirgiz, the defendant in such cases justifies himself with the words: "But did I pull the baby out of you?" However he pays for the miscarriage: 30-40 rubles for a fetus of 2 months, 40 rubles if it is 3-4 months old, 40-50 rubles if it is 5-6 months, 100 rubles if it is 7-8 or 9 months old. 681 682

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It is necessary to distinguish the corporal punishments administered by the elders in the village in private fashion, from the official ones, decreed by the biis, which are an innovation which has arisen to a slight degree in the steppe from the Kokand fortresses. Official corporal punishments are not practised now. In the Auliye-Ata uyezd the present biis do not remember an example, and only two instances can be found of it in the bii's books of the Perovsk uyezd. In one, there is a threat that in case the stealing is repeated it will be punished by the whip (durra). In the other, a fine is imposed on an inveterate thief, and in case he is insolvent - 25 strokes of the whip. In the opinion of Mikebai, this last judgment comprises an error: one of these punishments should have been determined categorically: either a fine, or blows with the whip. 681 627

Private corporal punishment does not excuse the culprit from paying a fine, but the official one does. According to Aleksandrov, /245/ a fine is substituted for corporal punishments only when the plaintiff expresses his consent.

In private corporal punishment, the number of blows of the whip (kamshi) or the stick (chibyk) are never counted, and the guilty person is beaten until he repents. But if he dies from the blows, wergeld is required for him. The biis do not accept complaints for private punishment for wrongs, for example, for adultery.

No one is exempt from corporal punishment if he is caught stealing, by position or by origin (white bone, elders, small children). They usually sympathize with the old persons and small children and spare them, but if they are bound up and beaten, they cannot complain to the bii because of blows which led to illnesse Women who are caught stealing are not bound or beaten. [685]

What we have called private corporal punishment can be called taking the law into one's own hands, when it is particularly cruel. This last concept does not exist among the Kazakhs or the Kirgiz. There are cases in which they cut off the nose or kill a person caught in adultery. (1) It is said that at one time, the murderer of the adulterer 681 627 684

4:Grodekov--220 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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3. According to an eye-witness, the Kazakh Babaev, in the Kokand dominion, in Yany-Kurgan, the border point between Russia and the Kokand khanate, two Russian Kazakhs were impaled on a stake for some fault, in the following manner: they threw the criminal on the ground on his back. Then several men held him by the legs, while two thrust the sharpened end of a stake into him, 14 to 21 feet long and as thick as a man's arm. Then they lifted him into the air and fixed the stake in the ground. Some time later a Sart rode up and hit the two condemned men on the head with his Circassian saber. Both died during the night.

Among others, the following punishments existed earlier, according to the report of E. A. Aleksandrov: a) the guilty person was laid on the ground in the middle of the village with arms outstretched and face up, and his arms and legs were tied to stakes driven into the ground for that purpose, after which a herd of sheep was driven over him. The size of the herd depended on the degree of his fault. If the person subjected to such a punishment was crushed to death, his kinsmen received no wergeld. (4) b) Execution by cutting

4. According to the report of bii Sultan Kanaev, the driving of sheep over a criminal (ustinen koy aydaydy) happens only for theft from close relatives or adultery with close relatives, for example, persons of the same village. [685] [684]

off the head with a Circassian saber. Such a punishment took place with the consent of the sultan, and after the judgment of the offense by elders at a general council "maslyagat" (abbreviated: mastat).

* * *

He who is guilty of lack of respect for the fundamentals of the structure of the life, the clan, the family, etc., is subjected to the punishment of shaming, /247/ called "visiting of the people" (el aylantyrmak). They tie the guilty person's hands behind his back, smear his face with soot, put a cord around his neck or a piece of old felt (kurum) and lead him on foot around the village. One man drags him from in front, and from behind a rider drives him and beats him (Perovsk, Kazalinsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds and among the Kirgiz).

681 In the Kazalinsk uyezd, the shaming in addition to this consists of the person who has suffered telling publicly of the crime of the guilty party.

Among the Kirgiz, the guilty person is led three times around the village, with an old felt on his neck, and he is beaten and forced to say: "I committed such and such an act (men falan ish kyldym), and this is the punishment for it (dzhazal)". After this they place him in a pit to rot (churib ulib kitedi). This punishment was practised under the Kokand serkers for: 1) robbery, discovered at the moment of commission, even though done for the first time; 2) adultery with another man's wife, under the same circumstances; 3) lack of decorum before superiors. For incest it was customary to stone people (tashbaran).

[685] [684] [689]

681 The punishment for an unrestrained passion for stealing was formerly to confiscate all the property (kanau, uruganau). The house of such a thief (in the Auliye-Ata uyezd) was subjected to attack and looting (uyin chaub alyb malyn aldy), or he was given up to the Kokandians, who hung him. Now under such circumstances they establish a sentence to exile him in Siberia or to banish him (1) from

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1. The ousted person, excluded from his family and clan and therefore deprived of the support and defense of his clan, is called abrek among the Cherkes. A murderer, for whom his clan did not pay the "blood price" was made abrek primarily. Among the Mongols, exiles who departed from their kinsmen's clan and confederation were called ölöt or sabsars (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev, pp. 359-61).

his milieu, saying: "We have banished him from our midst, we will be ruined because of his stealing. Let no one defend him in court (ichimizden chykarduk, kyuymeymiz urlygina, dauyn ich kim suramasun). After this the thief becomes homeless, and is not reckoned in any volost. (2)

2. Two decrees of banishment from the community are given in Supplement No. 7. 1

681 /248/ The withdrawal of the parental blessing from children exists. This takes place in this manner: The palms of the hands are pressed together and then pulled apart from each other three times.

1 [Not translated -- A]

[220 cont.]
x648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[242 cont.]

x648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

x648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

596 could make no such allotment; the herd belonging to such a family was too small to allow for such a division.[98] Therefore it was held in common supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom allotment during the lifetime of the father was made on the occasion of the marriage of the son, lived and herded in common with his father.[99] Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated, for example, if one brother died without male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.[100]

The general position of the family in the social
593 671 structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situ-
602 ation before the law. The criminal law of the Great
685 Horde, as codified by Grodekov, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law; and to the private delict in the somewhat more cumbersome terminology

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[98] Ibid., 2; Radloff, op. cit., I, 513.

[99] Izraztsov, 3.

[100] Ibid., 70.

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of Radcliffe-Brown.[101] The rustling of cattle (baranta/barynta) was permitted in the following circumstances, according to information received by Grodekov from the biis of the Great Horde:

1. By the son from the father, or the son's son from the grandfather, regardless of how many times or how much property was involved. On the other hand, the father had the right of seizure of the entire property of the son; the father had the right to indenture his son for annual terms, and the money thus earned was applied to the father's estate, i.e., the family property.

2. Stealing between sons of brothers could not be punished.

3. The sister's son might request aid from the uncles (mother's brothers). If this aid was not forthcoming, the sister's son (dŭien) might make up to three seizures on the property of the mother's brothers. If he made seizure beyond that number of times, the difference was taken away from him. If he should steal a courser, the maternal uncle might require a return of like value. If the sister's son stole a fourth time, the maternal uncle might tell him: "Thou losest the rights of a nephew."

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4. Among kin related beyond the third degree (those with a common father's father), seizure was permitted, with the obligation to repay, however, as soon and as

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[101] Durkheim, Division of Labor, 112 ff; Radcliffe-Brown, Primitive Law.

602 685 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 593 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

604 601 Important to note, although its fuller implications must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his džien.[1] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk sē/dzē) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

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[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

[1] [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Analyst]

674 Stealing among the Kazakhs is a rather
685 widespread crime. They steal horses, primarily. If the thief is caught there is the custom of taking the stolen animal away from him and adding to this a fine of twice its value. As the Kazakhs say - in such cases it is almost always a question of horses - ' on the neck an addition, to the tail a support ' (in Kazakh: muinena kossau, kutenia-terkiau). This punishment is
695 called 'aip' or 'aibana'. In case there are no witnesses, the oath of some outside person is needed /346/ who is known for his honesty and who knows the accused. If such a person is found and wishes to give his oath on the innocence of the accused, then the latter is definitely released from the charge. It must be said that this is a very reliable way in
[577] general of learning the truth. It costs the Kazakh nothing to lie himself, but for some reason he will not consent to take someone else's lie upon himself.

In general, the oath, as soon as it happen between Kazakhs and not to aid an infidel, that is, a Russian, has a very serious significance and is considered sacred. At the present time it is usually given with the kissing of the Koran in the presence of an honored person or mullah, but earlier, various rites were observed. For example, it was necessary to lick the fingernail, looking at the sun, or to say the oath with the muzzle of a loaded gun in the mouth. This has already gone out of use
[778] today. In important cases, however, even now, those who are to swear are invited to some holy sepulchre and it is suggested that as they say the oath they cut off the branch of a holy tree there. It is a rare Kazakh who will consent to this sacrilege if it is a false oath.

4:Grodekov--131 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Unjust judgment of an affair by a bii.	Not punished.		Not punished.	
The acceptance of gifts by a bii who has justly (tene) decided a lawsuit.	Not punished.	----------	----------	
The extortion of gifts by a bii.		He loses respect (beti kara).		
/151/ A fight in which a horse is wounded.	Atbastagan toguz, or, according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd, atton, but if the horse dies, the value is paid.			If the horse dies of the wounds, it is paid for, otherwise not.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--132 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Unjust blows (1)	Atton.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

1. Among the Kirgiz no suit is entered for abuse and blows between equals. For abuse of an official person, the bii makes a reprimand and sentences a beating, while for blows borne by a superior, he requires sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made (el kyldyrady). For a wound to an equal, the bii requires a sheep to be slaughtered, a coat to be brought and peace to be made. For a wound to a thief (uruny bashiny yarsa) no suit is brought (reported by bii Daniyar).

Blows from which death resulted.	Full wergeld	In the opinion of many others, full wergeld. (In practice it is not observed, according to reports from the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds.)	
Blows suffered by a strange woman, resulting in miscarriage.			According to Torgai, wergeld is immediately (tokhtausiz) required for miscarriage without an oath as to whether it took place with or without blows. (Table continues).

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Blows administered to a husband /152/ or another, because of which a which a woman miscarries.				According to Torgai, if the /152/ guilty party does not present the oath of two persons that the miscarriage was the result not of fright but of something else, he must pay wergeld according to the miscarriage. The choice of the side which must swear can also be given to the plaintiff.
Threat of murder.		Not punished, in the opinion of many. According to bii Sultan, an admonition is made: Stop, leave these ways (tasta, bu filingnan kait)!		A fine of 25 rubles.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--133 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

before an exact knowledge of customary law, especially since now every bii has his own devices, which often contradict each other (chatak). 693

The biis used to be judged by other biis or clan heads, but now they are tried on the common basis.

Bad language, yelling and scuffling in court is prosecuted by the biis. No prosecution is made for infliction of wounds in court if the wounded person was guilty, but if the guilty person causes the wounds, he is liable to the payment of the same fine which is imposed for the same crime committed outside the court. [187] 683

The punishment is not made heavier for murder and fighting before the court.

If someone dishonors the bii in words, they rebuke him saying: "Your tongue touched upon the bii" (biige tiling tiidi), and he is forced to ask forgiveness, but no fine is imposed, the more so because the bii hesitates to enter a suit concerning this. 693 683

/180/ The wergeld is not changed for the murder of a bii, but a larger fine is imposed for wounding him than for wounding a private individual. There is no prosecution for blows inflicted on a bii, if he owed money, but for unjust blows a fine is imposed which is higher than the usual one. For the exaction of these higher fines it is necessary 1) that the act be proven, and 2) that the person guilty of injuring the bii should be from the district /okrug/ of that bii. The injury of a bii from a strange village is prosecuted in the same way as the injury of an ordinary person.

The word mekhkeme, i. e., tribunal or court chamber, was not used in former times. This is now the name for the place or tent designated by the bii for the admission and examination of complaints in the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds. The biis sit on felt (tekemet), in the place of honor in the tent or room - the "tur", which is opposite the entrance, and before them on the ground are the plaintiff, the defendant and other persons who have been called in. In general, however, the examination of cases takes place anywhere and at any convenient opportunity. The court is where they find the bii, be this in the road, on a visit, or at a bazaar. The most precious convenience to the nomads lies in this simplicity of the conditions of a court. An experienced bii has his book of decisions and his seal with him in all places at all times. 695

The bii first hears and enters into his book the complaint of the plaintiff (dagvager), and then gives the floor to the defendant (dzhuabger tanbys) or to the witnesses. All those called to the court

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The volost administrators also influence the judgment. If a a volost official is protecting the defendant, the bii imposes an oath on the group of fifty of the defendant, when it was necessary to impose it on a village. He does this so that there will be a greater probability of the appearance of the juror (shygatugun dzher), for in a close circle there are fewer enemies, and even these are challenged as "disputables." The bii declares: "Say first of all who your enemies are or the disputable ones." The defendant names two or three persons.

If the plaintiff enjoys the favor of a volost official, the defendant is brought forward at once, and the bii imposes an oath the village of the defendant instead of the group of fifty. Later, when the disputable persons are challenged, the defendant is required to prove that the persons challenged actually had been involved in litigation with him at some time.

/186/ If the bii is not decided on doing what is pleasing to the volost official, the latter encourages him with the words: "Do not be afraid of an appeal. The exaction will be taken care of before then, and after that we will see somehow" (sizning khukmingiz buzulgancha dzhuaberdgan mal tulenib kalady).

When a bii learns that the volost official received a bribe from the defendant while he himself only received a bribe from the plaintiff, he sends to the defendant to receive a bribe before deciding the case in his favor. If by now the defendant will no longer give the bii anything, the bii judges the case in favor of the plaintiff, figuring in this way: "I have rendered a service to the plaintiff, my affair is closed. Let the volost official change my decision." But if a copy of the sentence has already been given out, a reversal of the decision of the bii can follow only by means of a volost session, and the volost official is left to paralyze the judgment by not carrying out the exaction or evaluating the object of the exaction at higher than its real value (Torgai).

For an unjust decision of one bii, overruled by many biis, the first is not prosecuted. (1) But if it is proven, with the help of /187/

1. In Kazalinsk in 1887 there was a case in which a judge was badly beaten by a defendant for an unjust decision. The complaint by the bii against the offender, as an act during the fulfillment of the duties of office, was transferred to a court of arbitration, which sentenced the offender to three

687 days confinement by the police.

witnesses, (2) that the bii has accepted a bribe, in most cases this

> 2. There are cases where both sides present many (70-90) witnesses, ready to testify under oath that the bii has taken or has not taken a bribe.

circumstance is passed over to a court magistrate for the further prosecution of the case of criminal breach of trust.

In the steppe in such cases they complain to the volost official, who charges the bii to "soothe the heart" of the complainer (keunin tultirib bering), i. e., either to clear himself by oath, or to give some sort of satisfaction to the dissatisfied person.

If there are no witnesses the bii usually clears himself by oath.

694 /187/ The summons of the litigants and the other interrogated persons to appear in court is in general the duty of the volost official.

661 He has riders /dzhigity/ for the summoning of the litigants. The plaintiff gives the rider who is sent for the defendant a certain sum, called "kyzmet" (good turn) which depends on the distance of the village of the defendant. If he wins the suit, he receives this money included with the other court expenses from the defendant.

The defendant asks the rider to tell the volost official that he was not at home. The rider refuses, demanding that the person under summons depart at once. Then the rider receives a bribe and reports to the volost official that the defendant was not at home. The volost official releases the plaintiff who is waiting there, for several days, adding after him: "Do not come empty, a!" (kuru kel'mengiz a!); meanwhile before the others the volost official says nothing, only rubbing his beard as though oiling it - a sign which is understandable enough to the plaintiff. After the departure of the plaintiff, the volost official asks the rider in a low voice whether he had found the defendant at home. The rider says: "He was. He gave me so and so much and promised also not to offend the volost official (kuru koymaymen)." In the evening of the same day the volost official sends another rider who frightens the defendant for not appearing. The defendant gives him something, in order to weary the plaintiff by delays.

Sometimes the volost official gives the plaintiff to understand, via an outside person, that the defendant was not at home 3 or 4 times, but nevertheless he, the volost official, will force the

[207 cont.]

x648 River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they
[726 took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army
727 returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders
[57] who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians.
[72] The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

[726] The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected
[727] attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

4:Grodekov--219 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

681 627 684

1. Among the Alagirtsy and Farsalag of the Vladikavkaz okrug, if a wife is caught with a lover, her husband cuts off her nose. Among the Kurtat and Tagaur peoples, the husband kills the adulterer who is caught (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev /Customary Laws of the Caucasian Mountaineers/, Pt. II, pp. 41-44).

and his own wife did not pay wergeld, while the murderer only of the former did pay wergeld. Taking the law into one's own hands exists even now. According to Lt. Colonel Pankratov, there was such a case during his service in the Chimkent uyezd. They placed a thief who was bound, on burning coals, and he was roasted there until the cords were burned through. A. E. Aleksandrov reports from the Kazalinsk uyezd that an outlaw is bound with a lasso to the tail of a horse or a camel.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, before the coming of the Russians, they exacted a punishment 80 to 90 blows of the lash (durra) for adultery of a bachelor with the wife of another, and if he died under them, wergeld was not demanded. But if he was married, both he and the other's wife were killed, or else they threw the latter into a sack with /246/ a cover, or thrashed her in the sack with their feet. If she did not die after that, she was freed.

681 684 688

Mutilation by court order and execution were practised only by the Kokandians. They were subjected to being torn apart by horses, being hung from a gallows, (1) being stoned to death (sarsan, in place of the Persian sengsar)

1. The informant had not heard of hanging two men from both sides of a camel, as it is stated in Makovetskii, I, p. 69.

of the Persian sengsar) - this last for incest and renouncing their religion(2)-

2. According to Staff Captain Grombchevskii, among the Kashgar Kirgiz the following types of tortures and lynchings exist: 1) they tie a cord around the head around the forehead, which they begin to tighten; 2) they bind the arms behind the back, and by twisting the rope draw the elbows and the shoulder bones together; 3) they throw the bound thief in front of the entrance to a sheep pen and let the sheep walk over him. The victim of this faints from pain.

and to being impaled on a stake (khada). (3)

[286 cont.]
that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his lights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
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Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

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689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

[33] See: Iraztsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibragimov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Koslow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, *op. cit.*, 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 246–48.

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai Auliye Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov	Bii [illegible] Kurama uyezd
Repetition of the same misdemeanor.	Corporal punishment and shaming.		Reprimand of the bii.	Forfeiture of trust, denouncement as a mutakhan (shameless one) and banishment.
Noise and disturbance of nocturnal peace.	Rebuke or corporeal punishment.		Not punished.	It is called tentek, dzhindy. It is not punished.
False alarm, crying attan (to horse!).	Compensation for damages incurred.		Compensation for damages incurred.	Called maskharabaz. Scolded but not punished.
The same, if a woman miscarries a child from fright. /148/	From 3 to 4 camels to one-half wergeld.		Not punished. But if woman is influential 100 rubles fine.	The payment of the appropriate wergeld.
Fast riding in village, around village, or approaching tent at a gallop.	Rebuke.		Not punished.	A scolding. The offender is called akhmak.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--126 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--127 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Digging holes without warning signs, or destroying these.	Rebuke and medical treatment of those hurt.		Not punished.	Warning that if someone is hurt, the digger will pay.
Slander, false denunciation. ($ukhanchilik	Forfeiture of trust (zhenimsizdik). sizdik).	Not punished.	Not punished.	Formerly a whipping. (durra). Now a 3 ruble fine. ruble fine.
Not giving help when seeing theft or brigandage.	Reprimand		Not punished.	Not punished.
Not reporting the commission of a crime.		Not punished.		

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Not giving help in danger, as a result of which a person dies.		Not punished	Not punished.	They suspect murder and impose an oath.
N t helping one's own in a time of general uproar or /149/ harming one's own.	2 or 3 nines.			He is considered a traitor (ala); In time of upheaval he is killed /149/ (chaub kitedi).
Malicious luring into danger, resulting in death, e. g., from beasts.		Can demand a partial wergeld.		Full wergeld.

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--128 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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4:Grodekov--129 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
Not giving kunakasy.		Not punished.	Not punished.	In case of death, wergeld is paid for a person, and the value for a horse.
Affront and insult of kinsmen.	Corporeal punishment, depending on the desire of the kinsman.	Affronts and light blows administered to kinsmen, and strangers, even tiuri, is not punished.		They are pacified and warned against repetition.
False witness.	Forfeiture of trust and the remuneration for damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	A fine of 3 rubles.

(Table continues).

Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai Kurama uyezd.
False oath.	Punishment in future life and remuneration of damages.	Not punished.	Not punished.	Punishment in future life. Same report from Kazalinsk uyezd. Bii Sultan, of the Chimkent uyezd reports that the guilty party answers in /150/ the future life. He is called muttekh. They spit on him at the end of the oath ritual. His words are no longer believed (suzi bi igtibar) and he is not chosen to be one of the oath takers.
Cheating and deceit of any kind.		In the opinion of Kunakbai and many others, it is not punished. They only repay damages.		

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--130 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Misdemeanors	Opinions concerning punishments to be imposed for these acts			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunakbai Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Bii Sazabai, Kurama uyezd.
Contributing to suicide.		Not punished. But can demand partial wergeld.	Not punished.	Full wergeld.

If a violation of the rules of morality is punished, it is punished primarily by domestic measures, as is evident from the following list.

Misdemeanors	Punishments and fines imposed for them			
	Sultan Daulet Bushaev, Perovsk uyezd.	Bii Kunkabai & Umur-bek, Auliye-Ata uyezd.	The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.	Torgai
Lewd behavior	Rebuke of aksakal, admonition (taufik) and forced repentance (tauba).			

(Table continues).

4:Grodekov--135 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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can be subject to the examination of a justice of the peace of a regional court only at the desire of both sides, which is announced to the court in writing or orally, and entered in the document.

Cases begun in the people's court cannot be taken out of its jurisdiction even though the suit was reconveyed to a person who was not under the jurisdiction of the given court.

A case which is subject to the jurisdiction of a people's court, of which the essence is the determination even of one instance of this court, cannot be transferred to a justice of the peace or to a regional court, except in cases when the people's court makes a sentence to a punishment which is outside the limit of its authorities.

Sentences and judgments of the people's court which are decreed in excess of power, or in cases which are not under their jurisdiction, are not carried into execution, and the uyezd chief represents the procurator for them. The latter enters a protest in the regional court, which, in case the sentence is overruled, returns the case with the necessary indications to the people's court for the establishment of a new judgment, or if the case is not under the jurisdiction of the people's court, it gives it legal direction.

If the sides are not pacified, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, the people's court, independent of the determination of payments for losses and damage, imposes on the guilty parties the following punishments: a) fines in money no higher than 300 rubles, and b) confinement under guard for no more than one year and six months. 692 684

If as a consequence of the incorrigibly bad and pernicious behavior of the person under sentence, the people's court considers the punishment which it has a right to impose inadequate, then having determined it within the limits of its authority, it can intercede through the regional government to send the person under sentence from his place of habitation, after his punishment is finished.

A monetary fine designated by a people's court as a personal punishment is, in the case of insolvency of the person under sentence, substituted for by arrest of no more than three months, or by his being given over, by /204/ command of the uyezd chief to public labor for this same period of time. 681

692

People's courts are desginated, by election of the population, for three years.

The number of people's courts and the limits of their sectors are determined by the regional authorities before the elections, so that the number of courts among the nomads in the volost may be no less than four and no more than the number of village communities

681 In the Kazalinsk uyezd, the shaming in addition to this consists of the person who has suffered telling publicly of the crime of the guilty party.

Among the Kirgiz, the guilty person is led three times around the village, with an old felt on his neck, and he is beaten and forced to say: "I committed such and such an act (men falan ish kyldym), and this is the punishment for it (dzhazal)". After this they place him in a pit to rot (churib ulib kitedi). This punishment was practised under the Kokand serkers for: 1) robbery, discovered at the moment of [683] commission, even though done for the first time; 2) adultery with [684] another man's wife, under the same circumstances; 3) lack of [689] decorum before superiors. For incest it was customary to stone people (tashbaran).

681 The punishment for an unrestrained passion for stealing was formerly to confiscate all the property (kanau, uruganau). The house 685 of such a thief (in the Auliye-Ata uyezd) was subjected to attack and looting (uyin chaub alyb malyn aldy), or he was given up to the Kokandians, who hung him. Now under such circumstances they *establish a sentence to exile him in Siberia or to banish him (1) from*

1. The ousted person, excluded from his family and clan and therefore deprived of the support and defense of his clan, is called abrek among the Cherkes. A murderer, for whom his clan did not pay the "blood price" was made abrek primarily. Among the Mongols, exiles who departed from their kinsmen's clan and confederation were called ölöt or sabsars (Adaty Kavkazskikh Gortsev, pp. 359-61).

his milieu, saying: "We have banished him from our midst, we will be ruined because of his stealing. Let no one defend him in court (ichimizden chykarduk, kyuymeymiz urlygina, dauyn ich kim suramasun). After this the thief becomes homeless, and is not reckoned in any volost. (2)

2. Two decrees of banishment from the community are given in Supplement No. 7. 1/

681 /248/ The withdrawal of the parental blessing from children exists. This takes place in this manner: The palms of the hands are pressed together and then pulled apart from each other three times.

1/ [Not translated -- A]

POLITICAL GROUPINGS

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Kazak political groupings may be considered from the point of view first of local administration and second of larger units. The local political group was normally the aul, and consisted, as said above, of an uru in its functional sense of related family groups living and migrating together, plus individuals such as hired workers, slaves and relatives on the maternal side who belonged by birth to other uru but resided among the first. The larger units which may be called "tribes" consisted of rather loose and constantly shifting confederations of local groups and should not be confused with the term "tribe" as sometimes applied to the more inclusive genealogical strata. Closely related uru might be found in different and hostile tribal confederations. 621

Local administration lay in the hands of officials, or rather more accurately, outstanding individuals, known as bij and aqsaqal. It is difficult to distinguish accurately in practice between these two dignitaries; my informants tended to use the terms interchangeably. Strictly speaking the bij was a judge who administered the customary law, while the aqsaqal was the director and administrator of the economic life of the group. He supervised the occupancy of grazing lands and chose the routes and dates for migrations. Bij is sometimes confused with another title, bek or beg, which, according to my informants, was a general honorary term applied to rich powerful men, the owners of large herds.[1] Aqsaqal, meaning literally "white beard," is said by Begaliev and Gavrilov[2] to be used as "oldest in the gens," "elder," as well as "overseer," the sense in which I employ it. The process of the extension of its meaning here is obvious. Tienshiev said bek might be synonomous with aqsaqal. 624 [192]

My informants also classed the molda[3] as an administrative official. To him were referred cases involving the shariat, or Moslem law, in distinction to those covered by the old common law.[4]

There are faint suggestions of a religious function having formerly appertained to the aqsaqal in his capacity of being in theory, if not actually, the oldest of the uru. Zaleskie[5] mentions "certain ceremonies and prayers" which he recited on the occasion of marriages, and Levshin[6] reports that before setting off on a war or raiding expedition the "chief

[1] See Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 310, who says that in the south bek is used instead of bij. Begaliev and Gavrilov distinguish between the two, defining bij as "judge" and bek as "feudal lord" or "prince" (*Kazakско-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 43, 46).

[2] *Kazakско-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 27.

[3] "Mullah," Mohammedan priest, teacher, learned man.

[4] Arabic: adat; Kazak: zan.

[5] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Description des hordes*, 373–74.

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers,[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative. 628 565

LAW

In the previous section[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21] 671

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid. [681] [682]

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of 695

[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
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[33] See: Irastsov, *Obychnoe Pravo;* Ibraginov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude;* Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava,* 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht;* Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe;* Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy;* Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier.*

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[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier,* 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes,* 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy,* 246–48.

The thief himself cannot receive syuyunchi, even though he also brought back the lost animal. 431

Kinsmen cannot demand syuyunchi.

If someone receives syuyunchi for promising either to find the animal or to detect the thief (muynyna koyib beremen), and after that if he does not succeed in accomplishing the one thing or the other, he returns the syuyunchi received in one and a half times the amount.

The bit aygak (personal witness) who discovers a murder receives one-fifth of the wergeld as a reward. For the discovery ofor informing about thieves 4 tillias are given for a horse, and 8 tillias for a camel. 431 695 The witness is awarded the amount indicated only if he himself, in the presence of the biis, indicates the thieves. In order to confirm the witness's accusation of the person indicated by him as having committed the misdemeanor or crime, the biis sitting in judgment require the accused to choose persons from the side of the witness to take an oath (1) that he has actually indicated the guilty person. But

1. The choosing of persons from the witness's side to take the oath takes place in the same order as the selection of persons from the side of the defendant.

if /175/ the accusation of the person indicated by the witness is not confirmed after the admission for the oath by the persons chosen, the accuser pays back the person from whom he received syuyunchi in an amount double what he received. (Absaliamov, Chimkent uyezd).

/176/ CHAPTER X

The organization of the peoples court by the law of 1867. - The rank and position of the biis. - Arbitration. - The order of selection of cases. - Attorneys. - Witnesses. - Guarantors. - Concrete evidence. - Payment of the bii /biilyk/ . - Losses and expenses. - The organization of the people's court by the law of June 12, 1886. 692

Among the Kazakhs the people's court was organized in the following manner on the basis of the law of 1867.

The people's court is the examination of cases according to folk customs by chosen judges - biis.

The following types of courts were organized: 1) the individual court of the biis, 2) the volost session of biis, and 3) the extraordinary

692 session of biis.

In every volost from 4 to 8 biis were elected both for the judgment of criminal cases, subject to the people's court (1) and

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1. Murder and baranta were considered criminal cases, subject to the people's court.

The Kazakhs were judged by a military court for treason, inciting their fellow tribesmen to oppose the government, attacking the mail and military transports, the murder of Christians and other persons who had expressed the desire to become Christians, and for the murder of officials.

The Kazakhs were tried according to the common criminal laws of the empire for brigandage, stealing, attacking merchant caravans, flight into foreign domains, setting fire, manifest opposition to authorities, the manufacture and transmission of counterfeit money and the stealing of state property.

for every sort of litigation and suit.

693 The biis were elected by the people for three years.

Anyone could be chosen as a bii who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people, had not been blamed by a court, was not under investigation, and was not less than 25 years old.

The elected biis were confirmed by the military governor. They did not receive a salary, but they had the right to receive /177/ a special fee /biilyk/ for judging cases, which was established by folk customs. The fine for property suits could not be determined as higher than one-tenth of the value of the suit. For the judgment of murder cases of personal injuries, the biilyk was designated according to the customs.

692 The opposing sides in a litigation could, by mutual consent, turn to one or several biis for the examination of their case. The agreement of the litigating sides on the choice of a bii or biis for the judgment of their case had to be entered in the book established for the recording of judgments. In such a case, the judgment of the biis, as having the character of arbitration (1) was final in any amount.

1. In ancient times all courts were courts of arbitration among the Kazakhs, i. e., they were chosen each time by both sides. The plaintiff and the defendant appeared before the bii chosen by them, and if the bii was far away they

appeared before another respected person, and as a sign of submission to his judgment each cast his whip or cap before him. The person who was dissatisfied with the decree of such a judge was submitted to blows of a whip in case of defiance or paid a fine to the arbiter. Two, three or more biis could be chosen instead of one.

When the sides of the litigation disagreed on the choice of biis, the case was judged by a bii from the defendant's uyezd, indicated by the plaintiff. Meanwhile the defendant had the right to object to only two of the biis indicated by the plaintiff.

The biis made the final decision on cases concerning a value no higher than 100 rubles (5 horses, 50 sheep).

Periodic volost sessions of biis were designated for the judgment of cases concerning sums greater than 100 rubles, at which all the biis in the volost were obligated to be present.

For cases submitted to the judgment of volost sessions, the petitions for suits were brought to the volost administrator. The volost meetings were called according to the measure of accumulation of petitions for suits, and their time and place were determined by the uyezd chiefs.

The sessions of the volost biis took place in the presence of the volost administrator, but the law strictly forbade him to interfere in the trial.

/178/ The volost sessions had the right to settle cases for any sum, but their decision was final only for cases up to 1000 rubles (50 horses, 500 sheep).

Declarations were made to the uyezd chief on unfinished judgments of the volost sessions within a seven day period from the day of the notification of the judgment. Petitions for the examination of criminal cases were also taken to the uyezd chief.

Extraordinary sessions were convoked by order of the uyezd chief for the judgment of the cases mentioned, in accordance with the need, if the case affected one uyezd, or upon the agreement of the uyezd chief with the jurisdictional authorities, if the case affected volosts of various uyezds. Extraordinary sessions were brought to the attention of the military governor.

The extraordinary sessions of the biis took place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd where the meeting was held, or in the presence of an official specially commanded to be present.

692 But their interference in the court was strictly forbidden.

The decrees of the extraordinary sessions were final. The examination of cases in the volost and extraordinary sessions was determined by custom.

Marital and family cases were settled by biis in court according to folk customs. In marital cases, the side which was dissatisfied with the decision of the people's court could appeal to the uyezd chief, who was deciding /reshal/ the case, and in more important cases, the decision could be presented to the military governor for review.

The Kazakhs could turn to a Russian court with a petition to judge their case, with the mutual consent of both sides, expressed in a written document.

The court of the biis was rendered clearly and publicly.

It was the obligation of the local Kazakh chiefs to produce the defendants in court and to present witnesses on the demand of the biis.

The decree of the biis was inscribed in brief in a special book. The biis were required to affix their seals to a judgment.

/179/ The decision of the biis was announced to both sides, and a copy of the decree authenticated by the affixing of a seal, was given to the side in whose favor the case was decided.

696 The carrying out of the decisions of the court was laid to the duty of the volost officials, who were subject to suit for delayed fulfillment of the decisions, on the basis of general laws for the inaction of the authorities, and also subject to the repayment of losses, if such losses were incurred by their delay. (1)

1. Articles 181-210 of the projected code for the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts.

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693 Under the khans, the biis were designated from a number of rivals, petitioning for this office with gifts (one or more horses), and who were known for their intelligence, authority, erudition and experience. They did not consult the wishes of the people. Candidates whose ancestors had not been biis could receive this office only rarely and with difficulty.

The Kokandians did not touch this system.

At present many place intelligence and justice in the biis

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or the clan chief wait patiently for a large gathering or a memorial service, to which they go, usually taking with them an elder from their village or of their clan, and this elder must defend their complaint before the gathering, and a reexamination which is considered final depends on this gathering. Torgai notes concerning this custom: Biis and elders are both at memorial services, and therefore both dissatisfied sides go there. A bii himself sends them there for pacification, but the host of the feast or memorial service forbids the settlement of court cases lest the celebration be spoiled (buzul masyn).

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A bii does not enter into the examination of a civil case unless he is turned to.

/182/ In former times a bii who knew of a crime concerning which no complaint had been presented could make an investigation of it on an equal footing with aksakals and respected persons (yakhsy ksiler), for the satisfaction of the sufferer.

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A bii can refuse to examine a case, especially for bad people. On the other hand, persons dependant on the bii, now excluding those serving him as well, can also refuse to be examined by him (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a trial takes place under a bii from the volost of the defendant, and both sides are dissatisfied by his decision, they can turn to an outside person (khalis ksi) or to a bii from another uyezd, but on doing so they must compose a written document (saldym kagaz) concerning the choice of the bii, as a result of which the trial becomes one of arbitration, and final. Otherwise they can turn to a volost official, who either refuses or consents to designate a new examination, but this time not from a single bii but from three or four.

If the plaintiff and the defendant are of different volosts, in the Kurama uyezd it is the custom to choose any bii of a third volost as arbitrating bii.

A court of arbitration (triteski sot), from which it is impossible to appeal, is considered in the present official Kazakh language to be an examination by biis, which is preceded by a document from the sides concerning the choice of the bii or biis, and consent to the decision which they will decree.

If both sides were from one volost it is difficult to appeal. It is easier if they are from different volosts, because the biis are suspected of partiality toward those in their jurisdiction.

For an extraordinary session /Russ. chrezvychainyi s"ezd/

692 (kurulachak s"ez, chirizvichaynoy s"ez), one bii was sent for from every volost in the uyezd, according to the election of the biis of the given volost. Every bii who wanted to get into the session, as Torgai expresses it, gave the electors, the biis, a bribe of 2 to 4 rubles each. If there were many who wanted to go, they cast lots (shek salady) among themselves. The person to whom /183/ the lot fell (shek tusken) paid his electors the money mentioned. After this they elected him with the affixing of a seal, and he departed for the session.

There was no prosecution for a bii's refusal to take part in the examination at the session.

Not more than two or three biis are challenged from the session by declaration of the plaintiff, because of their kinship, matchmaking, acquaintance with the defendant, or the receiving of bribes. In a court of arbitration there are not supposed to be challenges because each side chooses its biis itself. For false suspicion (usek suz) in relation to a bii (kinship with the opposing side, bribes, etc.) punishment is not customary.

The declaration of the challenge of a bii is not accepted after the judgment of a case by the session.

695 The meeting considers the decision being appealed and all the papers relating to the case: acts, documents, (1) reports. It

1. In an official document of a debt, the year, month and day it is issued are indicated; the period in which it is to be paid; the sum, including the interest, calculated by the period over which it is to be paid; its authentication by the village head, etc.

The sum which is recorded in the document is sentenced to be paid.

If the person who presented the document and the guarantors mentioned in it disclaim it, but the plaintiff and the bii recognize it, it remains in force without the assignment of an oath. In just the same way, if one of three persons presenting such a document recognizes it, it remains in force.

hears out the declarations of the opposing sides, and recalls, if necessary, those witnesses whose testimony was already mentioned in the decision under review, while also taking new evidence into equal consideration. In land disputes they ride out to inspect the

4:Grodekov--179 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

696 The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of the khan or the riders of the biis who decided the case, but any outside person, who received remuneration from the person who won the case.

At present the volost administrators are obliged to carry out the decisions of the biis in the following order: when they have received a copy of the decision, cut out of the book, upon the approach of the date indicated in it for the payment, they announce it through village elders to the defendant, and then, in case he refuses to pay, they take an animal corresponding to the sum, which is evaluated by honorable persons. After the entire sum has been paid to the plaintiff, the volost administrator makes a note of this on the reverse side of the copy, with a voucher from the recipient, and gives it to the person who has paid.

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692 In its regulation of the people's court, the law of 1867 caused it to deviate considerably from the customary court. This fact /200/ had such an essential and pernicious effect on the development of the weak sides of the courts of the biis, that their position proved to be very unsatisfactory and brought many local officials to the conviction that it was necessary to abolish this court and exchange it for the Russian court.

While according to folk custom the litigants are free to turn to any bii for the examination of a case, the law of 1867 required the Kazakhs to be judged only by the biis confirmed by the military governor. In cases where the litigants disagreed on a court of arbitration, and in practice these were very frequent, the law required the plaintiff to choose a bii expressly from the volost of the defendant. Since under the existence of the clan principle every bii naturally stands for his kinsman, the required judgment of a bii from the volost of the defendant is the equivalent of renouncing justice, for the plaintiff cannot expect impartiality from a kinsman of the defendant. Even within one volost, such an organization of the bii's court did not guarantee a just court, because with the obligation of turning to the biis in the volost and with the limitation of their number the biis were made accessible to profit, corruption, the influence of rich and honored persons, and of the electoral parties.

In order to ensure the justice of the decisions of the more important cases, the law of 1867 limited the competency of the individual biis to the sum of 100 rubles, and created extraordinary

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sessions of biis for the judgment of cases up to 1000 rubles, and cases of murders and baranta, also establishing appeals of decisions according to instances. But the mass of small cases remained under the jurisdiction of individual biis and even volost sessions, consisting of a small number of these same biis, corrupted and finding themselves under the influence of rich kinsmen and volost administrators, could not act better than the trials by one person of the biis.

As a result, the trial of the biis became a corrupt trial, unpopular and subject to native officials. The unsatisfactory character of the people's court according to the law of 1867 for the examinations of the complaints of the people brought about the interference /201/ of the Russian uyezd administration in the cases of the bii's courts. The law subjected cases under 100 rubles to the jurisdiction of a bii chosen by the plaintiff from the volost of the defendant. But by using the right of challenging the biis, the defendants were constantly evading trial, and the plaintiff, in order to obtain satisfaction, was obliged to turn to the collaboration of the volost administrator, who could summon both the defendant and the biis. For the latter often failed to pay attention to the petition of the plaintiff for examination, and found justification in their own challenge by the defendant and in his disobedience. In many places there was, in practice, such an order of taking cases into the court of the biis, that not a single case was examined by the biis unless a complaint was taken directly to the uyezd chief or to his assistant, and unless a special order was taken to the volost administrator each time for the examination of the case by the biis. Thus the biis fell into direct dependance upon the volost administrators and the people's court became a field for the arbitrariness of the local authorities.

The Kazakhs, in the words of Sultan Babagaliev, adapted to the court of the biis the proverb: "If an owl is hit with a stone, the owl is killed; if a stone is hit with an owl, the owl is also killed" (tash bilyan yapalakni ursa, yapalak uledi; yapalak bilyan tashni ursa, yapalak uledi).

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The law of the 12 June, 1886, on the administration of the Turkestan region, preserved their people's court for the Kazakhs.

Submitted to the jurisdiction of the people's court is: 1) all cases concerning crimes and misdemeanors committed by natives, with the exception of the following crimes: those against the Christian faith, against the state, against the order of the administration, the state or public service, against the decree of state and land duties,

692 against the property and income of the treasury, against the public
673 welfare and well-being, the violation of quarantine regulations, the violation of decrees against epidemic and contagious diseases, the violation of rules established in case of livestock losses, against the common peace and order (the forming of /202/ gangs with malicious intent, and the receiving of persons under suspicion, false denunciations and false evidence in cases, judged according to the laws of the empire, the concealing of fugitives, and the spoiling of telegraphs and roads), against the laws of estates; against life, health, freedom and honor (murder, infliction of wounds, and fights, resulting in death, rape, unlawful detainment and confinement) against property (the violent seizure of foreign immovable property and the destruction of border landmarks and signs, setting fires and in general intentional destruction of foreign property, robbery and plundering, the stealing of treasury property and the falsification of Russian documents). 2) Cases of crimes and misdemeanors, which although not included in those mentioned above, were committed by natives against Russians, and likewise within the borders of Russian settlements. Such cases are under the jurisdiction of court establishments on a general basis.

692 Civil disputes and suits between natives and persons who do not belong to the native population, likewise cases between natives of various nationalities who have separate people's courts, and also suits based on acts carried out with the participation of Russian authorities, are carried out by justices of the peace and regional courts on a general basis.

Jurisdictional disputes concerning cases which take place between people's courts and examining magistrates, justices of the peace and also their assistants are settled finally by the regional court.

Persons not belonging to the native population who are engaged in lawsuits with natives, and likewise natives who have different people's courts in cases among themselves, can if they wish, turn to a people's court. In such a case the plaintiff forfeits the right to open suit on the same case with a justice of the peace or in a regional court.

The jurisdiction of civil cases is determined by the place of abode of the defendant, and the jurisdiction of criminal cases by the place the crime was committed. A suit which relates to several defendants is declared in the place of abode of one of them, at the choice of the plaintiff.

/203/ Cases subject to the jurisdiction of the people's court

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can be subject to the examination of a justice of the peace of a regional court only at the desire of both sides, which is announced to the court in writing or orally, and entered in the document.

Cases begun in the people's court cannot be taken out of its jurisdiction even though the suit was reconveyed to a person who was not under the jurisdiction of the given court.

A case which is subject to the jurisdiction of a people's court, of which the essence is the determination even of one instance of this court, cannot be transferred to a justice of the peace or to a regional court, except in cases when the people's court makes a sentence to a punishment which is outside the limit of its authorities.

Sentences and judgments of the people's court which are decreed in excess of power, or in cases which are not under their jurisdiction, are not carried into execution, and the uyezd chief represents the procurator for them. The latter enters a protest in the regional court, which, in case the sentence is overruled, returns the case with the necessary indications to the people's court for the establishment of a new judgment, or if the case is not under the jurisdiction of the people's court, it gives it legal direction.

If the sides are not pacified, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, the people's court, independent of the determination of payments for losses and damage, imposes on the guilty parties the following punishments: a) fines in money no higher than 300 rubles, and b) confinement under guard for no more than one year and six months. 692 689

If as a consequence of the incorrigibly bad and pernicious behavior of the person under sentence, the people's court considers the punishment which it has a right to impose inadequate, then having determined it within the limits of its authority, it can intercede through the regional government to send the person under sentence from his place of habitation, after his punishment is finished.

A monetary fine designated by a people's court as a personal punishment is, in the case of insolvency of the person under sentence, substituted for by arrest of no more than three months, or by his being given over, by /204/ command of the uyezd chief to public labor for this same period of time. 681 692

People's courts are desginated, by election of the population, for three years.

The number of people's courts and the limits of their sectors are determined by the regional authorities before the elections, so that the number of courts among the nomads in the volost may be no less than four and no more than the number of village communities

692 in the volost.

Any person of the inhabitants of the volost can be elected to
692 the people's courts who enjoys the respect and trust of the people,
693 and who has[1] been subject by sentence of the court, to punishments in excess of arrest for seven days or monetary fine of 30 rubles, who is not under judicial examination or under trial, and who is no less than 25 years of age.

The elections for the people's courts take place by a volost meeting of the electors, who are chosen by village meetings with one for every 50 heads of houses.

Two candidates are elected for every office of the court. The confirmation of one of them for the office of the judge and the other as a candidate for it depends on the governor, who designates new elections in case neither of these persons is confirmed. In the case of absence, illness or death of the judge, the candidate for the position carries out his duties, with the permission of the governor.

The people's judges receive payment on the basis of the customs existing on this matter.

The people's judges are equipped with special insignia to be worn when they are carrying out their official duties, as well as their official seals and books for the recording of judgments and deeds.

The close supervision of the keeping of the books is a duty of the uyezd chief, but meanwhile the responsibility for lack of observation of the established order falls upon the judges and chairmen of the sessions, according to who is concerned.

The people's judges are transferred /205/ to trial by the regional authorities for criminal breach of trust, on the basis of the decrees of the code of criminal law procedure which determine the order of arraignment of persons of the administrative department.

The people's court constitutes: a) courts presided over by one person, b) sessions of judges, and c) extraordinary sessions of judges.

692 All cases, both criminal and civil, begin before a single judge.
695 But the litigants have the choice, by mutual consent, to turn directly to a session for the examination of their cases, avoiding the single judges, and likewise to outside persons, whom the litigants entrust with the settlement of their disputes. The judgments of the chosen mediators are final, no matter how large the value of the suit is.

The mutual agreement of the litigants on the choice of mediators must be entered into a special book established for this purpose in the volost, and signed by the litigants. The judgments

1 [Should be "has not been" - A.]

692 695

of the mediators are also recorded in the same book, which are signed and confirmed by both the seals of the mediators and of the litigants.

The people's courts of the nomadic population proceed to examine cases upon the complaints of private persons or upon a cummunication from the volost administrator or the uyezd chief. When the litigants disagree on the choice of a judge, the case is decided by a judge indicated by the plaintiff, but meanwhile the defendant is allowed to challenge two judges. [694]

The decisions of judges, involving sentences of no more than 30 rubles, and no more than seven days of arrest, are recognized as final and are not liable to appeal.

The decisions of the judge are announced to both sides, with the issuance of copies of the decision in case of demand, authenticated by the affixing of the official seals of the judges.

The people's courts may hear testimony concerning every sort of deed and agreement among the natives subject to their court, with the exception of settlements concerning immovable property, when the right of property in them is confirmed by deeds made out under the force of the general laws of the empire.

/206/ Deeds issued by the people's courts must be signed by the sides in their own hands, or for illiterates, by no less than two trusted persons and witnesses. They confirm the signature and the official seal of the people's court authenticating it, and they are recorded to the letter in the corded /shnurovia/ book, under the appropriate number in the sequence.

Sessions of judges are called together in every volost, and are made up of all the judges, although a session is considered legally constituted when no less than three judges are participating. The sessions are called together when needed, at times determined in advance by the uyezd chief. The sessions take place in the presence of the volost administrator, whose duty it is to pay special attention to decorum in the place of meeting of the session. 692

The people's judges appearing at the session elect a chairman from among them, who directs the order of examination of the cases.

Cases of complaints concerning inconclusive decisions of single judges are subject to the jurisdiction of the sessions of the people's judges. The judgments of the sessions count as final, with the exception of judgments decreed in excess of their authority or in cases not subject to their authority.

It is considered the duty of the sessions of the people's judges

692 to encourage cases concerning the dismissal from official duties and bringing to trial those of their members who permitted clear abuses in their judgments. The uyezd chief presents the decrees on this subject to the oblast government.

The delivery to the sessions of the defendants and witnesses is the duty of the village authorities.

Complaints concerning unfinal decisions of single judges are transmitted in a period of two weeks from the day of the announcement of the decision to the volost administrator, for presentation to the session. After the opening of the session these complaints can be transmitted to the session itself.

[695] The people's court is carried on aloud and publicly.

/207/ Extraordinary sessions of the people's courts are designated, by order of the governor, for the judgment of cases in which residents of various uyezds or volosts are involved , as well as for the review of intercessions of the people's courts and their sessions on the banishment of the persons under sentence. The extraordinary sessions are composed of the judges of those volosts from which the litigants come or the persons under sentence, with no less than one judge from a volost.

The designation of the judges for an extraordinary session, except for those elected by the litigants, is done by the uyezd chief. Judges who have participated in previous sessions within a year take part only at their own wish.

Extraordinary sessions of the courts take place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd in which the session meets, or an official specially commandeered for this purpose. The duty of these official persons is exclusively to see to the decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The extraordinary sessions of the people's courts act on the basis of the rules established for ordinary sessions.

[693] People's judges, who are absent from a session, ordinary or extraordinary, without legally acceptable reasons, are subject to a monetary fine of 10 rubles, by order of the uyezd chief, which can be appealed to the governor within a period of a month. These fines go for the building of places of confinement.

696 The carrying into execution of the decisions of the people's court is laid upon the volost administrators and village elders, under the supervision of the uyezd chief. Copies of the decisions carried out, with a note of their fulfillment, are preserved with the volost administrators. Persons carrying out the decisions, as well as the uyezd chiefs supervising them, are subject to legal responsibility and the reparation for damages for slowness and improper action in this connection.

[176 cont.]

[148] spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[311] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [342] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[439] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[267 cont.]

X648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

X648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

X648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[269 cont.]
X648 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784
● 692 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks. Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

X648 At the same time as this establishment, from which great
[346] advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-
[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from
721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against it and laid waste their enemies.

X648 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance.
721 But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

[279]

The most important was the establishment of tribunals, which were called rasprava. Two of these were opened in the Alimul and Baiulin descent lines, because of their large numbers. The Semirod line only had one. Each rasprava was composed of a president and two members, who were required to meet every day and to examine, with all three present, the petitions addressed to them and to give their decisions, to give satisfaction to the injured and the oppressed, and to give the dissatisfied the right to appeal to the border tribunal sitting in Orenburg. But since the members of these tribunals did not know how to read, all the writing was confided to a mullah, or secretary, who was assigned to each tribunal with an aide. His duty was to stamp the papers which were entered, copy them in a notebook, make the notes and protocols, make the examinations, keep the registers, establish and inscribe the hours of hearings, and write the reports, communications, and orders. All this was to be done according to the forms given by the government of Orenburg.

In addition a principal elder was chosen in each of the three descent lines of the Little Horde and several secondary elders to supervise the conduct of the people.

Batyr Syrym, who belonged to the Baiulin descent line, was chosen as one of the three principal elders.

All those who were elected to fill the positions we have named for the first three years were called upon to swear an oath to serve faithfully. Later they were confirmed (1) by the

1. The preliminary decision of the Empress to open the tribunals was presented to Baron Igelstrom by a rescript of June 3, 1786, and the confirmation of the elders nominated for the places on December 7, 1787.

Empress, and they were given large stipends, partly in wheat and partly in money.

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 771 186 662 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[296 cont.]

[648] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

/215 cont./

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thousand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified coloniza-
177 tion of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
178 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
565 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock) economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the disintegration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it is possible to distinguish several well-to-do families on whom all the rest of the population of the village is economically dependent. This sort of situa-
[566] tion (and the dzhetak system) is getting stronger every year,
[291] and especially in the years of
[492] "dzhuta" (hunger).

The former patriarchal relations have been retained (in part) in the customary law in the family.

At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

692 The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
[614] (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

/218 cont./

585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

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A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aris-
tocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable
social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are
[567] an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central
to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent
line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic
status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the
Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and
social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the
602 hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan
[565] chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent
lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the
title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent
of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of
principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them
dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan
was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs
were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region
varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of
villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal
[622] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It
did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was
small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet
it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case
it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage
was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[582] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not
marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation;
with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted.
The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is
the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying
scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital pur-
poses comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an
individual many times that.[1]

491 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
[614] branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader
[799] might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of
cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested
ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor,
but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was
not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he
[C22] led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[C92] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alyasarin, 1870, p. 104.

[1] [for footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[3] 596 [642]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[4] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor. 622 [621] [596] [614]

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position. 692 [622] [626] [593] [643]

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[5] 595 [565] [171]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not 882 582 592

[3]Izraitsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[4]Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[5]Kastz (73), 1910, p. 42.

622 a similar manner, we have seen this very process at work
177. in the formation of new lineages,[1] whether maximal or
62 minimal, or even clans, with the exception that the process here described involves the transformation of the village through new developments in administration and economy. Nevertheless, the acculturative pattern took on traditional forms, that is, the new village was built up by a process already encountered in lineage fusion. The bii, through his wealth, spiritual powers, sense of justice, and large number of kin (who were able to support his word if necessary by their very strength of numbers) thus continued to dominate the new forms of Kazakh life.[90]

622 At the end of the century, the bii[2] was regarded by
177. the Russians as a kind of official judge, beneath whom
62 •692 was the aksakal, recognized as a popular judge who lived within the village, regulated its affairs in an informal manner. The bii, in contrast, concerned himself largely with inter-aul matters, which is a formalization of the relative positions as they had been reported in the previous era.[91] One of the most important functions of the bii, whether in the matter of inter-aul, or intra-aul relationships, was the determination and resolution of conflict regarding the winter pastures.

[90] Ibid., I, 513-514.

[91] Sabataev, 66. Sabataev's observations bear rather on the Kazakhs of the Middle and Little Hordes, but may be taken to be relevant for the Kazakhs generally.

[1] [cf. especially Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 405 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulating marriage settlements, although he had little authority over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izraztsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

[92] Izraztsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63
632 recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various suls, or persons belonging to different families, suls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. 16, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an gul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

8:Kostenko -33-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

681 Among alomst all ancient peoples and among the Kazakhs there existed the law of retribution, that is, death for murder or rape - and mutilation for mutilation. But time and the prevalance of a new order have changed this custom. However, down to the Russian domination, ransom was permitted for murder. For the death of a man a thousand horses were usually paid, and half that for the murder of a woman. This ransom is called 'kun', and when the crime can be hidden from the Russian authorities this is done even today.

692 In general all legal judgments, civil and criminal, just as all public affairs, according to custom can never depend on the will of one person, but are always made with the agreement of several elders, beys or honored persons in general. These persons had and still have today the right to receive a tenth part of the property of the guilty person, or, if it is a civil matter, the same share from the payment
696 of retribution which they decide. The 'baranta'
628 is a completely unique crime among the Kazakhs. The beginning of these feuds was almost always legal, that is, they usually began from the unwillingness /347/ of one of the contesting parties to abide by the decision of the elders. In such a case the injured party had the legal right to obtain satisfaction by force, that is, to make raids, steal cattle and capture the people. It is self-evident that those who were plundered did the same in return, believing that more had been taken from them than should have been according to the legal judgment. Thus the stealing, robbery and murder committed by both sides confused the question more and more, and quarrels and feuds lasted in this way for decades, eventually even dividing clans.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his rights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
[693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

[33] See: Iraztsov, *Obyckinoe Pravo*; Ibraginov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obyckinago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 246–48.

692 session of biis.

In every volost from 4 to 8 biis were elected both for the judgment of criminal cases, subject to the people's court (1) and

673 1. Murder and baranta were considered criminal cases, subject to the people's court.

[698] The Kazakhs were judged by a military court for treason, inciting their fellow tribesmen to oppose the government, attacking the mail and military transports, the murder of Christians and other persons who had expressed the desire to become Christians, and for the murder of officials.

The Kazakhs were tried according to the common criminal laws of the empire for brigandage, stealing, attacking merchant caravans, flight into foreign domains, setting fire, manifest opposition to authorities, the manufacture and transmission of counterfeit money and the stealing of state property.

for every sort of litigation and suit.

693 The biis were elected by the people for three years.

Anyone could be chosen as a bii who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people, had not been blamed by a court, was not under investigation, and was not less than 25 years old.

The elected biis were confirmed by the military governor. They did not receive a salary, but they had the right to receive /177/ a special fee /biilyk/ for judging cases, which was established by folk customs. The fine for property suits could not be determined as higher than one-tenth of the value of the suit. For the judgment of murder cases of personal injuries, the biilyk was designated according to the customs.

692 The opposing sides in a litigation could, by mutual consent, turn to one or several biis for the examination of their case. The agreement of the litigating sides on the choice of a bii or biis for the judgment of their case had to be entered in the book established for the recording of judgments. In such a case, the judgment of the biis, as having the character of arbitration (1) was final in any amount.

1. In ancient times all courts were courts of arbitration among the Kazakhs, i. e., they were chosen each time by both sides. The plaintiff and the defendant appeared before the bii chosen by them, and if the bii was far away they

692 But their interference in the court was strictly forbidden.

The decrees of the extraordinary sessions were final. The examination of cases in the volost and extraordinary sessions was determined by custom.

Marital and family cases were settled by biis in court according to folk customs. In marital cases, the side which was dissatisfied with the decision of the people's court could appeal to the uyezd chief, who was deciding /reshal/ the case, and in more important cases, the decision could be presented to the military governor for review.

The Kazakhs could turn to a Russian court with a petition to judge their case, with the mutual consent of both sides, expressed in a written document.

The court of the biis was rendered clearly and publicly.

It was the obligation of the local Kazakh chiefs to produce the defendants in court and to present witnesses on the demand of the biis.

The decree of the biis was inscribed in brief in a special book. The biis were required to affix their seals to a judgment.

/179/ The decision of the biis was announced to both sides, and a copy of the decree authenticated by the affixing of a seal, was given to the side in whose favor the case was decided.

696 The carrying out of the decisions of the court was laid to the duty of the volost officials, who were subject to suit for delayed fulfillment of the decisions, on the basis of general laws for the inaction of the authorities, and also subject to the repayment of losses, if such losses were incurred by their delay. (1)

1. Articles 181-210 of the projected code for the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts.

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693 Under the khans, the biis were designated from a number of rivals, petitioning for this office with gifts (one or more horses), and who were known for their intelligence, authority, erudition and experience. They did not consult the wishes of the people. Candidates whose ancestors had not been biis could receive this office only rarely and with difficulty.

The Kokandians did not touch this system.

At present many place intelligence and justice in the biis

before an exact knowledge of customary law, especially since now every bii has his own devices, which often contradict each other (chatak). 693

The biis used to be judged by other biis or clan heads, but now they are tried on the common basis.

Bad language, yelling and scuffling in court is prosecuted by the biis. No prosecution is made for infliction of wounds in court if the wounded person was guilty, but if the guilty person causes the wounds, he is liable to the payment of the same fine which is imposed for the same crime committed outside the court. [687] 683

The punishment is not made heavier for murder and fighting before the court.

If someone dishonors the bii in words, they rebuke him saying: "Your tongue touched upon the bii" (biige tiling tiidi), and he is forced to ask forgiveness, but no fine is imposed, the more so because the bii hesitates to enter a suit concerning this. 693 683

/180/ The wergeld is not changed for the murder of a bii, but a larger fine is imposed for wounding him than for wounding a private individual. There is no prosecution for blows inflicted on a bii, if he owed money, but for unjust blows a fine is imposed which is higher than the usual one. For the exaction of these higher fines it is necessary 1) that the act be proven, and 2) that the person guilty of injuring the bii should be from the district /okrug/ of that bii. The injury of a bii from a strange village is prosecuted in the same way as the injury of an ordinary person.

The word mekhkeme, i.e., tribunal or court chamber, was not used in former times. This is now the name for the place or tent designated by the bii for the admission and examination of complaints in the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds. The biis sit on felt (tekemet), in the place of honor in the tent or room - the "tur", which is opposite the entrance, and before them on the ground are the plaintiff, the defendant and other persons who have been called in. In general, however, the examination of cases takes place anywhere and at any convenient opportunity. The court is where they find the bii, be this in the road, on a visit, or at a bazaar. The most precious convenience to the nomads lies in this simplicity of the conditions of a court. An experienced bii has his book of decisions and his seal with him in all places at all times. 695

The bii first hears and enters into his book the complaint of the plaintiff (dagvager), and then gives the floor to the defendant (dzhuabger tanbys) or to the witnesses. All those called to the court

Often the first plaintiff is joined by a second, in order to get 695
an easy profit because of the conviction in the first case. Therefore the case of each plaintiff and each defendant must be examined specially.

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Attorneys (vakil) already existed under the khans. They were 693
also called "those who buy suits" (dauny satyb algan).

According to Zagriazhskii, (1) minors and insane persons cannot

1. Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraia /Materials for Staistics of the Turkestan Region/, Pt. IV, pp. 194, 195.

be attorneys. The attorneys must convince the biis that the conducting of the case is specifically entrusted to them. They must /190/ be present during the testimony of the opposing side, and they procure the fine which is exacted for their principals. If the sender of the [676] trusted person is sentenced to a fine or to corporal punishment the sentence is carried out on the sender. The sender of the trusted person can protest against the judgment of the bii, if his agent abused his trust.

According to another source, the constituent can refuse the settlement of the agent in whom he has trusted, if the former has not given a written warrant.

Warrants are not the custom in the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to the communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, but persons are admitted who know how to speak in court. Such persons never appear in court without their clients.

During the swearing of an oath, only the plaintiff or only the constituent (ak iese) was present according to customary law, and this is still true today. The person entrusted by the constituent is never present during the oath of the opposing side.

Every man who has reached his majority who has seen or knows 695
of a crime is admitted to give the testimony of a witness. A true (nagz) witness (aygak, gua) is considered to be he who has brought in the captured thief with the goods, or has taken the stolen goods away from him together with a horse and a coat, or has received syuyunchi from the owner before the people and the authorities (Perovsk uyezd).

Informers are divided into those who are open(bet aygak) and those who denounce behind the back (syrt aygak). The former are called to prove the truth of their words face to face with the thief.

Formerly the payment to the biis (biilyk) was not determined exactly. In addition to offerings and gifts, they received one of the best animals from the fine or at least a coat from the atton. Usually the entire fine received went into the khanlyk and manaplyk (among the Kirgiz), minus the stolen property.

In accordance with the law of 1867. the biilyk was required to be one-tenth the value of the livestock. The sum of the biilyk was recorded in the report, with the indication of the side which had to pay it, and whether the biilyk had been received or not.

Often, when it is impossible to get one-tenth, the biis limit themselves to a smaller part, trying to obtain the biilyk immediately after the announcement of the judgment, before the case is ended by an oath. For this reason it sometimes happens that the biis must return what had been received prematurely, for example, in an appeal. In order to receive the biilyk immediately, the biis either require half of it to be paid by each side, or an equal part from all the litigants, or exact it from the side which has cash, leaving it to the winner of the case to obtain the given biilyk from the loser. Sometimes this /197/ is recorded in the biis' books thus: "now both sides are paying equally, at the end the loser pays" (khasyr yeki taraf ting tuleydi, akybytda dzhygylgan tuleydi). But in general among the Kazakhs the imposition of the biilyk on one side or the other is not subject to any rules.

At the meeting of the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds, in September 1877, it was established to take a biilyk on the basis of customary law in the following amounts: for the judgment of a case for the wergeld of a man, 300 rubles, for wergeld for an eye, 150 rubles, for crippling a man, 20 rubles; for the judgment of cases of theft, 8 tillias /24-32 rubles/ for one camel, 4 tillias for one horse; for cases of fights, 2 tillias.

Among the Kirgiz the biilyk is usually collected from the person who receives a sentence to pay. Sometimes it is collected from both sides, by the degree of their guilt (gunesine Karay). The biilyk is collected at the time when the judgment is established (mal kisēdi). Whoever cannot pay at once can be given a deferment, but if his offense is great they demand payment immediately.

The biilyk can be received in natura, for example, in suits concerning a harvest.

The biilyk is also collected when cases are ended by peaceful

693 arrangements.

When a suit or part of it is abandoned without consequence because of distance or some other reason, a biilyk is not collected.

A biilyk is not taken when a session is abandoned by force of an earlier decision. Also when an earlier decision is overruled, the biilyk received for it is returned.

When the bii decrees that the period of time of an oath is to be extended because of the illness of the swearer, he receives biilyk for this labor.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, a biilyk is not taken even in such cases where the defendant clears himself by oath. He pays only about 20 or 40 kopeks then, up to one ruble, for receiving the document of acquittal from the bii with the affixing of the seal. This collection is called mukhrana ("for the seal").

681 /198/ Losses and court costs (chygyn) are included in the fine itself. When the fine has already been obtained, the biis can refuse a suit for the recovery of court costs, with the exception of cases concerning wergeld, for in such cases many people are summoned into court, and the cost of the summoning adds up to a considerable sum which cannot be covered by a part of the wergeld. (1)

1. According to Torgai, the expenses for a suit concerning wergeld can be separated from the wergeld. All pay equally for the wergeld /po khunu/, but for the expenses the guilty party pays first of all, and then the clan, and the latter pays only when the former already has no property left.

When a suit ends without a fine, the winner of the case seeks reimbursement for the losses and court expenses which he has also been required to pay in one session of the court or another.

692 The period of time for the payment of the fine is recorded in the document of the judgment, but this measure appears in part to be inoperative. The customary law does not assume a period of time.

696 In the case of the defendant's insolvency or his absence, the exaction is extended to his group of ten (unbasilas), and when their 692 means have been exhausted, to the group of fifty, then to the village, which is noted in the document. (2) Only that which was necessary for

2. In ancient times when the payer was insolvent, the group of ten, or fifty, etc., in order, did not pay for him,

692 in the volost.

Any person of the inhabitants of the volost can be elected to
692 the people's courts who enjoys the respect and trust of the people,
693 and who has[1] been subject by sentence of the court, to punishments in excess of arrest for seven days or monetary fine of 30 rubles, who is not under judicial examination or under trial, and who is no less than 25 years of age.

The elections for the people's courts take place by a volost meeting of the electors, who are chosen by village meetings with one for every 50 heads of houses.

Two candidates are elected for every office of the court. The confirmation of one of them for the office of the judge and the other as a candidate for it depends on the governor, who designates new elections in case neither of these persons is confirmed. In the case of absence, illness or death of the judge, the candidate for the position carries out his duties, with the permission of the governor.

The people's judges receive payment on the basis of the customs existing on this matter.

The people's judges are equipped with special insignia to be worn when they are carrying out their official duties, as well as their official seals and books for the recording of judgments and deeds.

The close supervision of the keeping of the books is a duty of the uyezd chief, but meanwhile the responsibility for lack of observation of the established order falls upon the judges and chairmen of the sessions, according to who is concerned.

The people's judges are transferred /205/ to trial by the regional authorities for criminal breach of trust, on the basis of the decrees of the code of criminal law procedure which determine the order of arraignment of persons of the administrative department.

The people's court constitutes: a) courts presided over by one person, b) sessions of judges, and c) extraordinary sessions of judges.

692 All cases, both criminal and civil, begin before a single judge.
695 But the litigants have the choice, by mutual consent, to turn directly to a session for the examination of their cases, avoiding the single judges, and likewise to outside persons, whom the litigants entrust with the settlement of their disputes The judgments of the chosen mediators are final, no matter how large the value of the suit is.

The mutual agreement of the litigants on the choice of mediators must be entered into a special book established for this purpose in the volost, and signed by the litigants. The judgments

1 [Should be "has not been" - A.]

692 to encourage cases concerning the dismissal from official duties and bringing to trial those of their members who permitted clear abuses in their judgments. The uyezd chief presents the decrees on this subject to the oblast government.

The delivery to the sessions of the defendants and witnesses is the duty of the village authorities.

Complaints concerning unfinal decisions of single judges are transmitted in a period of two weeks from the day of the announcement of the decision to the volost administrator, for presentation to the session. After the opening of the session these complaints can be transmitted to the session itself.

[695] The people's court is carried on aloud and publicly.

/207/ Extraordinary sessions of the people's courts are designated, by order of the governor, for the judgment of cases in which residents of various uyezds or volosts are involved , as well as for the review of intercessions of the people's courts and their sessions on the banishment of the persons under sentence. The extraordinary sessions are composed of the judges of those volosts from which the litigants come or the persons under sentence, with no less than one judge from a volost.

The designation of the judges for an extraordinary session, except for those elected by the litigants, is done by the uyezd chief. Judges who have participated in previous sessions within a year take part only at their own wish.

Extraordinary sessions of the courts take place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd in which the session meets, or an official specially commandeered for this purpose. The duty of these official persons is exclusively to see to the decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The extraordinary sessions of the people's courts act on the basis of the rules established for ordinary sessions.

[693] People's judges, who are absent from a session, ordinary or extraordinary, without legally acceptable reasons, are subject to a monetary fine of 10 rubles, by order of the uyezd chief, which can be appealed to the governor within a period of a month. These fines go for the building of places of confinement.

696 The carrying into execution of the decisions of the people's court is laid upon the volost administrators and village elders, under the supervision of the uyezd chief. Copies of the decisions carried out, with a note of their fulfillment, are preserved with the volost administrators. Persons carrying out the decisions, as well as the uyezd chiefs supervising them, are subject to legal responsibility and the reparation for damages for slowness and improper action in this connection.

[279]

The most important was the establishment of tribunals, which were called rasprava. Two of these were opened in the Alimul and Baiulin descent lines, because of their large numbers. The Semirod line only had one. Each rasprava was composed of a president and two members, who were required to meet every day and to examine, with all three present, the petitions addressed to them and to give their decisions, to give satisfaction to the injured and the oppressed, and to give the dissatisfied the right to appeal to the border tribunal sitting in Orenburg. But since the members of these tribunals did not know how to read, all the writing was confided to a mullah, or secretary, who was assigned to each tribunal with an aide. His duty was to stamp the papers which were entered, copy them in a notebook, make the notes and protocols, make the examinations, keep the registers, establish and inscribe the hours of hearings, and write the reports, communications, and orders. All this was to be done according to the forms given by the government of Orenburg.

In addition a principal elder was chosen in each of the three descent lines of the Little Horde and several secondary elders to supervise the conduct of the people.

Batyr Syrym, who belonged to the Baiulin descent line, was chosen as one of the three principal elders.

All those who were elected to fill the positions we have named for the first three years were called upon to swear an oath to serve faithfully. Later they were confirmed (1) by the

1. The preliminary decision of the Empress to open the tribunals was presented to Baron Igelstrom by a rescript of June 3, 1786, and the confirmation of the elders nominated for the places on December 7, 1787.

Empress, and they were given large stipends, partly in wheat and partly in money.

685 he bought the stolen property from a person unknown to him, he himself is considered a thief.

/163/ If the accused cannot indicate the source of the stolen goods or gives confused testimony, he is considered the thief.

If the victim of the theft, without having tracks or a witness, 685 casts suspicion on someone, stating that the suspicious person was 694 around the village where it was committed on the day of the theft, or else that he was near the stolen objects, then information must be obtained as to where the person under suspicion spent the night, with whom he had the evening meal and whom he met on the day of the theft. If the persons interrogated testify that the person under suspicion did indeed spend the night and sup with them and was nowhere else on that day, or that when they met him he was innocent of theft, then he is cleared of the accusation without an oath.

If the victim of the theft puts a purely verbal suspicion of the theft on someone, it must be learned by questioning outside people, whether the person under suspicion was at home on the day of the theft or in another village. If it is shown that he was at home on that day or in another village, then he is cleared of the false accusation made against him. But if he cannot prove this or is unable to find the people with whom he was staying or those whom he met, in that case he must be considered the thief and be obligated to pay for the stolen property.

If suspicion is strengthened by the vague and evasive answers of the suspect, then he must swear for the quantity of the stolen property.

If a theft is made from someone and he, without being able to find the stolen property anywhere, presents an accusation of a certain person, saying that a guest of the accused made the theft, in such a case it must be learned when the guest departed, who saw him on the road, and where he stopped. If the accused host can show three stop-overs of his guest, he is cleared of the accusation. If a person who met the guest, or if his hosts for the stop-overs testify that he /164/ was innocent of theft, then the guest as well as his host are cleared of the accusation without oath. But if the host is unable to give answers to all the questions noted above, and then, when obliged to find that guest within a certain period of time, is unable to do so, then he must answer for it himself.

If the master of the house says that a guest stayed with him and was fed by him, but who it was and where he went is unknown to his host, and that he does not know the direction in which the

guest left in the morning, then the victim of the theft declares that he does not believe this, for the master of the house made the theft and sent the stolen goods away with the guest. If the master of the house then declares that he cannot find the guest, an oath is required from his side. 685 694

If during the investigations of the thief, evidences lead to a certain village or tent, their owners must show (izim shygaryb ber), on demand of the plaintiff, where these traces passed out of the village again. Otherwise the aksakals and the people are called as witnesses of the existence of fresh tracks which end in this village or tent, after which the relevant owners are held responsible before the court.

If someone suffers a theft and in following the tracks of the stolen property comes to a village, and the inhabitants declare that the theft was not committed by them and that they know nothing about the tracks, in case the tracks exist in the snow, an oath is required from the victim of the theft. But if there is no snow, the oath is required from the side of those who profess ignorance.

If the object in the suit was taken away not personally by the defendant but by a rider sent by him, and if the defendant disavows it, the rider is held responsible.

When a stolen head of livestock appears by itself accompanied by a loose animal, the decision is deferred, even for a year, to await information as to where the loose animal belongs. If this cannot be learned in the given length of time, then the person on whom suspicion fell earlier is held responsible. If he provides testimony about the stolen animal showing that it is homebred (koltuma), then his side is put to an oath before it is taken away from him. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Mikebay of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by V. Olivetskii. /1

/165/ When the stolen animal is confiscated, agreements are often made of the sort that the plaintiff pays half its value to the person from whom it is confiscated, with the understanding that when the thief is found he will pay each of them the value of the animal. 685

If several animals are lost and only one is found with the thief, it is concluded from this that he also stole the others, but a special oath is decreed for them.

When the stolen livestock is being returned, the rule is observed that the animal returned should be of the same quality, sex, age, and in general of the same value as that stolen, otherwise the

1 [Not reproduced -- A]

685 thief should pay the owner the difference in money. In this last case, and also when all the stolen livestock is paid for in money, care is taken that the animal should not be underevaluated, for otherwise the owner demands the exaction of an additional payment (tolyktyk) from the bii.

685 694 An animal recognized at the bazaar is not confiscated. The person who has brought it there must present the man from whom he received it; otherwise, if he declares it to be his own property, they go to the bii (Abdrakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

An animal which is recognized in the possession of an outside person, who did not steal it himself but bought it at the bazaar, is confiscated only if the person recognizing it proves by his personal oath, and the testimony of five (1) witnesses, and the oath of one

1. According to other information, seven witnesses.

witness that the recognized animal or other property actually belongs to him. The animal is not confiscated until the decision on the case. If a sheep is recognized in the possession of a man who bought it at a bazaar, neither testimony from witnesses nor a personal oath gives the owner the right to take it away, since the sale of sheep at a bazaar takes place without guarantors and there is no sidzhil' (2)

[695] 2. A copy of a decision of judges, kazis and other officials is called sidzhil'. According to this copy, a thing which is recognized by an outsider, who proves by the testimony of witnesses his right to it, is confiscated. A copy of such a judgment is given to the defendant, /166/ so that he can sue the person from whom he bought it for his losses. There is also a sidzhil' in civil suits for money. If an animal is confiscated by sidzhil' a karkara destroys the force of the sidzhil'.

The testimony of several persons, with their signature and seal, with the countersign of official persons is called a karkara. In this testimony it is explained that such and such an animal, with an exact description of it appended, constitutes the homebred property of such and such a person.

for them ordinarily. (Communicated by Yunusov).

685 /166/ Placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered to be stealing. According to Abdrakhman, this happens rarely. For

697 is imprisoned at night in a pit which is covered by a grating, and someone sleeps on top of the grating. He is not kept in the tent lest he kill someone, flee, cause a disturbance, and among other things, do wrong to someone. They put horse locks (ksen) on the legs of a thief from a nearby place, passing them through the sidepiece of the tent at night, and pemitting him to walk about in them during the day.

Among the Kirgiz, captured thieves are bound and then subjected to corporal punishment (dzharb kursetedi) until /vpred'do/ the affair is investigated by the bii. Without denying the injustice of puinishment before the judgment of the affair by the bii, Kunakbay (Auliye-Ata uyezd) justifies this custom for those cases where the thief is caught red-handed or was armed with a spear or an ax (aybalta).

If the thief is caught in the act of stealing and refuses to go to the nearest volost official, arguing that he is innocent, or if he attempts to flee, then he is bound. If the thief continues to deny his guilt after that, or to make various claims, he is beaten in order to force confession (chiningdy ayt). The volcst official to whom they take the prisoner asks him such questions as: "Are you a thief? Where did you steal from? (or come from). If you are not a thief, clear yourself and I will let you go free. But if you did steal, I will give you over to the owner of the stolen goods." The thief is transferred into the hands of the owner. The owner of the stolen goods keeps the thief in his tent until the presentation of his suit /168/ in court. The prisoner is kept bound or in general in such a way that he cannot escape (kitpes kylyb baylaydy) his legs are fettered (ksen salady), and also he is beaten, but not much (kub savamaydy). They do not beat or abuse a well-known person(bilimdy ksi). A bii does not accept complaints from the thief for blows, saying: "That is your punishment (dzhaza)". (Communicated by bii Abdurakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

•194 If the thief is captured while stealing at night, his captor con-
672 fines him in the tent and interrogates him: "Why are you stealing? Was it not you who also stole what was lost last year and the years before?" Bound and confused, the thief often confesses, while being beaten, to all these crimes, of which they accuse him only in order to frighten him. Later they inform the volost official of his confession and send him the thief himself. The volost official also holds the thief in confinement, interrogates him and notifies his relatives. The best people from among

he is completely innocent, and

694 672

his relatives appear and say to the volost official: "Give up this thief to us. We will interrogate him well. If he is guilty of something we will make him pay for it. If he is innocent we will present you with proof" (bul uyyny bzning kolymyzga ber, muny abdan khub suralyk; algan bulsa, maldy alyb berelik, almagan bulsa, almagan iken dib sizdi isenterelik). In agreeing to give up the prisoner, the volost official takes a receipt (tilinen khat) for the fulfillment of the promises mentioned above.

685

The owner who has already received his property can receive a supplementary atton from the thief. Sometimes the biis and aksakals among the relatives of the thief say: "He is innocent of other thefts (uzge maldan) take atton from him and give him a voucher for the fact that you will not open suit against him for anything lost" (falan vakytda dzhogalgan degen maldy suramaska), or else: "But if you are thinking of opening a suit, give us back the atton you took from us." They never take the atton anymore, however. This custom existed under the Kokandians and khans. In this way, as was explained above, the thief was often released without bringing him to a court examination (Torgai).

685 695

/169/ A candid confession does not lighten the punishment. On the contrary, when the bii sees the offender acknowledging the fact of his commission of the crime without shame, he may considere him a hardened ruffian or a professional thief and impose a higher fine because of this, or punishment by whipping. (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

The plaintiff for his part, seeing that the defendant confesses from honesty and straightforwardness (er iken, muynyna, alyb otur, chinin aytty) can resign from the whole sintar part of it (Perovsk uyezd).

When there is a voluntary confession (azamat iken, uzi kelib aytty), with or without a court summons, the punishment can be reduced, and in view of repentence, completely forgiven, but only with the consent of the plaintiff (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a defendant denies the fact of his confession at a previous interrogation by a village elder, confirmed by a written act, the biis consider it possible to require a purificatory oath, as with a simple disavowal.

685

Stealing with house-breaking or without house-breaking, from a trunk and from an open place are punished alike (Torgai). (1) There

1. According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 81, the easier a theft is, the more shameful it is considered. On this basis

628

salavat", i. e., complaints were mutual and therefore were considered satisfied, and if complaints remained unsatisfied, these were forgiven. They cut an aladzhip[1] /cf. Chapter X/ for the consecration of the ending of old accounts, without appeal, and of full pacification, and now they give vouchers.

A partial salavat is forgiveness before a certain time (mundzhal). Disputes which went on before that time are forgiven (beregini suraymyz arigini suraymaymyz).

694

The presentation of a suit, several years (3 years, for example) after an event took place, complicates the examination. Therefore such a suit is settled by a testimonial oath. But if there are no witnesses the suit is not accepted for examination at all (kaldyrady) (the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds).

In the Kazalinsk uyezd suits are subjected to examination before the death of the defendants and likewise before the death of the plaintiffs. If heirs remain who know of the claim they can revive the affair. An affair which has been ended by salavat[2] cannot be reopened. But if the side which suffered presents a suit through a court after a salavat, the judge must convince himself of the salavat by witnesses. The confirmation of the salavat means a fine of atton for the person bringing suit, which goes to the judge, and the person who brings such a suit lacks the confidence of his kinsmen.

Limitation is recognized only in small crimes which remain undisclosed for not less than five years. But for murders and marital matters there is no limitaion. A groom, who has been absent without sending word, has the right on his return to demand the bride or the return of the kalym. If the former bride has married, a sister or niece is substituted for her. According to Torgai, suits concerning a bride and kalym are accepted for /173/ examination to the third generation, i. e., to the grandchildren. When there is a denial, they swear an oath, as is normal. Other suits are accepted only up to 5 or 6 years. Suits founded on vouchers are accepted up to 10 years, if the defendant could not be found earlier. After 10 years even wergeld is subject to salavat, i. e., limitation. Now a salavat is put down only after 5 or 6 years, with the condition that nothing was known of a murder in this time. Ten years are allowed, however, if something was known of it, but the murderer hid himself. If a thief was caught, released on bail and promised to give satisfaction, but fled, then a suit may be revived for up to 10 years.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 161--A.]

2 [Peace treaty between disputing clans; see cat. 116, pp. 153-154--A]

4:Grodekov--155 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

•694 Everything which takes place gives way to the salavat in another dominion, for example, in the Kokand dominion, except a suit concerning a bride (yesir dau).

According to a report from the Chimkent uyezd, affairs concerning matchmaking do not have limitation, but all other matters have a ten year limitation, excepting only matters of wergeld (1)

1. The biis at the meeting of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September 1887 established that "matters are not accepted for attention after a limitation of 10 years, with the exception of affairs concerning brides and wergeld."

• • • •

which are examined even after ten years have elapsed since the day of the murder, when the court is presented with only factual proof, but without an oath.

431 Syuyunchi means a gift for news concerning relatives. Syuyunchi may be 1) voluntary, for example, for receiving the news of the birth of a son, daughter (for a daughter they give less), etc., and 2) more or less necessary at the news of the loss of property, finding it, the capture or detection of the thief, etc. A suit for not receiv receiving syuyunchi is accepted by the bii for examination.

The extent of the syuyunchi depends on the services rendered to the person found, and on the value of the property itself. For bringing back a stolen animal about one-twentieth of its value is given, and for confiscating it from the thief by force, one-fifth. For bringing back the thief himself at the same time, the syuyunchi goes up to half the value of the object stolen.

/174/ The syuyunchi paid for finding a camel is 24 rubles or 6 tillias (according to Torgai and Abdurakhman), or 3 tillias for finding a horse, or 2 tillias for finding a cow.

The syuyunchi is called kulaksyuyunchi, if the person who brings the news has only heard that the lost object is found but did not see it himself. Kulaksyuyunchi is not large, being 2 rubles for a camel, 1 ruble for a horse, 1 ruble for a cow, 20 kopeks for a sheep and 10 kopeks for a goat.

The thief who is sentenced to pay a fine, pays also for syuyunchi among the other requirements.

695

or the clan chief wait patiently for a large gathering or a memorial service, to which they go, usually taking with them an elder from their village or of their clan, and this elder must defend their complaint before the gathering, and a reexamination which is considered final depends on this gathering. Torgai notes concerning this custom: Biis and elders are both at memorial services, and therefore both dissatisfied sides go there. A bii himself sends them there for pacification, but the host of the feast or memorial service forbids the settlement of court cases lest the celebration be spoiled (buzul masyn).

A bii does not enter into the examination of a civil case unless he is turned to. 694

/182/ In former times a bii who knew of a crime concerning which no complaint had been presented could make an investigation of it on an equal footing with aksakals and respected persons (yakhsy ksiler), for the satisfaction of the sufferer.

A bii can refuse to examine a case, especially for bad people. 692 On the other hand, persons dependant on the bii, now excluding those serving him as well, can also refuse to be examined by him (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a trial takes place under a bii from the volost of the defendant, and both sides are dissatisfied by his decision, they can turn to an outside person (khalis ksi) or to a bii from another uyezd, but on doing so they must compose a written document (saldym kagaz) concerning the choice of the bii, as a result of which the trial becomes one of arbitration, and final. Otherwise they can turn to a volost official, who either refuses or consents to designate a new examination, but this time not from a single bii but from three or four.

If the plaintiff and the defendant are of different volosts, in the Kurama uyezd it is the custom to choose any bii of a third volost as arbitrating bii.

A court of arbitration (triteski sot), from which it is impossible to appeal, is considered in the present official Kazakh language to be an examination by biis, which is preceded by a document from the sides concerning the choice of the bii or biis, and consent to the decision which they will decree.

be an examination by biis, which is preceded by a document from the

If both sides were from one volost it is difficult to appeal. It is easier if they are from different volosts, because the biis are suspected of partiality toward those in their jurisdiction.

For an extraordinary session /Russ. chrezvychainyi s"ezd/

687 days confinement by the police.

witnesses, (2) that the bii has accepted a bribe, in most cases this

> 2. There are cases where both sides present many (70-90) witnesses, ready to testify under oath that the bii has taken or has not taken a bribe.

circumstance is passed over to a court magistrate for the further prosecution of the case of criminal breach of trust.

In the steppe in such cases they complain to the volost official, who charges the bii to "soothe the heart" of the complainer (keunin tultirib bering), i. e., either to clear himself by oath, or to give some sort of satisfaction to the dissatisfied person.

If there are no witnesses the bii usually clears himself by oath.

694 /187/ The summons of the litigants and the other interrogated persons to appear in court is in general the duty of the volost official.

661 He has riders /dzhigity/ for the summoning of the litigants. The plaintiff gives the rider who is sent for the defendant a certain sum, called "kyzmet" (good turn) which depends on the distance of the village of the defendant. If he wins the suit, he receives this money included with the other court expenses from the defendant.

The defendant asks the rider to tell the volost official that he was not at home. The rider refuses, demanding that the person under summons depart at once. Then the rider receives a bribe and reports to the volost official that the defendant was not at home. The volost official releases the plaintiff who is waiting there, for several days, adding after him: "Do not come empty, a!" (kuru kel'mengiz a!); meanwhile before the others the volost official says nothing, only rubbing his beard as though oiling it - a sign which is understandable enough to the plaintiff. After the departure of the plaintiff, the volost official asks the rider in a low voice whether he had found the defendant at home. The rider says: "He was. He gave me so and so much and promised also not to offend the volost official (kuru koymaymen)." In the evening of the same day the volost official sends another rider who frightens the defendant for not appearing. The defendant gives him something, in order to weary the plaintiff by delays.

Sometimes the volost official gives the plaintiff to understand, via an outside person, that the defendant was not at home 3 or 4 times, but nevertheless he, the volost official, will force the

 694 661

defendant to be found, even if he has concealed himself under the ground (yerge kerib kitse de taptyramyn). But he needs remuneration for this. The plaintiff gives him something. Then the volost sends someone to tell the defendant on the sly that he should come but not to be afraid. After this the case is transferred to the bii.

After the litigants have presented a documnet with the choice of several biis, the volost official designates the place and time for their court appearance, warning the plaintiff that if he does not appear his suit will be refused, and the defendant that he will be considered convicted for non-appearance. But in spite of this, when the defendant does not appear, the case is not decided in his absence, but they send once again to his place of abode, and only if he /188/ flees from there can the volost official command that the judgment be made in his absence. Sometimes the defendant submits a complaint after all this for the biis' judgment by default. Then the biis are required to swear that he was summoned twice (Torgai). 694

In the opinion of Torgai, article 35 in Samokvasov: "If someone is sent after a person, and the envoy is beaten and receives wounds on the face, then the latter must make the same marks on the former in return" etc., is probably founded on the orders of some individual powerful volost official. Although on the other hand the Kazakhs have a proverb: A stick is rewarded by a stick (tayakka tayak kaytady), i.e., an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. 694 683

If a rider was sent by a volost official but not on the basis of an order from the uyezd chief, then there is no prosecution for signs (tamga) on his face from blows. At any rate, when there are no witnesses, and the "tamga" /brand/ is only on the rider and not on the owner of the tent, then it depends on the state in which the rider emerged. /v tom, budto prikhodil dzhigit/. The affair ends with the words: "Come out and make peace" (dalaga chygyngiz yarasyngiz), for no oath is imposed for this. (1)

1. It may happen that the rider collects people for some sort of general suit and encounters resistance in this and receives blows with signs on his face or on his body. Then the people, who want to get around the rider, give him something, but not by customary law but voluntarily, for example a horse and a coat. They ask him not to lodge a complaint, saying: "Even if your head is cut, it is under your cap, even though your arm is broken it is in a sleeve" (bas yarylsa burk ichinde, kol synsa

694 dzhing iohinde). As an excuse they use the saying:
683 "quarreling and scuffling is a path which has existed since ancient times" (uruspak talaspak burunnan kalgan yui).

Since signs on the face are visible, they set value on the face, and they say to the offender: "you put a brand on my moon-like face" (ayday betime tamga saldyng), i. e., you mutilated my clear face. A wound on the arm for example is not important, unless a bone is broken (Torgai).

694 A rider can beat the person being summoned, in order to force him to go faster. A wound inflicted during this is not prosecuted.

When the volost official delays the summoning of the litigants and the witnesses, and the biis delay the examination of a case, the defendant hastens to declare a suit completely like the suit of the plaintiff (karsy dau, karsyma karsy dau). This is also done at the time of the examination of the case, sometimes /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A session of the people's court: the plaintiff, bii Akhmet Turgaev, bii Chekaman Iskenev, bii Chokai Turgaev, the defendant. Drawing by Akhmatov. /A/189/ also by the witnesses. But the biis avert such a suit. Exceptions to this are suits concerning animals recognized at a bazaar.

695 Mutual suits between quarreling kinsmen remain without consequence because of their extreme complication, or are led to pacification "in view of kinship." When it is impossible either to avert or pacify, then an oath is required from each litigant on his suit (Perovsk uyezd).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, in mutual suits without witnesses two propitiatory oaths are given: one to the plaintiff himself, and the other to the defendant himself (bas basyna - on the head of each of them), the first on the suit which was declared earliest, the second on the cross bill. A biilyk is taken for each of these suits, but only when the suit is made good. Otherwise the biis limit themselves to collecting for the affixing of their seals (mukhrane).

If a part of a suit is shown to be just, it still does not follow from this that the entire suit is just. The part of the suit which is subject to suspicion must be approached as though it were a special suit.

The combination of crimes is not taken into consideration. Every crime is judged separately.

If a suit touches upon two objects which are usually not found in one place, the suit is divided (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

* [Not reproduced--A]

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of the mediators are also recorded in the same book, which are signed and confirmed by both the seals of the mediators and of the litigants.

The people's courts of the nomadic population proceed to examine cases upon the complaints of private persons or upon a cummunication from the volost administrator or the uyezd chief. When the litigants [694] disagree on the choice of a judge, the case is decided by a judge indicated by the plaintiff, but meanwhile the defendant is allowed to challenge two judges.

The decisions of judges, involving sentences of no more than 30 rubles, and no more than seven days of arrest, are recognized as final and are not liable to appeal.

The decisions of the judge are announced to both sides, with the issuance of copies of the decision in case of demand, authenticated by the affixing of the official seals of the judges.

The people's courts may hear testimony concerning every sort of deed and agreement among the natives subject to their court, with the exception of settlements concerning immovable property, when the right of property in them is confirmed by deeds made out under the force of the general laws of the empire.

/206/ Deeds issued by the people's courts must be signed by the sides in their own hands, or for illiterates, by no less than two trusted persons and witnesses. They confirm the signature and the official seal of the people's court authenticating it, and they are recorded to the letter in the corded /shnurovia/ book, under the appropriate number in the sequence.

Sessions of judges are called together in every volost, and are 692 made up of all the judges, although a session is considered legally constituted when no less than three judges are participating. The sessions are called together when needed, at times determined in advance by the uyezd chief. The sessions take place in the presence of the volost administrator, whose duty it is to pay special attention to decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The people's judges appearing at the session elect a chairman from among them, who directs the order of examination of the cases.

Cases of complaints concerning inconclusive decisions of single
ges are subject to the jurisdiction of the sessions of the people's
ges. The judgments of the sessions count as final, with the ex-
tion of judgments decreed in excess of their authority or in cases
subject to their authority.

It is considered the duty of the sessions of the people's judges

again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers, the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

In the previous section I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

[21] Adat or zan; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 331.

at. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]
at. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his lights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
[693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to go to another aul, to the mountains, or to the city.

[33] See: Izraitsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibragimov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 246–48.

576 Did your father die?" They also avoid calling someone from a distance.

/12/ CHAPTER II.

The clan principle. - Custom

618 The enormous importance of the clan principle (1) stems from

1. On the clan origin as the most ancient stage of social development of all peoples, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Makim Kovalevskii, Moscow, 1886, Pt. 1. Clan.

the law of force: the individual finds defence only in his clan. The [695] clan answers for his transgressions. The propitiatory oath is imposed not on the responsible individual but on another person from his clan. (2)

2. Hence a man without a clan or a musafir always risks losing a case, being unable to procure his kinsmen to take the oath.

[672] The exaction of payment is also received not by the person but by [628] the clan. When wergeld is not paid, not necessarily the murderer, but any person from his clan is killed. A bride belongs not to a [587] person but to a clan. A widow goes to the nearest relative of the deceased, and a divorced woman must choose a new husband from [429] the clan of her former husband. The nearest kinsman is always the guardian. Guests are received according to their degree of kinship.

The bearers of the clan principle are the rich men and the senior elders (aksakals). (3) Beyond the names of their direct ancestors and

3. Among the Sarts the aksakal is an administrative figure - a village elder. Among the Kazakhs he is the person in a given place who has the highest authority by blood.

their clan and lineage, the poor know nothing of the distant branches of their kin.

The volost administrators elected by the people retain their posts only when they belong to the strongest clan in the volost.

The decline of the clan principle is marked by frequent litiga-

tions between close kinsmen and the non-payment of penalties and 618
debts for relatives. /13/ Among the Kazakhs we find the following proverbs concerning clan relationships.

Do not go hunting with a man of a strange clan. He will prevent you from shooting by being close beside you.

A fool will forget where he was born.

It is better to have a foal from your village /aul/ win a race than a horse of a strange village.

It is better to be a herder in one's own clan than emperor among a strange people.

He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is a traitor.

A person who lives together with us still does not become a kinsman. A person who is a kinsman cannot become a stranger.

The dog does not forget the place where he ate, the man does not forget the place where he was born.

It is possible to be born together, but it is impossible to live together.

Do not call your own a bad kinsman, do not call your own eye (guard) bad, and separate him from the good.

In the law of 1867 on the administration of the Semirechie and 631 618
Syr-Darya oblasts it was recognized as necessary to divide the nomadic population into volosts and villages in order to divide the Kazakh clans, for it was considered bad from the political point of view to unite a large clan under the rule of one clan chief. On this basis volosts were formed in 1867 which were mixtures of various clans as much as possible. But leaving the nomads the right to transfer from one volost to another made it possible for them to evade the designated aim of the government, which was to weaken the clan principle.

In order to sum up the results of the constant transfers of the 631 618
Kazakhs from one volost to another in the period from 1867 to 1884 178
data was called for from the uyezd chiefs of the Syr-Darya region, from whom the following answers have been received.

1) The chief of the Auliye-Ata uyezd explains that since /14/ the time of formation of the volosts the clan principle has lost its original importance to a considerable degree. This is supported by the following: a) in the people's courts those who swear the oath are no longer appointed by the biis as from such and such a clan or division [695] to which the defendant or accuser belongs, but from the volost, village, group of fifty or group of ten to which they belong; b) when the guilty are unable to pay the fine of livestock for their criminal deeds, the

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 593

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

562 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of
695 their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

[684]

1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed.
681 For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

deepened them and repaired them. The latter must withdraw when 312
the first proprietor presents witnesses or a personal oath. It goes to 423
the later proprietor in the case where no one knows of the digging 425
except the first person. If the second proprietors have planted trees or done building, the water belongs to the first owners and the trees and buildings to the second. The first owner can buy them off, and he can also demand their removal.

Where underground water is near the surface, everyone digs 312
his own well (kuduk). In digging a deep well, to a depth of 5-6 675
sazhens (chingrau) /35-40 feet/, the nomads hire workers who know the business, for pay which is determined beforehand, and which remains the same without regard to the depth at which the water appears. At the same time they enter a condition that no wergeld will be demanded for workers who might be covered by sandy dirt caving in.

According to Umurbek and others, the proprietor of a well 423
can refuse water to a stranger.

There were yarlyks of the khans on the right of the use of water, some of which survive to this day. The yarlyks do not mention land, but canals, winter camps and summer camps. The latter are mentioned without fail in one and the same yarlyk, for the Kazakhs cannot remain in one place the year round. If a winter camp which is owned by the yarlyk remains unoccupied by its proprietor, and during this time others settle on it, the proprietor receives it back, in any case even if they put buildings on it. The son of the previous owner can make the same demand, but never a strange man, whose right to the land was promised in some way by the previous owner. The newcomers give up the building, and remain on the neighboring land.

/106/ If a clan puts in a claim for land planted by another clan, 423
without founding the claim on any documents, the biis settling this 695
dispute must interrogate persons who are not implicated in the affair and also the elders from the people. If with all this no one knows whether the father or the grandfather of the plaintiff sowed this land, and even if it appears that they planted for two or three years, about 20-30 years previously, then in the case that the present proprietors have no documents, an oath is demanded of them.

If the fathers and grandfathers of the plaintiff did plant this land in earlier times, and then abandoned it and departed 20-30 years ago, and their children or descendants file a claim with no documents or proof except for traces of kurganchey or winter camps, established by them or their predecessors, then in case the opposite

423 side, i. e., the actual proprietors have no documents, these last are
695 required to swear an oath on the quantity of the land in dispute.

If land is planted by two clans, and one of the clans makes a complaint against the other, and during the investigation it is ascertained that one side has a document, and the other does not, and also lacks khan, kazi or beg documents showing that the land is in common between the two clans, then the side which has documents can refuse the other the use of the land.

If both sides on the disputed land have documents they must be carefully examined by learned mullahs who must decide which side has authentic documents and which has fraudulent ones, or those not worthy of attention. Nevertheless, an oath concerning the quantity of the disputed land is required from the side presenting the authentic, weighty documents, in order to support the suit.

If a dispute arises between two clans using common land, on which both sides have buildings, mills and trees, and if one side has nominal documents from khans or begs, while the names of the other /107/ side are not noted in this document, the affair is decided in favor of those having documents. Meanwhile those without documents must be indemnified for the value of their buildings, and then dispossessed from the land.

If one of the disputing sides shows a document delivered by the other side during the peaceable use of the land by them, and the documents says that the side presenting it yields the other a certain locality, or a certain number of kosh (1) of land, or else that a

1. One kosh is a pair of oxen and the amount of land tilled by them.

certain locality belongs to it or a certain number of kosh of land, then the side in possession of such a document is required to take the land on the basis of the document. Their claim to a larger quantity of land and water than is mentioned in the document is ignored.

If it is impossible to settle a land dispute of two clans using common land on the basis of inquiries of persons not implicated in the case, or on the basis of documents, it must be found out which side constructed buildings on the disputed land first, and to give an oath to this side.

423 The law of 1867 did not touch upon the land organization of
671 the natives at all. Now the code for the administration of the Turkestan area (the law of 12 June, 1886) establishes the land organi-

4:Grodekov--119 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/141/ CHAPTER IX.

673 Crimes. - Thievery. - Baranta. - The salavat and limitations - Syuyunchi.

There is no word for "crime" in the Kazakh language. Dzhaman is means evil deed. That all crimes are no other than evil deeds is, of course, only in the eyes of those injured. When the latter speak of violence (zorlyk) and torture (dzhabr) the transgressors of their interests boast of their own heroism (batyrlyk).

The word guna (sin, wrong) does not fit our concept of crime. In the epic of Gurûly beloved by the Kazakhs, among other things, Avaz-khan is called gunakar because he dripped a bowl. He is obliged to shoot a certain number of ducks because of this.

The people distinguish a bad act from a sin. Evil done to the detriment of religious rituals and certain forms of incest are a sin. Sin is considered more serious than crime, but according to the concepts of the majority, murder is considered more criminal than a minor sin.

The offender who is subjected to punishment is called aybdi, aybdar. The word "transgressor, criminal" is translated most closely into Kazakh by the word ury, thief.

673 695 The view of the customary law toward crime is extremely simple. Criminal acts which have been under examination or which continue, do not exist, when there is no plaintiff, or when the plaintiff retracts his suit. Therefore in all suits without exception a reconciliation is possible and the affair can be broken off by the plaintiff. Crimes which are known about by the aksakals, biis and the entire people, but /142/ on which no plaintiff declares himself(1)

1. In other words, an injury to people without a clan, or an injury to people of a clan of small numbers.

are not punished. It is obvious, that the judgments are governed not by a feeling of justice, nor by a religious feeling, but a desire to bring the sides to agreement and avoid civil war, also in part by the danger of injuring weak clans, which might join forces against the strong ones, and finally by unwillingness to destroy the foundations of family life, the clan principle, and those few customs and rules of nomadic life (zang, adat, rasm) which have been worked out over time and under which the people have lived well.

1 [Should be "dropped" -- A]

685 thief should pay the owner the difference in money. In this last case, and also when all the stolen livestock is paid for in money, care is taken that the animal should not be underevaluated, for otherwise the owner demands the exaction of an additional payment (tolyktyk) from the bii.

686 694 An animal recognized at the bazaar is not confiscated. The person who has brought it there must present the man from whom he received it; otherwise, if he declares it to be his own property, they go to the bii (Abdrakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

An animal which is recognized in the possession of an outside person, who did not steal it himself but bought it at the bazaar, is confiscated only if the person recognizing it proves by his personal oath, and the testimony of five (1) witnesses, and the oath of one

1. According to other information, seven witnesses.

witness that the recognized animal or other property actually belongs to him. The animal is not confiscated until the decision on the case. If a sheep is recognized in the possession of a man who bought it at a bazaar, neither testimony from witnesses nor a personal oath gives the owner the right to take it away, since the sale of sheep at a bazaar takes place without guarantors and there is no sidzhil' (2)

[695] 2. A copy of a decision of judges, kazis and other officials is called sidzhil'. According to this copy, a thing which is recognized by an outsider, who proves by the testimony of witnesses his right to it, is confiscated. A copy of such a judgment is given to the defendant, /166/ so that he can sue the person from whom he bought it for his losses. There is also a sidzhil' in civil suits for money. If an animal is confiscated by sidzhil' a karkara destroys the force of the sidzhil'.

The testimony of several persons, with their signature and seal, with the countersign of official persons is called a karkara. In this testimony it is explained that such and such an animal, with an exact description of it appended, constitutes the homebred property of such and such a person.

for them ordinarily. (Communicated by Yunusov).

685 /166/ Placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered to be stealing. According to Abdrakhman, this happens rarely. For

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his relatives appear and say to the volost official: "Give up this 672
thief to us. We will interrogate him well. If he is guilty of something we will make him pay for it. If he is innocent we will present you with proof" (bul uyyny bzning kolymyzga ber, muny abdan khub suralyk; algan bulsa, maldy alyb berelik, almagan bulsa, almagan iken dib sizdi isenterelik). In agreeing to give up the prisoner, the volost official takes a receipt (tilinen khat) for the fulfillment of the promises mentioned above.

The owner who has already received his property can receive 685
a supplementary atton from the thief. Sometimes the biis and aksakals among the relatives of the thief say: "He is innocent of other thefts (uzge maldan) take atton from him and give him a voucher for the fact that you will not open suit against him for anything lost" (falan vakytda dzhogalgan degen maldy suramaska), or else: "But if you are thinking of opening a suit, give us back the atton you took from us." They never take the atton anymore, however. This custom existed under the Kokandians and khans. In this way, as was explained above, the thief was often released without bringing him to a court examination (Torgai).

/169/ A candid confession does not lighten the punishment. 685
On the contrary, when the bii sees the offender acknowledging the 695
fact of his commission of the crime without shame, he may considere him a hardened ruffian or a professional thief and impose a higher fine because of this, or punishment by whipping. (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

The plaintiff for his part, seeing that the defendant confesses from honesty and straightforwardness (er iken, muynyna, alyb otur, chinin aytty) can resign from the whole suit or part of it (Perovsk uyezd).

When there is a voluntary confession (azamat iken, uzi kelib aytty), with or without a court summons, the punishment can be reduced, and in view of repentence, completely forgiven, but only with the consent of the plaintiff (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a defendant denies the fact of his confession at a previous interrogation by a village elder, confirmed by a written act, the biis consider it possible to require a purificatory oath, as with a simple disavowal.

Stealing with house-breaking or without house-breaking, from 685
a trunk and from an open place are punished alike (Torgai). (1) There

1. According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 81, the easier a theft is, the more shameful it is considered. On this basis

The thief himself cannot receive syuyunchi, even though he also brought back the lost animal. 431

Kinsmen cannot demand syuyunchi.

If someone receives syuyunchi for promising either to find the animal or to detect the thief (muynyna koyib beremen), and after that if he does not succeed in accomplishing the one thing or the other, he returns the syuyunchi received in one and a half times the amount.

The bit aygak (personal witness) who discovers a murder receives one-fifth of the wergeld as a reward. For the discovery of or informing about thieves 4 tillias are given for a horse, and 8 tillias for a camel. 431 695 The witness is awarded the amount indicated only if he himself, in the presence of the biis, indicates the thieves. In order to confirm the witness's accusation of the person indicated by him as having committed the misdemeanor or crime, the biis sitting in judgment require the accused to choose persons from the side of the witness to take an oath (1) that he has actually indicated the guilty person. But

1. The choosing of persons from the witness's side to take the oath takes place in the same order as the selection of persons from the side of the defendant.

if /175/ the accusation of the person indicated by the witness is not confirmed after the admission for the oath by the persons chosen, the accuser pays back the person from whom he received syuyunchi in an amount double what he received. (Absaliamov, Chimkent uyezd).

/176/ CHAPTER X

The organization of the peoples court by the law of 1867. - The rank and position of the biis. - Arbitration. - The order of selection of cases. - Attorneys. - Witnesses. - Guarantors. - Concrete evidence. - Payment of the bii /biilyk/ . - Losses and expenses. - The organization of the people's court by the law of June 12, 1886. 692

Among the Kazakhs the people's court was organized in the following manner on the basis of the law of 1867.

The people's court is the examination of cases according to folk customs by chosen judges - biis.

The following types of courts were organized: 1) the individual court of the biis, 2) the volost session of biis, and 3) the extraordinary

before an exact knowledge of customary law, especially since now every bii has his own devices, which often contradict each other (chatak). 693

The biis used to be judged by other biis or clan heads, but now they are tried on the common basis.

Bad language, yelling and scuffling in court is prosecuted by the biis. No prosecution is made for infliction of wounds in court if the wounded person was guilty, but if the guilty person causes the wounds, he is liable to the payment of the same fine which is imposed for the same crime committed outside the court. [687] 683

The punishment is not made heavier for murder and fighting before the court.

If someone dishonors the bii in words, they rebuke him saying: "Your tongue touched upon the bii" (biige tiling tiidi), and he is forced to ask forgiveness, but no fine is imposed, the more so because the bii hesitates to enter a suit concerning this. 693 683

/180/ The wergeld is not changed for the murder of a bii, but a larger fine is imposed for wounding him than for wounding a private individual. There is no prosecution for blows inflicted on a bii, if he owed money, but for unjust blows a fine is imposed which is higher than the usual one. For the exaction of these higher fines it is necessary 1) that the act be proven, and 2) that the person guilty of injuring the bii should be from the district /okrug/ of that bii. The injury of a bii from a strange village is prosecuted in the same way as the injury of an ordinary person.

The word mekhkeme, i. e., tribunal or court chamber, was not used in former times. This is now the name for the place or tent designated by the bii for the admission and examination of complaints in the Perovsk and Auliye-Ata uyezds. The biis sit on felt (tekemet), in the place of honor in the tent or room - the "tur", which is opposite the entrance, and before them on the ground are the plaintiff, the defendant and other persons who have been called in. In general, however, the examination of cases takes place anywhere and at any convenient opportunity. The court is where they find the bii, be this in the road, on a visit, or at a bazaar. The most precious convenience to the nomads lies in this simplicity of the conditions of a court. An experienced bii has his book of decisions and his seal with him in all places at all times. 695

The bii first hears and enters into his book the complaint of the plaintiff (dagvager), and then gives the floor to the defendant (dzhuabger tanbys) or to the witnesses. All those called to the court

interrogation explain themselves not only to the bii, but also among themselves until the actual announcement of the decision. During these negotiations the bii learns the desires and opinions concerning the settlement of the case in various ways, by requiring an oath from one side or another or from a certain number of tents, after eliminating a certain number of "disputable ones" from among them. The bii bases his decision upon these negotiations.

If the trial is held by two or more biis, the biis withdrew from those present to confer among themselves.

In former times when the sides were satisfied with the decision, /181/ each held one end of a colorful rope (aladzhip), which was cut by the bii deciding the case as a sign of final division. When the ritual of cutting the "colored rope" (aladzhip kyrkpak) or "the twig" (chibyk kispek) had been carried out after the decision of a case by a bii or outside person, the case was not accepted for reexamination (khukmdi buzmak) by a bii or a khan, if it was simply proven that this ritual had been carried out.

Without this ritual, a case which had been decided by a private person in the capacity of a court of arbitration could be reexamined by a bii of the white bone but only on condition that the reigning khan was of a clan of the same white bone. In general a case decided by a bii could be reexamined by a khan. Complaints addressed directly to the khan, by-passing the biis, were either examined by him personally, or else, by his order, by a bii from his suite. The khan took a payment (khanlyk) of approximately one-tenth of the suit for his judgment of the case.

In cases of wergeld, instead of cutting the twig there was a custom of cutting the tail (kuyruk kisti). The bii cut the tail of a calf which was held by the two ends /sic/ by the plaintiff and the defendant, and received the calf as his biilyk, and he was then obliged to testify to the existence of the pacification in case of need.

Now the place of the aladzhip is taken by a voucher from both sides, consenting to everything adjudged by the bii (nendey khukm kylsa razy men). The reexamination of the case according to circumstances discovered after the first decision is possible only when, by force of the new circumstances; the guilty party is led to confess (muynyna salsa), otherwise the decision remains in force (bishim bolyb kalady). (1)

1. In his Notes on the Kazakh Court, I. Ibragimov says: Those who are dissatisfied with the decision of the judge

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or the clan chief wait patiently for a large gathering or a memorial service, to which they go, usually taking with them an elder from their village or of their clan, and this elder must defend their complaint before the gathering, and a reexamination which is considered final depends on this gathering. Torgai notes concerning this custom: Biis and elders are both at memorial services, and therefore both dissatisfied sides go there. A bii himself sends them there for pacification, but the host of the feast or memorial service forbids the settlement of court cases lest the celebration be spoiled (buzul masyn).

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A bii does not enter into the examination of a civil case unless he is turned to.

/182/ In former times a bii who knew of a crime concerning which no complaint had been presented could make an investigation of it on an equal footing with aksakals and respected persons (yakhsy ksiler), for the satisfaction of the sufferer.

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A bii can refuse to examine a case, especially for bad people. On the other hand, persons dependant on the bii, now excluding those serving him as well, can also refuse to be examined by him (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If a trial takes place under a bii from the volost of the defendant, and both sides are dissatisfied by his decision, they can turn to an outside person (khalis ksi) or to a bii from another uyezd, but on doing so they must compose a written document (saldym kagaz) concerning the choice of the bii, as a result of which the trial becomes one of arbitration, and final. Otherwise they can turn to a volost official, who either refuses or consents to designate a new examination, but this time not from a single bii but from three or four.

If the plaintiff and the defendant are of different volosts, in the Kurama uyezd it is the custom to choose any bii of a third volost as arbitrating bii.

A court of arbitration (triteski sot), from which it is impossible to appeal, is considered in the present official Kazakh language to be an examination by biis, which is preceded by a document from the sides concerning the choice of the bii or biis, and consent to the decision which they will decree.

If both sides were from one volost it is difficult to appeal. It is easier if they are from different volosts, because the biis are suspected of partiality toward those in their jurisdiction.

For an extraordinary session /Russ. chrezvychainyi s"ezd/

692 (kurulachak s"ez, chirizvichaynoy s"ez), one bii was sent for from every volost in the uyezd, according to the election of the biis of the given volost. Every bii who wanted to get into the session, as Torgai expresses it, gave the electors, the biis, a bribe of 2 to 4 rubles each. If there were many who wanted to go, they cast lots (shek salady) among themselves. The person to whom /183/ the lot fell (shek tusken) paid his electors the money mentioned. After this they elected him with the affixing of a seal, and he departed for the session.

There was no prosecution for a bii's refusal to take part in the examination at the session.

Not more than two or three biis are challenged from the session by declaration of the plaintiff, because of their kinship, matchmaking, acquaintance with the defendant, or the receiving of bribes. In a court of arbitration there are not supposed to be challenges because each side chooses its biis itself. For false suspicion (usek suz) in relation to a bii (kinship with the opposing side, bribes, etc.) punishment is not customary.

The declaration of the challenge of a bii is not accepted after the judgment of a case by the session.

695 The meeting considers the decision being appealed and all the papers relating to the case: acts, documents,(1) reports. It

1. In an official document of a debt, the year, month and day it is issued are indicated; the period in which it is to be paid; the sum, including the interest, calculated by the period over which it is to be paid; its authentication by the village head, etc.

The sum which is recorded in the document is sentenced to be paid.

If the person who presented the document and the guarantors mentioned in it disclaim it, but the plaintiff and the bii recognize it, it remains in force without the assignment of an oath. In just the same way, if one of three persons presenting such a document recognizes it, it remains in force.

hears out the declarations of the opposing sides, and recalls, if necessary, those witnesses whose testimony was already mentioned in the decision under review, while also taking new evidence into equal consideration. In land disputes they ride out to inspect the

localities.

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In recent times it has come into custom and is considered "according to customary law" at the meetings to declare a judgment by default (sirt khukm, sirt kesik) after the defendant has failed to appear twice. This was not in the old customary law. There are always complaints concerning judgments by default, with the declaration that "the biis did not act according to customary law."

In their decrees the biis must state clearly what /184/ the petitioner sought and what was adjudged in his favor, or how the case ended, and especially to record the biilyk established for the judgment.

A copy of the judgment, cut out from the book (1) must be

1. There is a model of the form of the bii's book in Supplement No. 6.

given to the person in whose favor the case was ended, in final form, as a result of swearing or not swearing the oath, if an oath was assigned.

A copy is given to the unsatisfied side, if it declares dissatisfaction with the judgment from one bii of over 100 rubles, or after a theft, at the volost session, for a suit for over 100 rubles, or for baranta or for murder.

When he receives the copy the receiver must write a receipt in the book on the reverse side of the report.

In the copies they report briefly and clearly: the content of the suit without explaining the testimony of the opposing sides; the judgment with an exact indication of the sum exacted and the biilyk; the time when the judgment must be carried out; the year, month and day of the judgment; the number and the book from which it is cut out; the affixing of the seal.

According to Amanbai, the weak are subjected to injustices and force at the volost sessions, which assemble in the steppe. 695

In the opinion of sultan Babagaliev, (2) only Kazakhs of their 661

2. Lieutenant of the army infantry, Kazakh of the Perovsk uyezd.

own volost and persons of means receive satisfaction at a volost session. Indeed the biis of the extraordinary session hesitate still less than the biis of the lower instances, knowing that the judgment of the extraordinary session is final. On the eve of the court session they

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simply bargain with the litigants on the amount of the bribes. (3)

3. Sultan Babagaliev advises, among other things, the following measure: to call together half of all the biis in the uyezd to the uyezd government and all the volost administrators; from their number the uyezd chiefs would designate one volost official as chairman every day, and one bii apiece from each volost as members of the court, and would seat them in special quarters where outside persons should not be admitted, so that biis not invited to judge (dzhanbas bii) would not interfere with the case, as often happens. The strength of the measure proposed lies in the fact that neither the biis nor the litigants should know /185/ which biis would examine which case. They should discover this immediately before the beginning of the examination. At these sessions it is necessary that the uyezd chief or his assistant should make certain that the biis do not postpone a case to the next day, which is the equivalent of receiving bribes.

/185/ The extortion of bribes (para) by the biis may take place before outside persons or in private. In the latter case the bii hints in the following manner: "This case depends entirely on me. Other biis would take so and so much money, but I take nothing." Then with the mediation of his man the bii can make himself understood more openly to the defendant: "You are right. They will discover the justice of your case and impose an oath on those who exonerate you." (ak sen aklykka shygarady, dzhandy uzing shygatugun dzheringe salady). He says to the plaintiff: "We will require an oath from the side which does not acquit him. We will determine a larger fine for you. We will also sentence him to pay the court costs and produce the penalty for you without delay. You are losing nothing, but give us what you can"(dzhandy chykpaytugun dzherge salamyz, aybyngdy kubeytamiz, yana chygyndy onyng muynyna salamyz, yana toktausiz mal [illegible]underib beremiz, sen kuymeysen, bizge beretuguningdi ber) (Torgai). Later the judgment is decreed on behalf of the side which gave the most. (1)

1. This is included as an example. It is obvious that extortion by the biis is not a kind of common occurrence which invariably accompanies bii justice.

695 661

The volost administrators also influence the judgment. If a a volost official is protecting the defendant, the bii imposes an oath on the group of fifty of the defendant, when it was necessary to impose it on a village. He does this so that there will be a greater probability of the appearance of the juror (shygatugun dzher), for in a close circle there are fewer enemies, and even these are challenged as "disputables." The bii declares: "Say first of all who your enemies are or the disputable ones." The defendant names two or three persons.

If the plaintiff enjoys the favor of a volost official, the defendant is brought forward at once, and the bii imposes an oath the village of the defendant instead of the group of fifty. Later, when the disputable persons are challenged, the defendant is required to prove that the persons challenged actually had been involved in litigation with him at some time.

/186/ If the bii is not decided on doing what is pleasing to the volost official, the latter encourages him with the words: "Do not be afraid of an appeal. The exaction will be taken care of before then, and after that we will see somehow" (sizning khukmingiz buzulgancha dzhuaberdgan mal tulenib kalady).

When a bii learns that the volost official received a bribe from the defendant while he himself only received a bribe from the plaintiff, he sends to the defendant to receive a bribe before deciding the case in his favor. If by now the defendant will no longer give the bii anything, the bii judges the case in favor of the plaintiff, figuring in this way: "I have rendered a service to the plaintiff, my affair is closed. Let the volost official change my decision." But if a copy of the sentence has already been given out, a reversal of the decision of the bii can follow only by means of a volost session, and the volost official is left to paralyze the judgment by not carrying out the exaction or evaluating the object of the exaction at higher than its real value (Torgai).

For an unjust decision of one bii, overruled by many biis, the first is not prosecuted. (1) But if it is proven, with the help of 687

1. In Kazalinsk in 1887 there was a case in which a judge was badly beaten by a defendant for an unjust decision. The complaint by the bii against the offender, as an act during the fulfillment of the duties of office, was transferred to a court of arbitration, which sentenced the offender to three

694 dzhing iohinde). As an excuse they use the saying:
683 "quarreling and scuffling is a path which has existed since ancient times" (uruspak talaspak burunnan kalgan yul).

Since signs on the face are visible, they set value on the face, and they say to the offender: "you put a brand on my moon-like face" (ayday betime tamga saldyng), i. e., you mutilated my clear face. A wound on the arm for example is not important, unless a bone is broken (Torgai).

694 A rider can beat the person being summoned, in order to force him to go faster. A wound inflicted during this is not prosecuted.

When the volost official delays the summoning of the litigants and the witnesses, and the biis delay the examination of a case, the defendant hastens to declare a suit completely like the suit of the plaintiff (karsy dau, karsyma karsy dau). This is also done at the time of the examination of the case, sometimes /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: A session of the people's court: the plaintiff, bii Akhmet Turgaev, bii Chekaman Iskenev, bii Chokai Turgaev, the defendant. Drawing by Akhmatov. /A/189/ also by the witnesses. But the biis avert such a suit. Exceptions to this are suits concerning animals recognized at a bazaar.

695 Mutual suits between quarreling kinsmen remain without consequence because of their extreme complication, or are led to pacification "in view of kinship." When it is impossible either to avert or pacify, then an oath is required from each litigant on his suit (Perovsk uyezd).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, in mutual suits without witnesses two propitiatory oaths are given: one to the plaintiff himself, and the other to the defendant himself (bas basyna - on the head of each of them), the first on the suit which was declared earliest, the second on the cross bill. A biilyk is taken for each of these suits, but only when the suit is made good. Otherwise the biis limit themselves to collecting for the affixing of their seals (mukhrane).

If a part of a suit is shown to be just, it still does not follow from this that the entire suit is just. The part of the suit which is subject to suspicion must be approached as though it were a special suit.

The combination of crimes is not taken into consideration. Every crime is judged separately.

If a suit touches upon two objects which are usually not found in one place, the suit is divided (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

7 [Not reproduced--A]

Often the first plaintiff is joined by a second, in order to get 695
an easy profit because of the conviction in the first case. Therefore the case of each plaintiff and each defendant must be examined specially.

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Attorneys (vakil) already existed under the khans. They were 693
also called "those who buy suits" (daumy satyb algan).

According to Zagriazhskii, (1) minors and insane persons cannot

1. Materialy dlia Statistiki Turkestanskago Kraia /Materials for Staistics of the Turkestan Region/, Pt. IV, pp. 194, 195.

be attorneys. The attorneys must convince the biis that the conducting of the case is specifically entrusted to them. They must /190/ be present during the testimony of the opposing side, and they procure the fine which is exacted for their principals. If the sender of the [676] trusted person is sentenced to a fine or to corporal punishment the sentence is carried out on the sender. The sender of the trusted person can protest against the judgment of the bii, if his agent abused his trust.

According to another source, the constituent can refuse the settlement of the agent in whom he has trusted, if the former has not given a written warrant.

Warrants are not the custom in the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to the communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, but persons are admitted who know how to speak in court. Such persons never appear in court without their clients.

During the swearing of an oath, only the plaintiff or only the constituent (ak iese) was present according to customary law, and this is still true today. The person entrusted by the constituent is never present during the oath of the opposing side.

Every man who has reached his majority who has seen or knows 695
of a crime is admitted to give the testimony of a witness. A true (nagz) witness (aygak, gua) is considered to be he who has brought in the captured thief with the goods, or has taken the stolen goods away from him together with a horse and a coat, or has received syuyunchi from the owner before the people and the authorities (Perovsk uyezd).

Informers are divided into those who are open(bet aygak) and those who denounce behind the back (syrt aygak). The former are called to prove the truth of their words face to face with the thief.

695 The latter only inform as to who did the crime and under what circumstances, but do not wish to be witnesses in the examination of the case. They say: "We speak behind the back, we cannot speak eye to eye" (sirtinen aytamyz, betinen aytalmaymiz), according to bii Sultan. According to Aleksandrov, custom does not approve of denunciations concerning crimes, and informers are always under suspicion in their communities, according to the proverb: "a thief has one cheek black, but an informer has two."

/191/ The testimony of witnesses is confirmed by oath, not by them but by their sides, i. e., the clan or community (Perovsk uyezd).

If there is no information and no trace of stealing and a man appears who declares that he knows the thief and takes syuyunchi from the victims, and the thief, who has not confessed, begins to be tried, the man who has received syuyunchi is obliged to furnish an oath from his relatives for the amount of the stolen property. If he does this and thereby proves the theft and forces the guilty ones to pay, the victim of the theft receives only the property stolen from him and the syuyunchi given the accuser. The fine exacted (ayb) goes to the accuser. (Bii Sagyndykov, Chimkent uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the witness himself does not swear an oath. His close kinsman (yanasha) takes the oath for him, even though he be a bii or a volost administrator.

If the veracity of the witness is unquestionable, i. e., if the thief was caught in the act, if they took a coat and horse from the thief, and if the witnesses are very respected persons or those who have power, then their words are believed without oath. The imposition of an oath from them is generally avoided, out of respect to persons who enjoy position in the community. When there is, nevertheless, a basis for not believing their words, an oath is required from the side of one of the litigants, as the custom is in trials without witnesses.

If the guilty parties do not confess, even when the testimony of the plaintiffs are confirmed by witnesses, an oath is imposed on them.

If a witness compromises himself by his testimony, for example, saying that he permitted the defendant to tether the stolen camels, when at the same time the defendant is denying this, the biis still do not see their partnership in stealing as proven. In such a case they either leave the defendant to swear a purificatory oath,

after which the witness appears as the thief, or give the oath to the witness to defend him from chances, i. e. a false oath of the defendant (Mikebai).

If a father indertakes to prove the innocence of his son, /192/ he is called a witness, and they give him a period of time in which to find the thief, after which, if he has been unsuccessful, he is sentenced to pay the sum of the suit (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

A mother and other female relatives are permitted to give testimony as witnesses, but they do not furnish oaths. For this reason when they see a crime committed, women as well as minors call in grown men if possible as witnesses.

According to Umurbek (Auliye-Ata uyezd), witnesses in the full sense of the word cannot be 1) minors, insofar as they actually are unable to be convincing; 2) persons who have a bad reputation, for their testimony does not carry weight; 3) women, concerning outside affairs, and 4) madmen - under all conditions. E. A. Aleksandrov adds to this list persons of illegitimate birth, whose testimony as witnesses is given no credence at all in the Kazalinsk uyezd.

Servants testifying in favor of their masters are not taken into consideration. Servants who testify against their masters, not maliciously but in good faith, are taken into account but are not permitted to take an oath.

No special significance is attached (muncha iltifat kylmaydy), to persons who bear witness on behalf of their kinsmen, in view of their kinship ties (tuuskandyk klady, yakyndyk kylady). If they bear witness against them, and if, because of their integrity, they are deserving of trust, the case is decided on the basis of their words, without an oath. If they are bad people, they are not believed, but oaths are not required. The closer the kinship, the less they are permitted to swear an oath.

If each of the litigating sides has its witness, they permit the one who gives the most reasonable and well-grounded testimony (br meme sebebi bar iken) to confirm his testimony by oath, and the one who is less bound by kinship to his side.

Formerly the witnesses gave testimony without oath. Now /193/ witnesses are almost never interrogated without requiring an oath from their side, because the plaintiff is not satisfied without this.

If there are several witnesses, after they have all been interrogated an oath is required from one of them or two, depending on the sum of the suit, but only from one side, by the selection of the

•695 opposing side, for example, of the defendant (dagvagerining tanglauyncha).

The interrogation of witnesses with an oath is necessary in criminal cases, naturally, only when the defendant pleads not guilty. In civil suits if a witness was not only present, but was also invited as a witness in the conclusion of an agreement, the transmission of money, etc., he gives testimony without an oath, even though the defendant denies his guilt. Once both sides have agreed on one and the same witness, the case is decided on the basis of his words, and one side can no longer bring an exception against it afterwards.

The refusal of a witness, not from support of his own words, but of the solemn confirmation of them by presenting the oath, is now considered as a conviction of his side (Umurbek).

According to Torgai, an oath is required from a witness when the litigant declares him to be partial (spur, i. e., disputable).

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67½ There are two kinds of guarantors: 1) tankefil' (1) or erefil',

1. According to Aleksandrov, tankefil' means unfaithful, so that it should be pronounced tanykefil'.

2) zarkefil' or malkefil'. The former engage themselves to present for confrontation (taub beredi): suspects who are under investigation and trial, or thieves or criminals, including those under sentence, and also in the case of non-fulfillment of some sort of pact. The latter are held responsible with their property when such persons fail to fulfill pacts and obligations. Guarantors of the second type are usually karavanbashis, while guarantors of the first type are the relatives who take a thief from the hands of the volost official for correction.

Both types of guarantors are characterized, according to Makovetskii and according to bii Sultan, by the saying: "a guarantor dies for a man, /194/ and pays for property" (erge kefil' uledi, malga kefil' tuleydi).

Both sides can have one and the same guarantor. The death of a debtor (karzdar) for whom a zarkefil' has been guarantor, does not relieve the latter from his property resposibilty for the deceased. A guarantor who has paid for the obligations of a negligent or deceased debtor can open a suit for the exaction of the losses from the heir.

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The tankefil' is not held resposible for the death of a man released on bail. If he flees, the tankefil' is sentenced to the same sentence which had been imposed on the person who fled. But according to Aleksandrov, the tankefil' is held responsible according to agreement.

When a middle man becomes a zarkefil', both sides pay him kafiliane for this. This happens in obligations of debt.

If a person who has bought stolen property unknowingly has it confiscated, he turns to the person who sold it to him. If the seller declares that he did not sell it, and there were no witnesses present, then they require him to swear an oath to clear himself. The guarantor pays after the oath is sworn. If the guarantor denies that he guaranteed it, they also require him to swear a purificatory oath.

Sometimes the owner of a thing given out in debt touched the arm (bilek - from the elbow to the wrist of the arm) of the guarantor. If the fact of this contact is beyond doubt, on this basis the bii sentences the guarantor to pay the debt because of the insolvency of the debtor (Perovsk uyezd).

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Among the convincing proofs in a trial are: the confession of the defendant, contradiction of testimonies during interrogation, the generally known corruption of the accused, his disposition for lying, the absence of definite occupations, capture on the spot of the crime, the finding of the lost property with the defendant, fresh tracks leading from the place of the crime to his tent, his flight from the trial, his non-appearance at the trial, the testimony of witnesses, every sort of written document, etc. In the Perovsk uyezd one case of wergeld was broken off on the basis of the testimony of a Russian doctor that death was by natural causes, and not /195/ the consequence of blows. In the Kazalinsk uyezd the chief of the uyezd transferred the case of Suleiman Burdzhanov, who lost an eye in a fight, to an extraordinary session, on the testimony of a Russian doctor. (1)

1. In the Kazalinsk uyezd there was a case in which biis required wergeld in spite of the testimony of a doctor who stated that the loss of the eye was due to illness.

Convincing evidence loses force when the defendant denies the fact of confession, capture, the finding of tracks, the giving out of

695 written documents, etc. For this reason the capture of a thief on the spot of a crime, the confiscation of the stolen goods from him, the finding of fresh tracks, etc. must be immediately reported to the authorities or to the senior people in the village.

If all the testimony of a litigant is based on a certain circumstance which is later shown to be false, this is enough to decide the case against him.

Material proof, such as a bloody knife, does not have great importance in the court of the biis, for the blood could be the blood of a sheep, etc.

When a judge, after a precise (ayrmachyk) and impartial examination (tiksharyb karaganymyzda) of the evidence presented, convinces himself of the degree of guilt or innocence of the persons examined, for example, the defendant, then without regard to the latter's firm assertion that he is innocent of the charge (dagvasynan saumen, aman ben), the judge decrees the judgment without oath. The same is done among the Kirgiz.

When a judge believes he finds innocence or guilt from the evidence presented, but will not take resposibility on himself for his opinion, he assigns an oath to be sworn by the side of the witness, i. e., his community or clan, and rarely by the witness himself. A bii assigns an oath to be sworn by one of the litigating sides only when there are absolutely no witnesses or because it is either impossible or inconvenient to require an oath from them.

A suit is not dismissed for lack of evidence, because the plaintiff is not obliged to prove the justice of his suit. On the contrary, the defendant is obliged to prove his innocence. From this it is understandable why /196/ the situation of the defendant is called "nashar", helpless, and he is given the possibility of confirming his words by an oath from his side, for the sake of mitigation. In general the assignment of an oath from a certain side can under certain circumstances make things easier for that side.

It is said in Makovetskii, I p. 69: Even though convinced that a denunciation is false, the bii nevertheless continues his examination of a case and assigns an oath from the accused. Sultan Kanaev reports that in this case the biis ask the plaintiff whether he still insists on his suit or not (osyny suraysyn be ya suramaysyn), and if he insists, then an oath is assigned. But fraudulent suits concerning the theft of money should be dropped without consequence without asking the plaintiff. "In general all suits concerning the theft of money are false, for how could money be taken from anyone without killing him or wounding him?" added bii Sultan Kanaev.

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692 in the volost.

Any person of the inhabitants of the volost can be elected to
692 the people's courts who enjoys the respect and trust of the people,
693 and who has[1] been subject by sentence of the court, to punishments in excess of arrest for seven days or monetary fine of 30 rubles, who is not under judicial examination or under trial, and who is no less than 25 years of age.

The elections for the people's courts take place by a volost meeting of the electors, who are chosen by village meetings with one for every 50 heads of houses.

Two candidates are elected for every office of the court. The confirmation of one of them for the office of the judge and the other as a candidate for it depends on the governor, who designates new elections in case neither of these persons is confirmed. In the case of absence, illness or death of the judge, the candidate for the position carries out his duties, with the permission of the governor.

The people's judges receive payment on the basis of the customs existing on this matter.

The people's judges are equipped with special insignia to be worn when they are carrying out their official duties, as well as their official seals and books for the recording of judgments and deeds.

The close supervision of the keeping of the books is a duty of the uyezd chief, but meanwhile the responsibility for lack of observation of the established order falls upon the judges and chairmen of the sessions, according to who is concerned.

The people's judges are transferred /205/ to trial by the regional authorities for criminal breach of trust, on the basis of the decrees of the code of criminal law procedure which determine the order of arraignment of persons of the administrative department.

The people's court constitutes: a) courts presided over by one person, b) sessions of judges, and c) extraordinary sessions of judges.

692 All cases, both criminal and civil, begin before a single judge.
695 But the litigants have the choice, by mutual consent, to turn directly to a session for the examination of their cases, avoiding the single judges, and likewise to outside persons, whom the litigants entrust with the settlement of their disputes. The judgments of the chosen mediators are final, no matter how large the value of the suit is.

The mutual agreement of the litigants on the choice of mediators must be entered into a special book established for this purpose in the volost, and signed by the litigants. The judgments

1 [Should be "has not been" - A.]

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of the mediators are also recorded in the same book, which are signed and confirmed by both the seals of the mediators and of the litigants.

The people's courts of the nomadic population proceed to examine cases upon the complaints of private persons or upon a cummunication from the volost administrator or the uyezd chief. When the litigants disagree on the choice of a judge, the case is decided by a judge indicated by the plaintiff, but meanwhile the defendant is allowed to challenge two judges. [694]

The decisions of judges, involving sentences of no more than 30 rubles, and no more than seven days of arrest, are recognized as final and are not liable to appeal.

The decisions of the judge are announced to both sides, with the issuance of copies of the decision in case of demand, authenticated by the affixing of the official seals of the judges.

The people's courts may hear testimony concerning every sort of deed and agreement among the natives subject to their court, with the exception of settlements concerning immovable property, when the right of property in them is confirmed by deeds made out under the force of the general laws of the empire.

/206/ Deeds issued by the people's courts must be signed by the sides in their own hands, or for illiterates, by no less than two trusted persons and witnesses. They confirm the signature and the official seal of the people's court authenticating it, and they are recorded to the letter in the corded /shnurovia/ book, under the appropriate number in the sequence.

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Sessions of judges are called together in every volost, and are made up of all the judges, although a session is considered legally constituted when no less than three judges are participating. The sessions are called together when needed, at times determined in advance by the uyezd chief. The sessions take place in the presence of the volost administrator, whose duty it is to pay special attention to decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The people's judges appearing at the session elect a chairman from among them, who directs the order of examination of the cases.

Cases of complaints concerning inconclusive decisions of single judges are subject to the jurisdiction of the sessions of the people's judges. The judgments of the sessions count as final, with the exception of judgments decreed in excess of their authority or in cases not subject to their authority.

It is considered the duty of the sessions of the people's judges

692 to encourage cases concerning the dismissal from official duties and bringing to trial those of their members who permitted clear abuses in their judgments. The uyezd chief presents the decrees on this subject to the oblast government.

The delivery to the sessions of the defendants and witnesses is the duty of the village authorities.

Complaints concerning unfinal decisions of single judges are transmitted in a period of two weeks from the day of the announcement of the decision to the volost administrator, for presentation to the session. After the opening of the session these complaints can be transmitted to the session itself.

[695] The people's court is carried on aloud and publicly.

/207/ Extraordinary sessions of the people's courts are designated, by order of the governor, for the judgment of cases in which residents of various uyezds or volosts are involved , as well as for the review of intercessions of the people's courts and their sessions on the banishment of the persons under sentence. The extraordinary sessions are composed of the judges of those volosts from which the litigants come or the persons under sentence, with no less than one judge from a volost.

The designation of the judges for an extraordinary session, except for those elected by the litigants, is done by the uyezd chief. Judges who have participated in previous sessions within a year take part only at their own wish.

Extraordinary sessions of the courts take place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd in which the session meets, or an official specially commandeered for this purpose. The duty of these official persons is exclusively to see to the decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The extraordinary sessions of the people's courts act on the basis of the rules established for ordinary sessions.

[693] People's judges, who are absent from a session, ordinary or extraordinary, without legally acceptable reasons, are subject to a monetary fine of 10 rubles, by order of the uyezd chief, which can be appealed to the governor within a period of a month. These fines go for the building of places of confinement.

696 The carrying into execution of the decisions of the people's court is laid upon the volost administrators and village elders, under the supervision of the uyezd chief. Copies of the decisions carried out, with a note of their fulfillment, are preserved with the volost administrators. Persons carrying out the decisions, as well as the uyezd chiefs supervising them, are subject to legal responsibility and the reparation for damages for slowness and improper action in this connection.

/208/ CHAPTER XI. The Oath.

In the most recent times the oath (dzhan, guman, ant, kasam) has acquired extreme popularity. In ancient times it was given only for purification from the charge of spilling blood (Aviz, of the Perovsk uyezd). 695

Only persons who have reached their majority can swear, because children do not understand the significance of the oath (dzhan kadryn bil'meydi). However children are permitted to swear by ignorant biis (Torgai).

The oath is rarely sworn in the Chimkent uyezd by the Dulaty and Chul'sirgeli clans (the steppe Sirgeli, of the El'bay, Yangabay, Akkungurdek, Aytbozym and Dzhaydak lineages), and the Bistangaly clan ("the five brands": Sirgeli, Isty, Oshakty, Dzhalair and Shaprashty).

The side which is required to swear eliminates several (the number is indicated in the bii's decree) persons or tents from the community designated for the oath, under the name of "disputables", whom it is impossible to choose to be among those to take the oath. Of the remaining number, the opposing side, i. e., the plaintiff and the defendant, "seize for the oath" (dzhan, dzhanga ustaydy), i. e., indicate the person who must "give" (bermek, utkuzmek) the oath.

According to Baymet Sagyndykov, in former times the side which was sentenced to the oath had the right to indicate persons, so-called kolshy, who themselves already chose who were to swear. But with the transfer of the Turkestan region to Russian dominion, this custom lost its force, as a consequence of which the number of fraudulent suits increased. (1) Sagyndykov suggests /209/ that if this

1. As will be evident from the account below, the institution of the kolshy still exists in several places.

customary law were introduced there would be far fewer false suits.

A time limit is established for the designation of those who are to swear. A period of time is also given for swearing the oath. The time limt for the choice of the juror is usually three days, if his community is a short distance away, or up to fifty days if it is far away, even extending to the return from the summer camps. The time for the taking of the oath is given for a longer period than for the selection of the juror, for in the former case, the period of time has the purpose of giving the juror a full opportunity to become acquainted with all the circumstances of the case and to know all the

• 695 opinions for and against it, while in the latter case, the time period is only in view of the distance of the community to which a person must go personally for the choice of the juror. Letting one of the dates lapse means the loss of the case.

The chosen person is told of the place where he must appear for the taking of the oath at a certain time, indicated in the decree of the bii.

The extension of the period for the taking of the oath is permitted as is stated in one document, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat", for valid reasons, for example, because of the illness of the juror, attested by trustworthy persons. For the decree of the postpnement of this oath, which has not yet "gone rotten" (sasymaydy), i. e., has not become impossible, the bii establishes a special document (Perovsk uyezd).

According to Torgai, if the juror allows the time for the oath to expire because of great distance or an unfortunate accident, the court decrees the judgment of the case to be lost to his side. But if the juror appears immediately after the decree of the judgment and explains the reason for the delay, he is not deprived of the right to swear.

The refusal or the flight of the juror from the oath indicates that his side is in the wrong and loses the case, "falls", (zhygylady).

If on the day of the oath the juror announces that he is completely unacquainted with the litigants, has come there himself only recently, /210/ and could not investigate anything, and therefore will not accept the oath on his responsibility, his side nevertheless loses, for the juror should have announced this exceptional situation at the time when he was chosen or before the elapse of the period, and the litigants should have eliminated him as one of the disputables.

If a man has been chosen among the jurors when it is not known whether he is at home or not, the defendant must tell the bii of his uncertainty there and then. When, on the injunction of the bii, he has procured proof (isentirib) that the juror has departed, the defendant receives a longer period in which to bring him in, depending on the distance involved. If the plaintiff does not wish to wait a long time, they allow him to choose another juror.

When the person chosen refuses, on the basis that although he lives in the community from which the oath is required, he belongs in the registers of another community, (1) and has no wish to condemn

1. Such a man is called kurcheles.

or exonerate the accused by his refusal, a new choice of a juror is permitted in a new period.

If the heirs of a murdered man desire, for the wergeld, to put an oath upon four men, then from the side of the defendant the biis must designate four persons as kolshi, who are obliged to furnish four accepters of the oath at a place indicated by the judges, to carry out the swearing of the oath imposed on them. In this case, if even one of the kolshi fails to appear or does not leave his village within the designated time, the guilty side must pay the wergeld. In case one of the swearers of the oath does not appear on time, however, at the designated place, the petition of the seekers of the wergeld is abandoned without consequence. If one or two of the persons who have accepted the taking of the oath are ill or have gone away somewhere they must present certification of this with the seals of outside trustworthy persons. Then the biis must designate a second period of time with an indication of the place where the takers of the oath must appear. But if they also fail to appear the second time and do not take the oath, then the suit for the wergeld is considered to be fraudulent. In /211/ case one or two of the kolshi from the side of the defendants fail to appear in the time designated, the latter side must pay the wergeld, regardless of whether the takers of the oath appeared. If one or two of the kolshi falls ill or is absent in a distant place, they are obliged to present certification of this from outside trustworthy persons. Then the biis must designate a second period of time. But if the kolshi fail to appear in the second period, the side of the defendant must pay the wergeld.

If the juror confirms by his oath a false fact without knowing it, having believed his side, the punishment for swearing falsely falls in the future life not on the cheater but on the cheated. For this reason even before the period of the oath, the unjust side reveals the truth, gives up the object of the suit or proposes a peaceful settlement (bitim, tatulaspak, karyndas bulmak), to which the plaintiff usually agrees because he is in an uncertain state about the outcome of the case and is afraid that if he loses the suit he will be required to pay the court costs and the biilyk. Another motive for making peace is the fact that from the religious point of view an oath is equally dangerous for both sides: punishment will be visited not only on the person who swore falsely, but also on him who demanded the oath, from the side of the innocent party. This is why one often finds written in the biis' books: "the plaintiff was unable to allow the defendant to swear the oath, and his suit was left without consequence, "or: "and he was

reconciled for such and such a sum", or "and they became kinsmen" (again, karyndash bulub kaldy), i. e., friends. (1)

1. Sometimes they choose an only son as the swearer, in the hope that his father will not allow him to swear.

Conscientious biis themselves advise the litigants not to bring the case to an oath, but to yield to compromise, doing this with hints such as: you will not get the whole horse, but his hoof won't be lost (tulpardyng uzi bitpes, tyuyagy dzhitpes). Often, especially when the defendant does not deny the justice of the suit but he is poor, the biis say: "Forgive this suit. Embrace each other and become /212/ friends" (bu dauyngnan kesh, ikeauyng kushaktasyb dos bul); if one of the litigants has a son, and the other a daughter, they add: "or still better, become matchmakers: matchmaking consummates the friendship" (bal'ki kuda bulyngdar: dostyng tubin kuda ayrady).

The swearers themselves impose pressure toward pacification, halting on the road and threatening one side by saying they will appear, and the other side by saying they will refuse.

Often the pacification is produced on the basis of the return of the stolen article. There are also cases where the plaintiff, who has been made "the friend" (dos) of the poor defendant by the bii, receives nothing from him but is already ashamed, being his "friend", to appear before the biis with a claim (Auliye-Ata uyezd).

If an oath is shown to be false, the opposing side wins the case. In addition, in order to make amends for this sin, fines can be imposed in favor of the poor, from an atton to one or three toguz, depending on the sum of the suit. This is called "putting the soul in place" (dzhandy urnyna salmak). The reason why no strict punishment exists for false oath is that the swearer usually accepts the oath on the urging of his kinsmen, and not because of inner conviction.

Among the Kirgiz, after the ritual of the swearing of the oath is completed, in order for a new witness to prove its falseness, his oath is required and the oath of one of his relatives. The previous oath is the then considered "putrified" (sasyb kaldy), i. e., invalid. One oath is defeated by two. The side which has given a false oath is sentenced to a higher fine, and the person who swore is scolded and despised.

The ancient oath (according to Karamulla and others, of the Perovsk uyezd) consisted of 1) their leading the swearer around the mazar /place of pilgrimage or tomb/, or 2) the juror (dzhanga shykkan) coming out on a hill and summoning the receiver of the oath

from the opposing side. A man came out from there with the words "I receive your soul", i.e., oath (aldym dzhanyngdy) and began to beat him with a whip. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Kazakh girl of the Perovsk uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov. /*/213/ A battle began which often was transformed into a general brawl of all those present; or 3) their coming out alone from each side, armed with a spear, a sword, etc. It was presupposed that the one who was killed or forced to flee was in the wrong. (1)

1. Before the Russian court they now swear on the Koran. In the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd one encounters the expression: "they were led into the mosque."

"False witness under oath is taking place oftener and oftener, bringing profit to the mullahs, who for mercenary reasons have assured the population that by slightly changing the words of the oath they could make it very terrible in its consequences, or completely unfrightening." M. Gotovitskii, "Znachenie i obriad prisiagi u kirgizov" /The meaning and ritual of the oath among the Kazakhs/, Iuridicheskii Vestnik, 1885, May, p.192

According to Kunakbai, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the very appearance (2)of the swearer in court and his declaration that he is

2. According to Ibragimov, practically speaking, the essential circumstance among the Kazakhs is considered to be not the oath itself, but the journey of the chosen persons at the time determined to the place designated for the trial. If on the given day, the chosen persons were there before sunset, this was quite enough. The person on whose behalf they came won the case. The villages of influential Kazakhs and sultans especially are designated as places for the oath. In recent times they have often begun to designate a village for the oath in which there is a mosque, and they give them the Koran to kiss, forcing them to say the names of Moslem saints who are completely unknown to the Kazakhs.

ready to take the oath for the member of his village or his kinsman, is considered as the taking of the oath. Neither the Koran nor prayers are involved. They also know that sometimes they are sent to a cemetery to say a prayer.

* [Not reproduced -- A]

4:Grodekov--191 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 According to Umburek, the bii asks the person who is to swear the oath: "Did you come to swear?" (dzhan bergeli kel'ding me). Then he admonishes him to speak the truth, reminding him that it is sinful (ubal) to lie. The swearer answers: "I came to swear to his innocence" (agyna dzhan bergeli kel'dym). The bii ends it by saying: "May you have a long life! Be gone!" (yasyng uzak bulsun, bar kitever).

According to Abdrakhman, the bii asks the swearer: "Why did you come?" "I came for the oath." "Do you know (bilesin be) the guilt or rightness of so and so and do you believe that he took such and such?" (algandygyna inandyng ba). "He did not take it, and I have come to take an oath on it." Now reminding the opposing side that the sin of a false oath under compulsion /214/ rests equally on both sides (ike dzhakka birdey), the bii advises for the last time that the two sides be pacified without carrying it to the oath. When he receives a refusal he lifts his arms according to the Moslem custom and says the blessing, i. e., the words "alla akbar" and places the palms of his hands on his face and his beard. Then he says to the swearer: "May the days of your life be long. If the thief (i. e., the person for whom you took the oath) deceived you, may he die himself" (umr yasyngiz uzak bulsun, agar seni aldagan bulsa uruny uzi ul'sin).

Among the Kirgiz, they formerly led them into the mazar /place of pilgrimage or tomb/ to cut a branch. Now the oath consists of appearance and declaration before the bii. The bii says: "Have you given away your soul (oath) because he is clear and did not steal?" This question is repeated three times. When he has received the answer "I have given it" three times, the bii says: "Go get out of my sight!"

According to Torgai, the following forms of the oath are found.

1) In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are either satisfied with the form of the oath set down from the words of Umurbek and Abdrakhman, or they lead the swearer within the wall of a saint /'s tomb/ which is well-known, for example, Tekturmas, Auliye-Ata. There the plaintiff takes the end of a branch from one of the trees in his hands, and the swearer cuts off this branch with the words: "O Saint! Find which of us is unjust and kill him!" (e auliya, kay karamyzdy tap, at).

2) Formerly the kinsmen of the man who was to take the oath dressed him in white, black, red (the symbol of grandeur - saulat), blue, and in general in clothing of one such color, so that the swearer would stand out in the midst of all of them. They tied an owl (ukke) to his head, and led him to a high hill, where the plaintiff and his relatives had gathered from the other side. The swearer

demanded from his relatives: "Take your soul" (al dzhanyngdy). 695 ●
At that time small children too were swearers. The affair ended with a brawl without killing. No suit was made for wounds.

3) Formerly there was also a wager race between the swearer and the receiver of the oath of 40 paces. Both held each /215/ other by the hand. (1)After forty paces one turned to one side, and the

1. Nevertheless this race was called by the reporter a wager race (yarysyb).

other to the opposite side, and with this the oath taking also was ended.

4) The swearer (dzhan berguchi, dzhanga shykkan) and the receiver of the oath (dzhan alguchi, kolshi), go into a mosque, because this is the house of God (kudaidyng uyi) and say: "Find which of us is unjust" (koy karamyzdy tap) and then go out.

5) They take the Koran in their hands. In several places it is customary for the swearer to take the Koran and put it into the hands of the receiver of the oath, and in some places it is vice versa.

6) In the Perovsk uyezd, they sometimes dig a grave, on the demand of the receiver of the oath, as though for a dead person. In order to bring more fright to the swearer, they wash him and dress him in a shroud (keben), and then they lead him to the grave, out of which he emerges again through an opening.

7) In addition, in the Perovsk uyezd the oath takes place "by the Shariat and by the law."

The choice of the manner of the oath depends on the plaintiff. But the plaintiff always holds to the local custom (Torgai).

According to Absalyamov, of the Chimkent uyezd, the manner of taking the oath depends, by custom, on the plaintiff, who leads the swearer to the grave of some Moslem saint and forces him to stand with one foot on the grave itself, or to cut a twig from a tree growing over the grave, etc.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, the biis propose to the person who is to swear the oath that he choose one of the following three forms of the oath: 1) to say "in the name of the all-powerful God" (billyagil' azim); 2) to take the Koran in his hands with words: "May the Koran hit (punish) me if I etc." (kurgan ursun, agar...), and 3) to cut off the branch (chibyk) of a tree on the grave of a saint, while a kolshi is holding the end of it. Now, however, the kolshi does not enter the wall of a Saint's shrine "from fear", and too the swearer does not /216/ cut off a branch, but simply

enters and then walks out. In the words of the bii, only the first two types are a real oath. The last type is a Kazakh habit (kazakchylyk, and actually this is not an oath (asyly ant imes). It is only taken as an oath because the Kazakhs are content with it (kazaktyng rizalygy). Bii Sultan Kanaev does not know the type of oath called "oblation" (kurmandyk) described in Makovetskii, I, p. 74.

The biis and aksakals do not go to the mazars and such places of oath. The presence of the plaintiff and the defendant during the swearing of the oath by the chosen person is not obligatory and is not customary.

The receiver of the oath, i. e., usually the plaintiff, is not obliged to go to the selected person or to lead him. He only indicates his presence. But it is the obligation of the defendant, if the oath is from his side to present the swearer. They always present the swearer with his relatives (again tugan). Otherwise he would not go alone, being ashamed of what they would say of him, such as: So and so went out to take the oath (falyanchi dzhanga chykty). But the people urge him and follow after him, not permitting him to evade the oath. If the relatives did not appear, the oath would not lose any of its significance.

The defendant, when he appears at the swearer's, slaughters a white mare (boz biya) for him, which is called dzhan sadakasy, i. e., the sacrifice for the sake of the oath, or a sheep - for a small suit. He is accompanied by one elder from each lineage (tup) of the community of the swearer. In order to avoid frightening the relatives of the swearer, they clothe the demand in the following form: "We have appeared before you in the interest of the entire people. A certain accusation has been brought against him (the defendant), whether it be slander, or by enmity. For this reason we have been permitted to point to you. Will you allow him to be lost? We are all convinced of his integrity, and for this we have all appeared. You step forward and we will follow after you." (Yurtchilik turesinen sagan kel'dik: ya tukhmet menen, ya khusumet menen sogan munaday dzhengdzhal yabasty, sogan seni atattuk munauny kuyderesin be? aktygyna baremizning kuzimiz dzhetedi, beremiz sol ushun kelib otyrmyz. Sen aldymyzdan yur, biz songyngnan erelik).

/217/ If the person chosen to take the oath refuses "to go out" (chykpaymyn), the elders threaten to exclude him from the clan (again chiliktan ayrylada), i. e., if someone should sue him, none of them would present the oath on his behalf.

They always appear a day in advance for the oath.

First of all the oath is imposed on that side which has a true

witness, who has publicly received syuyunchi for the discovery of the thief, in cases of theft. If there is no witness, the oath is imposed on the side of the defendant, as the weakest side. In addition, it can be required, for special motives: from the plaintiff's side, from the defendant himself, from the plaintiff himself, from the side which the plaintiff prefers (or rarely, the side the defendant prefers).

The oath is given to the side of the plaintiff in the following cases:

1) If it has a witness, as was stated above.

2) If the defendant does not enjoy favor in his village, for extraneous reasons.

3) When the defendant has already been caught in the act of a crime, which affects one part of the suit, or was under trial earlier and as a result he is no longer trusted.

4) When the plaintiff witnessed the commission of the crime personally, thus taking the place of a lawful witness. "I myself am a full witness of his theft" (kamil uzim gua men alganlygyna), he says in one of the documents of the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd.

5) If the defendant is a woman.

The oath is imposed on the defendant himself ("on his black head", kara basyna) in the following cases:

1) When he is not yet registered in any group of ten of a taxable community, because he divided off from his family after the establishment of the official register of tents.

2) When the sum of the suit is so small that no other kinsman wants to submit himself to responsibility before God for such a trifle. /218/ 3) If the case is such that no one can know the truth but the defendant. This would be, for example, when there were no witnesses of the entrusting of something for safe-keeping, or when the defendant refuses to satisfy the plaintiff on the grounds that his deceased father and not he borrowed from the plaintiff or owed him, or if the time the affair took place is so far in the past that no one can establish an opinion as to the justice or injustice of the suit.

4) When indecent circumstances have been disclosed in a trial. Here the oath by one person is to avoid staining the reputation of others.

The oath is imposed on the family of the defendant in litigations concerning matchmaking and other family accounts, on the basis of the fact that such relationships are known precisely in the family.

The oath is imposed on the plaintiff himself and on his family with the same motives as were just mentioned, only, of course, in

case it is unsuitable to give the defendant himself the single oath.

The indication of the side from which the oath must be presented is given to the plaintiff (iki dzhaktama) to choose, on the condition of the defendant's consent to this: 1) when the village of the defendant is so far away from the court that the judges do not know whether it is convenient for the plaintiff to go there to choose a swearer, and whether he would not prefer to permit the defendant to choose a swearer from the plaintiff's village, which is less distant; 2) when the plaintiff stubbornly continues to stand by his demand, regardless of the obvious groundlessness of the suit. By giving the choice to the plaintiff, the court wishes to give him a full opportunity to prove the justice of his suit, so that after the case is judged against him he will not complain that the circumstances of the oath were disadvantageous for him (Mikebai, Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, if the plaintiff has a witness (ayak), he is sworn himself and also one of his kinsmen (yanasha), i. e., they obtain two oaths. If the plaintiff has no witness, then one oath is imposed on the side of the defendant (tanbysh). If there were /219/ no witnesses of the transmission of money from one person to another, the dispute is settled by the oath of whichever one of them wishes to swear. If both sides are ready to swear the oath, it is given to the defendant.

According to Umurbek, during the examination of a case the bii first of all recognizes the opinion of the defendant concerning the manner of imposition of the oath which is desirable to him. The bii says: Do you agree to receive the oath from "this one" (i. e., the plaintiff), and pay, or do you want to present the oath and clear yourself? (sen osunan dzhanyn alyb mal tuleuge razy me sen ya dzhan-berib kutuluga razy me sen).

In the Perovsk uyezd, for considereable lawsuits for a sum larger than 500 rubles, they designate two swearers, and for a sum higher than 2000 rubles, or for suits concerning wergeld they designate four.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, in cases of wergeld for a man they choose 4 jurors from 1000, 2000 or 5000 tent owners, but not beyond the circle of the forbidden degree of kinship. In cases of wergeld for a woman they choose 2 persons. In suits concerning the theft of 1-5 heads of livestock, one person from the close relatives swears an oath. For a theft of more than 20 animals, 4 persons swear (Chinybekov).

In September 1877, the biis of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds decreed: "We should try to settle cases without an oath. In designating an oath we should be goverened by the following: In cases

concerning up to 19 rubles, the oath is designated to one man from the group of ten. In cases up to 76 rubles, to one man from the group of fifty. In cases up to 152 rubles, to two persons from the village of the defendant. In cases up to 500 rubles, to four persons from two villages which are near that of the person for whom the oath is to be sworn. In cases up to 1000 rubles, the oath should be sworn by four witnesses of four villages, with which matchmaking is not permitted. In cases of over 1000 rubles, and in cases concerning wergeld, four persons from the volost should swear. A volost administrator, village elders, and biis must never be chosen as jurors. Also tiuris and hodjas must never be chosen as jurors."

A man who is generally known and respected by all can take the place of two ordinary jurors (Perovsk uyezd and others).

/220/ If two persons from one clan are accused together, one oath from their clan is sufficient.

If two persons from different clans are accused together, one oath is imposed from the clan of each of them, for a juror consents to acquit only his kinsman. But if, in spite of their being from different clans, they serve one master, or live in the tent of one and the same person, or have a common traveling companion, then one oath is imposed on this master or traveling companion(Torgai).

The more serious the accusation, the higher the sum of the lawsuit, the more frequently the defendant has been under trial, the better known he is, then the larger the circle of the clan or the community which can be designated for the choice of the juror, so that under difficult circumstances he can be cleared only if he is really innocent, for his enemies, they say, and there are more of them in a large circle, do not decide to consider him guilty. For example:

For a suit of	They impose	On the degree of kinship
1-2 horses	1 oath	Third degree (ush ata).
3-4 horses	1 oath	Fifth degree (bis ata).
Wergeld	4 oaths for a man, 2 for the murder of a woman.	Seventh degree (yete ata).

695 The oath is not imposed beyond the circle of the forbidden degree of kinship.

When imposing an oath on a kin group, they always select a group of a degree of kinship of an odd number: 3, 5, 7.

The inconvenience in imposing an oath on a kin group lies in the fact that the defendant has to bring jurors from very distant places, for example, from Bukhara, within the period of time, although it is given with consideration of the distance.

Since in many uyezds the groups of ten, groups of fifty, villages /221/ and entire volosts consist of only one group of kinsmen (atalas), for example, a group of ten will be from relatives up to 3-4 degrees of kinship, a group of fifty from relatives up to 5-6 degrees of kinship (5-6 ataga keledi), the imposition of an oath on a kin group is almost the equivalent of its imposition on a tax community.

When both communities, the kin one and the tax one, do not fully coincide, the biis on whose judgment the imposition of the oath on the clan or the taxable unit depends, exploit this circumstance in order to obtain bribes. It is obligatory to impose the oath on the clan only in suits concerning wergeld and yesir, eliminating those lineages which are related to the plaintiff.

For drivers who do not live in their villages, the oath is imposed not on their community but on their comrades in the caravan (kosdas, from the word kos - the traveling tent of the drivers).

An oath is imposed:

	Report from the Perovsk uyezd.	According to Torgai	According to the two Kirgiz: Kurpetai Dauletkulov and Daniyar.
On 10 tents	20 rubles	1 horse	1 horse
On 20 tents	-	-	2 horses
On 30 tents	50 rubles		3 horses.
On 40 tents	-		4 horses.
On 50 tents	100 rubles	2-3 horses	5 horses.
On 60 tents			6 horses.
On 100 tents	200 rubles		And so forth,
On a village	400 rubles and also about a fight.	4-5 horses	not more than one village(in cases of theft).

In the Chimkent uyezd, according to the communication of Absalyamov, in a suit /222/ concerning one horse one oath is given from a group of ten. In a suit for from 2 to 4 horses, one oath is taken from a group of fifty, with the elimination of two disputable persons. In a suit for from 5 to 8 horses, two oaths are imposed from the village. In a suit for 9-26 horses, two oaths are required, one from the village and the other from the volost, with the right to eliminate up to 4 persons from the village, and up to 8 persons from the volost. The plaintiff selects 4 oath takers from the volost of the defendant, for a murdered man, with the defendant being given the right to challenge up to 8 persons. For a murdered woman the plaintiff chooses two oath takers, one from the village of the defendant, and the other from his volost, and the defendant is not given the right to challenge anyone.

Where the kin communities coincide in general with the tax communities, as, for example, in Semirechie, the oath is primarily determined in the tax community. But where persons of different clans live together in one tax community, without having a basis for standing for each other under oath, as in Orenburg, Troitsk and in the Kurama uyezd (according to Torgai), the oath is designated from the clan, or, as they say, "tracing back to the ancestors" (ata kuub, suek kuub).

The larger the circle of the community out of which the juror is chosen, the larger is the number of disputables also. In a village there are usually 2 disputable persons in addition to official persons. The number and sometimes the names of the disputable persons or tents are recorded in the document with the note: "in addition to official persons."

The elimination of disputable persons is done by that side which presents the oath. The person who chooses the oath takes must be informed of the names of the disputable persons.

The disputable persons (actually kas, i. e., enemy or spur) are often: 1) enemies of the person who presents the oath; 2) mullahs, biis, official personages, and all superior persons to whom the suggestion that they take the oath for the sake of an inferior, would appear impertinent and 3) recluses, persons who are too young, guests and persons in in general whose opinions on a given question are incompetent for various reasons.

/223/ Tiuri, khodjas, volost administrators, biis and village elders are not chosen to take the oath for a simple Kazakh (Absalyamov).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, a khodja can be chosen among the jurors in a suit among persons of the black bone. Khodjas are only eliminated among the disputable persons if they are at that moment

695 in dispute or in enmity with the community from which the oath taker has to be chosen.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd, according to a report from E. A. Aleksandrov, khodjas are not freed from the oath, and in general no one is, except ishans. (1)

1. Formerly also members of the sultan's clan.

Among the Kirgiz, biis, manaps, volost officials and other persons of high standing are not excused from the oath. (2)

2. In Siberia, the agreement of the "disputable persons" who are eliminated is required before this can be done, and a voucher must be made to the effect that they or their clan are at odds with the clan of the litigant(Torgai)

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When it is necessary for someone to clear himself of suspicion outside of court, or to confirm his assertion or promise by an oath, they suggest to him that he say olda (instead of vallakhi, By God), or to drink up a quantity of water (su urttashi), or to step across a line scratched in the ground, or to make his statement facing the saint(auliyaga karab aytchi), or to lick the sharp edge of a knife (pshaktyng yuzin yala) or to lick the end of a finger, facing the moon. They attach so much importance to this oath out of court that they end a dispute informally (Torgai).

675 In making contracts the oath is sometimes used: "May God punish whichever one of us breaks this agreement" (osu suzimizdi buzganymzdy kuday buzsyn) . Or they lay a stone on the head (Makovetskii, I p. 49). This last custom no longer exists, according to Torgai, but they do say: "May your salt hit me, or the food which you have offered me, if I "etc., or: "I swear by the salt"(tuzingiz ursyn, nyanyngyz ursyn, tuzning khakynda). Swearing by the salt is a general Moslem custom.

In the conclusion of a pact for action against a common enemy /224/, the elders, yuzbashi, tubesh (standard bearer), and other honored persons in a party gather in one tent for a conference. They pledge themselves not to betray each other into the hands of the enemy, not to betray the total affair and not to hide booty, but to

8:Kostenko -32-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

674 Stealing among the Kazakhs is a rather
685 widespread crime. They steal horses, primarily. If the thief is caught there is the custom of taking the stolen animal away from him and adding to this a fine of twice its value. As the Kazakhs say - in such cases it is almost always a question of horses - ' on the neck an addition, to the tail a support ' (in Kazakh: muinena kosau, kutenia-terkiau). This punishment is
695 called 'aip' or 'aibana'. In case there are no witnesses, the oath of some outside person is needed /346/ who is known for his honesty and who knows the accused. If such a person is found and wishes to give his oath on the innocence of the accused, then the latter is definitely released from the charge. It must be said that this is a very reliable way in
[577] general of learning the truth. It costs the Kazakh nothing to lie himself, but for some reason he will not consent to take someone else's lie upon himself.

In general, the oath, as soon as it happen between Kazakhs and not to aid an infidel, that is, a Russian, has a very serious significance and is considered sacred. At the present time it is usually given with the kissing of the Koran in the presence of an honored person or mullah, but earlier, various rites were observed. For example, it was necessary to lick the fingernail, looking at the sun, or to say the oath with the muzzle of a loaded gun in the mouth. This has already gone out of use
[778] today. In important cases, however, even now, those who are to swear are invited to some holy sepulchre and it is suggested that as they say the oath they cut off the branch of a holy tree there. It is a rare Kazakh who will consent to this sacrilege if it is a false oath.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.[160]

The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
622 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
602 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 448 ff. -- Analyst]
[2] [on the biji, cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

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622 guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be re-
602 quired to support him in the payment of the indemnity.
695 Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after
613 the Russian conquest, and represents a certain harden-
177. ing of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this harden-
69 ing was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh
177. society in the previous era. The power of the bii's de-
69 cree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up
695 by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system,
602 a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. We may observe how considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and how legal data are significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

[Great Horde]

695 The role of affinal kinship in the legal process
602 may also be deduced from the fact that in addition to support by one's agnatic kin (father, son, brother, father's brother, etc.), one could also call on one's wife's sister's husband to take the oath on one's behalf, provided that his loyalties had not already been engaged on the other side. Cognatic kin, too, played a role: the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son (maternal parallel cousin).[164] The relationship of the mother's brother nagaǰy to sister's son or dźien has already been mentioned in respect to the payment of the kalym, or debts to strangers, and so forth. It is simply a further pursuit of the same principles to observe it in the restitutive process of the law as well.

602 The new kinship relationships that are brought out here relate to the closeness of mutual support between husbands of sisters, those who are badǰa to each other, and sons of sisters, those who are büle to each other. A quite different principle is to be observed in these relationships: the avunculate, nevertheless, implied no systematic restructuring of the system of agnatic relationship. In the case of children of sisters, those who are büle to each other, it is quite clear that there is indeed a systematic attack on the agnatic principle, because in addition to the mother's brother

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[164] Ibid., 31.

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

428 A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lack-
621 ing a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

622 The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a
[428] family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

●695 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means
682 of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-
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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

[Middle Horde]

695 602 584 nence, the use of affinal ties. The bii would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other kuda, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.[170] The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the interfunctioning of both consanguineal and affinal relationships in the adjudicative process.

177.69 695 428 The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the biis of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been

[170] Ibragimov, 237.

[Middle Horde]

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longer under Russian rule than those of the Great Horde. The acculturative process had proceeded farther in the Middle Horde than in the Great Horde as of the 1870's, as will be seen from the issues raised in the pleadings.) The older brothers argued that the Kazakh customs were no longer in force, and that Russian law required an equitable distribution of the paternal estate regardless of the settlements made on the older sons by the father during his lifetime. The matter thus presented to the biis brought from them the decision that the youngest son, the residuary legatee, had to give up one of his winter camps to the other two. (Evidently a wealthy estate was in question here.) The youngest son appealed to the Russian courts, who advised him simply to comply with the decision of the biis, but to take one of the older brothers' winter camps instead. The youngest son declined both decisions.

His appeal to the Russian courts was strongly resented by the community and he was threatened with arrest, whereupon he removed to a nearby town, and the entire affair was placed in the hands of the local biis, but it was left unsettled. Finally the courts found in favor of the youngest son after the appointment of a new governor general in the region.[171]

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[171] Ibid., 253-257.

[Middle Horde]

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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bii in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

2: Hudson E-4,5 (1936)-1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

695 Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized
[692] by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his lights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the
[693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a
626 whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

[33] See: Izraitsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibraginov, *Zametki o Kirgizkom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, op. cit., 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 246–48.

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
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1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
[579] livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[694] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

692 But their interference in the court was strictly forbidden.

The decrees of the extraordinary sessions were final. The examination of cases in the volost and extraordinary sessions was determined by custom.

Marital and family cases were settled by biis in court according to folk customs. In marital cases, the side which was dissatisfied with the decision of the people's court could appeal to the uyezd chief, who was deciding /reshal/ the case, and in more important cases, the decision could be presented to the military governor for review.

The Kazakhs could turn to a Russian court with a petition to judge their case, with the mutual consent of both sides, expressed in a written document.

The court of the biis was rendered clearly and publicly.

It was the obligation of the local Kazakh chiefs to produce the defendants in court and to present witnesses on the demand of the biis.

The decree of the biis was inscribed in brief in a special book. The biis were required to affix their seals to a judgment.

/179/ The decision of the biis was announced to both sides, and a copy of the decree authenticated by the affixing of a seal, was given to the side in whose favor the case was decided.

696 The carrying out of the decisions of the court was laid to the duty of the volost officials, who were subject to suit for delayed fulfillment of the decisions, on the basis of general laws for the inaction of the authorities, and also subject to the repayment of losses, if such losses were incurred by their delay. (1)

1. Articles 181-210 of the projected code for the administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblasts.

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693 Under the khans, the biis were designated from a number of rivals, petitioning for this office with gifts (one or more horses), and who were known for their intelligence, authority, erudition and experience. They did not consult the wishes of the people. Candidates whose ancestors had not been biis could receive this office only rarely and with difficulty.

The Kokandians did not touch this system.

At present many place intelligence and justice in the biis

693 arrangements.

When a suit or part of it is abandoned without consequence because of distance or some other reason, a biilyk is not collected.

A biilyk is not taken when a session is abandoned by force of an earlier decision. Also when an earlier decision is overruled, the biilyk received for it is returned.

When the bii decrees that the period of time of an oath is to be extended because of the illness of the swearer, he receives biilyk for this labor.

According to bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd, a biilyk is not taken even in such cases where the defendant clears himself by oath. He pays only about 20 or 40 kopeks then, up to one ruble, for receiving the document of acquittal from the bii with the affixing of the seal. This collection is called mukhrana ("for the seal").

681 /198/ Losses and court costs (chygyn) are included in the fine itself. When the fine has already been obtained, the biis can refuse a suit for the recovery of court costs, with the exception of cases concerning wergeld, for in such cases many people are summoned into court, and the cost of the summoning adds up to a considerable sum which cannot be covered by a part of the wergeld. (1)

1. According to Torgai, the expenses for a suit concerning wergeld can be separated from the wergeld. All pay equally for the wergeld /po khunu/, but for the expenses the guilty party pays first of all, and then the clan, and the latter pays only when the former already has no property left.

When a suit ends without a fine, the winner of the case seeks reimbursement for the losses and court expenses which he has also been required to pay in one session of the court or another.

691 The period of time for the payment of the fine is recorded in the document of the judgment, but this measure appears in part to be inoperative. The customary law does not assume a period of time.

696 In the case of the defendant's insolvency or his absence, the exaction is extended to his group of ten (unbasilas), and when their 692 means have been exhausted, to the group of fifty, then to the village, which is noted in the document. (2) Only that which was necessary for

2. In ancient times when the payer was insolvent, the group of ten, or fifty, etc., in order, did not pay for him,

696 672

but his entire lineage or entire clan directly. For example, in the case of insolvency of a defendant from another lineage but the same clan, the plaintiff received the exaction from the entire lineage, but when the defendant was from another clan, then he obtained it from the entire clan.

life was not taken away.

When the defendant is insolvent, if the sum of the fine is large, for example 1500 rubles, it is decreed to be paid directly by his group of fifty and his village, by-passing the group of ten.

The exaction is not extended further than to that circle upon which the oath was imposed.

An exaction from a cummunity in the order established by the biis, takes place on the basis of an apportionment made by the community itself among the tents (biiding tygyzdauy, khalktyng uigaruy buincha).

A community can refuse to pay the exaction for its member, forcing him to become a laborer. 672

/199/ Requiring the payment from the community is regarded as reasonable in that the clan which fears paying for a thief restrains him by moral influence from repeating his stealing. At the present time the imposition of property responsibility on the community is an outlived principle, since 1) the individual has freedom of action and is not obliged to ask permission of his neighbors before coming and going; (1) 2) as a consequence of the changing conditions of

1. The individual is free to be absent temporarily, but for transferring from one volost to another he remains completely dependant on the clan, which can fail to give its consent for his discharge. The poorest clan keeps a vigilant eye on its solvent member, whom it needs, not even speaking of charitable purposes, directly for the payment of taxes for the impoverished.

life, property among the Kazakhs is associated more and more with the individual and the close circle of the family.

If the defendant is a new arrival, the sentence is extended to his fellow travelers: fellow tradesmen, and domestics (kosdas). If none of these exist or they are without property, the defendant can be given out as a laborer.

The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of 665

696 The decision of the court was formerly executed by riders of the khan or the riders of the biis who decided the case, but any outside person, who received remuneration from the person who won the case.

At present the volost administrators are obliged to carry out the decisions of the biis in the following order: when they have received a copy of the decision, cut out of the book, upon the approach of the date indicated in it for the payment, they announce it through village elders to the defendant, and then, in case he refuses to pay, they take an animal corresponding to the sum, which is evaluated by honorable persons. After the entire sum has been paid to the plaintiff, the volost administrator makes a note of this on the reverse side of the copy, with a voucher from the recipient, and gives it to the person who has paid.

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692 In its regulation of the people's court, the law of 1867 caused it to deviate considerably from the customary court. This fact /200/ had such an essential and pernicious effect on the development of the weak sides of the courts of the biis, that their position proved to be very unsatisfactory and brought many local officials to the conviction that it was necessary to abolish this court and exchange it for the Russian court.

While according to folk custom the litigants are free to turn to any bii for the examination of a case, the law of 1867 required the Kazakhs to be judged only by the biis confirmed by the military governor. In cases where the litigants disagreed on a court of arbitration, and in practice these were very frequent, the law required the plaintiff to choose a bii expressly from the volost of the defendant. Since under the existence of the clan principle every bii naturally stands for his kinsman, the required judgment of a bii from the volost of the defendant is the equivalent of renouncing justice, for the plaintiff cannot expect impartiality from a kinsman of the defendant. Even within one volost, such an organization of the bii's court did not guarantee a just court, because with the obligation of turning to the biis in the volost and with the limitation of their number the biis were made accessible to profit, corruption, the influence of rich and honored persons, and of the electoral parties.

In order to ensure the justice of the decisions of the more important cases, the law of 1867 limited the competency of the individual biis to the sum of 100 rubles, and created extraordinary

692 to encourage cases concerning the dismissal from official duties and bringing to trial those of their members who permitted clear abuses in their judgments. The uyezd chief presents the decrees on this subject to the oblast government.

The delivery to the sessions of the defendants and witnesses is the duty of the village authorities.

Complaints concerning unfinal decisions of single judges are transmitted in a period of two weeks from the day of the announcement of the decision to the volost administrator, for presentation to the session. After the opening of the session these complaints can be transmitted to the session itself.

[695] The people's court is carried on aloud and publicly.

/207/ Extraordinary sessions of the people's courts are designated, by order of the governor, for the judgment of cases in which residents of various uyezds or volosts are involved , as well as for the review of intercessions of the people's courts and their sessions on the banishment of the persons under sentence. The extraordinary sessions are composed of the judges of those volosts from which the litigants come or the persons under sentence, with no less than one judge from a volost.

The designation of the judges for an extraordinary session, except for those elected by the litigants, is done by the uyezd chief. Judges who have participated in previous sessions within a year take part only at their own wish.

Extraordinary sessions of the courts take place in the presence of the chief of the uyezd in which the session meets, or an official specially commandeered for this purpose. The duty of these official persons is exclusively to see to the decorum in the place of meeting of the session.

The extraordinary sessions of the people's courts act on the basis of the rules established for ordinary sessions.

[693] People's judges, who are absent from a session, ordinary or extraordinary, without legally acceptable reasons, are subject to a monetary fine of 10 rubles, by order of the uyezd chief, which can be appealed to the governor within a period of a month. These fines go for the building of places of confinement.

696 The carrying into execution of the decisions of the people's court is laid upon the volost administrators and village elders, under the supervision of the uyezd chief. Copies of the decisions carried out, with a note of their fulfillment, are preserved with the volost administrators. Persons carrying out the decisions, as well as the uyezd chiefs supervising them, are subject to legal responsibility and the reparation for damages for slowness and improper action in this connection.

8:Kostenko -33-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RLI Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

681 Among alomst all ancient peoples and among the Kazakhs there existed the law of retribution, that is, death for murder or rape - and mutilation for mutilation. But time and the prevalance of a new order have changed this custom. However, down to the Russian domination, ransom was permitted for murder. For the death of a man a thousand horses were usually paid, and half that for the murder of a woman. This ransom is called 'kun', and when the crime can be hidden from the Russian authorities this is done even today.

692 In general all legal judgments, civil and criminal, just as all public affairs, according to custom can never depend on the will of one person, but are always made with the agreement of several elders, beys or honored persons in general. These persons had and still have today the right to receive a tenth part of the property of the guilty person, or, if it is a civil matter, the same share from the payment
696 of retribution which they decide. The 'baranta'
628 is a completely unique crime among the Kazakhs. The beginning of these feuds was almost always legal, that is, they usually began from the unwillingness /347/ of one of the contesting parties to abide by the decision of the elders. In such a case the injured party had the legal right to obtain satisfaction by force, that is, to make raids, steal cattle and capture the people. It is self-evident that those who were plundered did the same in return, believing that more had been taken from them than should have been according to the legal judgment. Thus the stealing, robbery and murder committed by both sides confused the question more and more, and quarrels and feuds lasted in this way for decades, eventually even dividing clans.

placing a brand on a loose animal a fine can be imposed of half the 685
value of the animal. Placing one's brand on an animal with one for safe-keeping, is not considered reprehensible if such a one is returned on the first demand. According to Kyulbaev (of the Kurama uyezd), putting one's brand on a strange animal unnecessarily (bikerge), whether it is a loose animal or one received for safe-keeping, is punishable by a fine of 20 rubles. According to the Kirgiz Daniyar, placing one's brand on a strange animal is considered as clear (zakhir) stealing, and is punished in proportion to the penalties of the assemblies (siez kesimi menen) i. e., for one sheep 4 sheep must be paid and 4 rubles in addition.

The owner of the lost object usually appears before the person 685
suspected of the theft accompanied by two or more outside impartial
persons (khalis ksi), exceptionally, only one, and searches (tentedi) 627
him. The outsiders serve as witnesses. If the suspect does not permit himself to be searched (tentkizbese), he is considered to be guilty.

When a thief is caught by the owner of the stolen livestock, he usually gives up or promises to give up everything which was stolen by a certain period of time, often according to a voucher, asking only that no suit be charged for the exaction of the usual fine. The owner may be satisfied by the return of his property and by taking away a horse or a coat, i. e., atton (1) from the thief, as a reward

1. Sometimes a horse and gun or some other object is taken under this name.

to the captor.

When there are several thieves, the one who is at hand is held 685
responsible. When only the father of the thief is at hand, a suit 672
directed against him is accepted by the biis for trial, on the basis of responsibility by reason of kinship.

/167/ If a thief rode a strange horse when committing the crime, the owner of the horse is a participant in the theft.

If the plaintiff confirms the fact that when the defendant was 685
caught the latter gave him money in order to end the affair, and if later the accused clears himself by an oath, the money in question is ruled to the defendant.

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According to the communication of Sultan Daulet Bushaev, a 697
thief from a distant place, whom it would be difficult to find again,

697 is imprisoned at night in a pit which is covered by a grating, and someone sleeps on top of the grating. He is not kept in the tent lest he kill someone, flee, cause a disturbance, and among other things, do wrong to someone. They put horse locks (ksen) on the legs of a thief from a nearby place, passing them through the sidepiece of the tent at night, and pemitting him to walk about in them during the day.

Among the Kirgiz, captured thieves are bound and then subjected to corporal punishment (dzharb kursetedi) until /vpred'do/ the affair is investigated by the bii. Without denying the injustice of puinishment before the judgment of the affair by the bii, Kunakbay (Auliye-Ata uyezd) justifies this custom for those cases where the thief is caught red-handed or was armed with a spear or an ax (aybalta).

If the thief is caught in the act of stealing and refuses to go to the nearest volost official, arguing that he is innocent, or if he attempts to flee, then he is bound. If the thief continues to deny his guilt after that, or to make various claims, he is beaten in order to force confession (chiningdy ayt). The volost official to whom they take the prisoner asks him such questions as: "Are you a thief? Where did you steal from? (or come from). If you are not a thief, clear yourself and I will let you go free. But if you did steal, I will give you over to the owner of the stolen goods." The thief is transferred into the hands of the owner. The owner of the stolen goods keeps the thief in his tent until the presentation of his suit /168/ in court. The prisoner is kept bound or in general in such a way that he cannot escape (kitpes kylyb baylaydy) his legs are fettered (ksen salady), and also he is beaten, but not much (kub savamaydy). They do not beat or abuse a well-known person(bilimdy ksi). A bii does not accept complaints from the thief for blows, saying: "That is your punishment (dzhaza)". (Communicated by bii Abdurakhman, Auliye-Ata uyezd).

694 If the thief is captured while stealing at night, his captor confines him in the tent and interrogates him: "Why are you stealing?
692 Was it not you who also stole what was lost last year and the years before?" Bound and confused, the thief often confesses, while being beaten, to all these crimes, of which he is completely innocent, and of which they accuse him only in order to frighten him. Later they inform the volost official of his confession and send him the thief himself. The volost official also holds the thief in confinement, interrogates him and notifies his relatives. The best people from among

692 session of biis.

In every volost from 4 to 8 biis were elected both for the judgment of criminal cases, subject to the people's court (1) and

673 1. Murder and baranta were considered criminal cases, subject to the people's court.

[698] The Kazakhs were judged by a military court for treason, inciting their fellow tribesmen to oppose the government, attacking the mail and military transports, the murder of Christians and other persons who had expressed the desire to become Christians, and for the murder of officials.

The Kazakhs were tried according to the common criminal laws of the empire for brigandage, stealing, attacking merchant caravans, flight into foreign domains, setting fire, manifest opposition to authorities, the manufacture and transmission of counterfeit money and the stealing of state property.

for every sort of litigation and suit.

693 The biis were elected by the people for three years.

Anyone could be chosen as a bii who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people, had not been blamed by a court, was not under investigation, and was not less than 25 years old.

The elected biis were confirmed by the military governor. They did not receive a salary, but they had the right to receive /177/ a special fee /biilyk/ for judging cases, which was established by folk customs. The fine for property suits could not be determined as higher than one-tenth of the value of the suit. For the judgment of murder cases of personal injuries, the biilyk was designated according to the customs.

692 The opposing sides in a litigation could, by mutual consent, turn to one or several biis for the examination of their case. The agreement of the litigating sides on the choice of a bii or biis for the judgment of their case had to be entered in the book established for the recording of judgments. In such a case, the judgment of the biis, as having the character of arbitration (1) was final in any amount.

1. In ancient times all courts were courts of arbitration among the Kazakhs, i. e., they were chosen each time by both sides. The plaintiff and the defendant appeared before the bii chosen by them, and if the bii was far away they

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price 567 of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were 701 the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- 565

[26] See below, pages 83–84.
[27] Personal communication.
[28] *Voyages*, 1:623.
[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.
[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

701 tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps
565 clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks[32] of " . . . une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans . . . " whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says[33] that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin[34] is contradictory. Asfendiarov[35] writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material[36] it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol nököd. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

[32] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.
[33] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.
[34] *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 30–33.
[35] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 98.
[36] See pages 91–92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 87–96.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is
643 possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alɨm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlɨq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Description des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: " . . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61 621]

permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her. [567]

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumale, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it. [597]

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her. [606]

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans. [701]

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 35.

judge dispose of property which was not his own.[1] The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is. 000 421 593

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves. 614 701 [628]

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukei of the Inner Horde, and his line.[2] 614 65 643

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state. 565 602 [171] [643]

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the 602 [597]

[1]Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Ibragimov, 1878, pp. 234-237.
[2]Tsvain, 1864, pp. 2-6; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-241.

[Little Horde]

614 names are Argun, Kipchak, Kirei, all of which occur elsewhere in Kazakh clan lists, and which take their origin in the traditions associated with Chingis Khan. These names also appear in the Secret History of the Mongols, and continue to evoke a militant morale among the steppe dwellers.[177]

614 The close association of the clan with military or-
701 ganization implied by these considerations is further evidenced by the identification of the clans with their uran, the clan passwords or countersigns, which consisted either of the name of the eponymous clan ancestor or of an illustrious warrior generally among the clan forebears, and was used to cheer the warrior in battle, invoke the aid of clansmen in the fray, or to celebrate a victorious outcome.[178] The clan was closely associated with war, and had among its most important functions the constitution of a military unit.

614 The clan had its special tamga which it stamped on the left thigh of the cattle of the clansmen. These were not property signs but were simply means of distinguishing among the cattle of various clans. The clan embodied the same structural principles found at work throughout Kazakh society, in larger-scale units as well as smaller: it was based on the principle of agnatic re-

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[177] Balliusek, 164.

[178] Idem.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Dates prior to 1945 were not stated in this summary of leader activities, as the primary concern was to show the overlapping functions for the period since World War II. The key dates for Kazakh Party Congresses, at which elections and nominations for Party posts were made, were: Fourth Congress, February 1949; Fifth Congress, December 1951; Sixth Congress, September 1952. Membership in the Central Committee bureau and posts in the technical apparatus are listed from the Party Congress at which election or appointment was made through the year in which, in the current Congress, the appointment or election was not repeated, unless evidence is available that the individual has been purged or transferred somewhere along the line.

KAZAKH PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

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Several infantry divisions were organized on Kazakh territory during World War II; of these, the 238th and 316th are mentioned most prominently. Little is known with respect to their nationality composition. On the other hand, it is reported that 60 per cent of all KSSR Communist Party members had joined the Armed Forces; the Komsomol, too, supplied a large contingent.

The two divisions cited were thrown into combat in the defense of Moscow and in the battle for Tula. Their losses were staggering. The 238th Infantry Division was rewarded for heroism by being renamed the 30th Guards Division. The 316th Division, led by General Panfilov, was later designated the 8th Guards Division. In Kazakh sources it is often called the Panfilov division for its leader, who was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union"; the few surviving members of the old division are reverently referred to as Panfilovtsy.[1]

Towster[2] gives pertinent information regarding the distribution of Soviet military honors awarded during the period June 1941-October 1944. The title "Hero of the Soviet Union" was awarded to 5,901 soldiers of whom 57 were Kazakhs. Three million soldiers, including 34,000 Kazakhs, received other orders and medals. The Kazakh share of these awards amounted to about one per cent—fewer than, but not too divergent from, the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of the Soviet Union.

Whether the Kazakh nationals in the Red Army had experiences which were radically different from those of their Russian comrades-in-arms cannot be determined with certainty. As one would expect, available Soviet sources provide no indication that Kazakhs were treated as inferiors. The other avenue of information, German documents captured by the United States Army, provides a totally different picture.

Descriptions of interrogations of prisoners of war of Turkestan origin conducted by German investigators appear occasionally within several bulky files held by the Defense Department Records Branch in

[1]That few seem to have survived is illustrated by the fact that at the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Kazakhstan as a republic, only 28 were reported as having participated in a parade.

[2]Towster (123), 1948, p. 357.

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Alexandria.[1] These materials suffer from the German interviewers' lack of skill as well as from biases and distortions supplied by both the Germans and their prisoners. Contradictions are frequent. The soldiers interviewed were defectors or deserters, and this factor must be kept in mind. Nevertheless, these men provide the only information available on service conditions, and certainly some of their reports may be taken seriously.

Almost every man interviewed voiced the opinion that minorities were treated badly in mixed units, especially in those units where Russian officers and noncommissioned officers predominated. Mutual distrust prevailed in such units; minority nationals were kept under surveillance because it was feared that they might desert. Morale among those nationals was low, especially when mail from home arrived announcing unfair or brutal treatment of the soldiers' families (requisitions, inhuman work loads, and so forth). The consensus of opinion among prisoners who belonged to several different units gives some credence to such reports. Further corroboration is supplied by some Russian soldiers interviewed at the same time. These men spoke of their Central Asian comrades as "poor soldiers" and "illiterates."

Some units formed in Central Asia had been organized rather hurriedly and shipped out with little or no training. It is small wonder, then, that such outfits did not resist German pressure effectively. When they asked about the reason for desertion, the German interrogators elicited most frequently the response that the man in question did not want to fight for the Russians. Nobody admitted fear as a direct motivating factor; a few volunteered the additional information that they resented fighting for a regime which had forced the free nomads into collectives.[2] According to interrogators' comments, virtually all Kazakh PW's spoke little or no Russian. German propaganda achieved a measure of success only after it began using the minority languages.

The racial doctrine of the Nazis tended to reinforce unfavorable comparisons made between the German and the Turkic soldiers, and almost barred the way to mutual understanding. Nevertheless, with the advice of civilian experts and officers who had lived in Turkestan and spoke the languages of the volunteers, the Germans managed to create the militarily satisfactory 162nd Infantry Division composed of Turkic nationals. This division stayed in the Italian campaign to the end of the war. It was forced to retreat hastily under pressure on several occasions, yet the German-Turkic solidarity was so high that desertions to the Allied side were often remarkably low, and no case was reported of Asiatic soldiers killing any of the German cadre although conditions were favorable for such action.

[1]Only a preliminary survey of these materials was made in connection with this study. Although useful information was obtained, it soon became evident that full exploitation of the captured German records for this purpose would far exceed the limitations of time and money established for the present research.

[2]These Kazakh deserters said that they decided to bolt when they found a German propaganda leaflet telling them (in their native language) that there were no kolkhozes in Germany (October 1942).

[177 cont.]
with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

[178 cont.]

648 called the Dvoedantsy /"payers of double taxes"/. If any movement was noticed on their part, to report it immediately to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inform the border commanders of it;

[705] 6. Not to give Abulkhair any help other than powder and arms in the war against the people of Khiva and to give him no auxiliary troops.

We have made it our duty to transcribe here in full the letters patent entrusted to Kirilov for the Middle and the Little Hordes. The first was given to Abulkhair after Kirilov arrived in the area in question. The second [179] could not be delivered because of the death of Khan Shemiaka, to whom it was addressed. Both are presented below.

"We, by the grace of God, Anna, Empress and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., etc.

"To Abulkhair, khan and elder of the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, and to all the Kirghiz-Kazak army, greetings from Our Imperial Majesty.

"It is our hope that the Kirghiz elders, Tatlymbet-Batyr and Baibek-Telengut, who were here with your son Erali and whom we sent, in the company of three Bashkirs, with a gracious letter patent, have already arrived in your presence. This letter patent apprises you, Abulkhair Khan, of our imperial favor toward you and of the fact that your son has been well provided for in our vicinity. And today, we, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, by particular benevolence to you, Abulkhair Khan, our subject, and toward the elders and toward the entire nation of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, have most graciously acceded to your prayer, Abulkhair Khan, and have deigned to send from here our State Councilor Ivan Kirilov and our Colonel Murza Mahmet Tevkelev, and have commanded that a city be built at the mouth of the Ori, and that it be provided with men, artillery, mortars, [712] cannon, and other munitions of war, to protect you and to defend you, our subject, Abulkhair Khan, more easily and quickly, and the elders and all the army, as well as the other khans and elders of the Kirghiz-Kazak and Karakalpak hordes who have submitted

[160 cont.]

*648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
721] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending their pasture lands over excellent places.

*648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little further west, have retained their independence.

*648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neighbors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
*648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

[174 cont.]

×648 graciously received by the Empress and would return home soon. Thirdly, he was told that the reports given by Tevkelev had made known Abulkhair's ambitions, and he was directed to keep on good terms with the hordes and with the Karakalpaks.

Abulkhair, who had been wearing himself out at the long wait, having been soothed for a time, the examination of his promises and proposals continued, in order to make them agree with the good of the empire. He was put under obligation verbally and in writing: first, to enforce the safety of the Russian borders [651] contiguous to his horde; second, to defend the merchant caravans and to escort them across the Kazak steppes; third, to furnish in case of need, like the Kalmuks and the Bashkirs, troops levied from among his subjects; fourth, to pay a tribute, or iasak, in animal hides.

He could not carry out a single one of these promises, for, like all the other khans who succeeded him, he did not have enough authority over his subjects. Several experiences soon proved how impossible it was for him to fulfill the first and [175] second promises. At first there was no reason for reminding him of the third, but in time it was proven that it was as risky as the others. The government at first believed it should decline the fourth, and later it was not even brought up, the matter being regarded as impossible.

In exchange for these promises, which were so pompous, Abulkhair, through his son and Tevkelev, asked two things above all: "the confirmation of the office of khan in his family forever, and the building of a city and a fort at the confluence of the [712] Ori and the Ural rivers, which could serve him as asylum in case of danger."

The Khan's requests and the attention of the government, and the State Councilor Kirilov was charged with satisfying them. He was a man who had distinguished himself by his geographical knowledge, a mapmaker whose collection of detailed information on upper Asia had aroused admiration as widespread as it was deserved. In addition he had kept all the treatises of Peter I regarding his views and plans concerning the Asiatic principalities contiguous to Russia. These facts decided him to draw up and

[178 cont.]

648 called the Dvoedantsy /"payers of double taxes"/. If any movement was noticed on their part, to report it immediately to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inform the border commanders of it;

[705] 6. Not to give Abulkhair any help other than powder and arms in the war against the people of Khiva and to give him no auxiliary troops.

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● [712] cannon, and other munitions of war, to protect you and to defend you, our subject, Abulkhair Khan, more easily and quickly, and the elders and all the army, as well as the other khans and elders of the Kirghiz-Kazak and Karakalpak hordes who have submitted

[207 cont.]
x648 River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they
[726 took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army
727] returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders
[95] who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians.
●[712] The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

[724] The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected
[727] attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

[247 cont.]

*648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439 579] almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. ● [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[267 cont.]
X648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

X648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

X648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

[177 cont.]
[448] [439] with goods to the realm of Bukhara and further, if possible, and likewise to seek to attract merchants from different parts of Asia to come to Russia;

[654] 11. To send geodetic specialists with the first caravan to examine places and draw maps;

12. To look for mines as much as possible and to examine the place where, according to Abulkhair, there was supposed to be gold;

[504 501] 13. To seek to establish a port on the Aral Sea and to hold armed vessels there, and to build a few longboats on the Yaik (Ural) River at first to this end, and after having taken them down, to keep them ready at all times with all their gear; and when the city is built and the relations with the Kazaks and Karakalpaks are more stable, to transport [178] these vessels thus dismounted to the Aral Sea during the winter, with the consent of Abulkhair [716] and the Kazak princes, and there to assemble them and arm them with artillery;

[705] 14. To buy Kazak horses for the cavalry at favorable moments;

[654] 15. To be active in the discovery, exploitation, and sale of metals (excepting gold and silver) which are to be found in the Kazak steppes, according to the principles of trade without losing time in observing forms.

In order to make it easier for Kirilov to execute these orders, everyone everywhere was directed to give him all the help possible.

He was also entrusted with complementary diplomatic instructions, whose ends were:

1. To watch the Bashkirs, among whom there had been frequent disturbances up to that time;

2. To watch the Kazaks likewise;

[662] 3. If one group or the other came to an uprising, to use one people against the other in order to spare the Russian troops;

4. To seek to acquire precise information promptly about contiguous peoples;

5. Above all to watch the behavior of the Dzungars, to seek means of putting an end to their raids upon the Siberian colonies, and to divert them from levying tributes on the peoples

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

631 The relations between such independent local groups[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barbmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.
[30] *Idem*, 349.

1 [see cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

5: Levchine--1 G-4,5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the 721] ● ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic general (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [721 181 771] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[139 cont.]
175 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the
101 documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

[721]

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

175 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish politi-
648 cal relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the
439 Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
[648
439]

3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

● [721 797] Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

[142 cont.]
175 his sons, the Tsarevitch or Sultan Hussein, as hostage in his
648 place (2).
636

2. For this letter, see the packet [envoi] preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This letter was conveyed by Tevkel's ambassador, who was accompanied by Veliamin-Stepanov, interpreter for the Tatar language.

What sort of news Stepanov may have brought to the Tsar upon his return from the horde is unknown. It is only known that his journey produced no political advantage for Russia, that neither Tevkel nor his successors were Russian subjects until the 18th century, and that they neither served Russia nor rendered her
● [121] any kind of help. On the contrary, they attacked her new colonies in Siberia.

One must believe, however, that those who lived on the
175 frontiers of the new Russian territorial possessions must have had
648 frequent relations with them, as did our merchants, at that time,
439 and that they acquired accurate knowledge about their country. For in the book Bolshoi Chertezh /The Great Description, which according to the well-founded evidence of Karamzin must have been written during the reign of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich (3) /1584-

3. Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 259.

1598/, many dwelling places which existed on the lands of the Kazak horde are spoken of in great detail.

131 [143] As this book is rare, we believe it is not irrelevant to quote that which concerns the steppes of the Kirghiz-Kazaks:

"And from the Sea of Khvalymsk (Caspian) to the Blue Sea (Aral), toward the east of summer, it is 250 versts /266 km./.

"And along the Blue Sea to the mouth of the Syr /Darya River/ it is 280 versts /299 km./, and across, by the Blue Sea,

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

[233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied
●721 with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[145 cont.]

175 721 Turkestan at the beginning of the 17th century, and this city was always the residence of their khans. The year in which this conquest took place and the leader of the campaign are unknown. We could not even discover where Khan Murtaza, Kuchum's father, lived, nor whether his descendants reigned over the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] for a long period. Nor did we have any more success in our research concerning Khan Ak-Nazar, who attacked the uluses of the Nogais in 1569, when Semen Maltsov, the envoy of Tsar Ivan the Terrible was there (2). We have gathered

2. See above, p. 140.

some definite evidence, however, that Ishim khan of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, held Turkestan around 1630.

175 [114] Abulgazi Baiadur is the first to speak of it, and it is referred to for the second time in the Annals of Siberia. We have found still more information about it in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg, in the file for 1748.

Abulgazi Baiadur made the acquaintance of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and Khan Ishim about the year 1630 (3), because at this

3. Histoire Généalogique des Tatars, /Leiden, 1726/, Pt. IX, Chapter XI.

time he was forced by his brother Isfandiar, khan of Urgendzhi, to flee his homeland, and he withdrew to Turkestan, where Khan Ishim [146] received him and protected him for three months. After that he escorted him to Tashkent and placed him under the protection of Tursun, khan of that country. Two years [662 later these two princes fell into disagreement. Ishim killed 578] Tursun and seized Tashkent, and Abulgazi withdrew into the realm of Bukhara.

175 721 Ishim Khan is known in the Siberian chronicles for his disagreements and his wars, and particularly for the wars of his son Djangir, or Iangir, with the kungtaidii of the Dzungars, Batur, or Bagatyr (1). Fisher says that Bagatyr opened war on

1. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia..., Bk. IV, Pt. 3, paragraph 13.

[146 cont.]
175 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the
721 Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely exterminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent
722 lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring
175 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed
723 half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of
648 Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

[147 cont.]
175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Commission. In following government orders, he was in constant contact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in 1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
● [72] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing about his origin to Prince Urusov, on July 19, 1740. See the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission. With two accounts as certain as this, we can assure our readers [148] that the Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of 1820, on page 114 of the article on the Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth, we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

175 [150 cont.]
631
173 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

176 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold
[A3] Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[151 cont.]
175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
●721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[153 cont.]
175 [166 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

x648 [157 cont.]
439 desired to protect and facilitate their trade at Orenburg. The conditions suggested by Djulbars show that he was thinking less about submission than of profiting from the advantages of trade relations, and experience justified this assumption. Djulbars did not swear his loyalty and never even came to the border. The letter patent prepared in Petersburg on July 17, 1739 as a result of his promises still rests today in the archives of the Orenburg Border Commission.

x648 Later the Russian government received several more proposals related to the submission of the Great Horde, but these were made by sultans or individual tribal chiefs whose authority did not extend over the entire horde and who desired the gifts which the Russian sovereigns made to their new subjects more than the protection of the empire.

Besides, if the Great Horde had decided to submit with the Little Horde in 1730, or with its Khan Djulbars in 1738, it would have found great obstacles to the fulfillment of its desire. The contiguity of the Dzungars and the distance of the Great Horde from the Russian frontier would have stopped it. Galdan Tsyren or Cheren, Kungtaidji of the Dzungars, would never have allowed his Kazak neighbors to take such a step, for he sustained a hereditary hatred against them and never allowed an opportunity to escape for oppressing them or avenging the wrongs done to
●[721] his forefathers. The union of the Middle and the Little Hordes with Russia persuaded him to reduce the Great Horde to a position where it could not follow the example of the others; he attacked it, defeated it, and subjugated it.

x648 This conquest, however, like all victories won over nomadic
181 peoples, could not be a permanent one. Even though the Russian employees who were then (1) in the [158] Kazak steppes said

1. See Lt. Gladyshev's journal preserved in Orenburg at the Border Commission.

that Galdan's new subjects gave him a korsak /steppe fox/ pelt apiece as a sign of their submission, nevertheless misfortune could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

[158 cont.]
x648 could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

When they realized that it was impossible for them to keep their old regions on Lake Balkash, they drew back to the Tsuya
[726] and Sara-Su [Sary-Su?] rivers. Later when they united their forces, they attacked Tashkent and Turkestan and laid them waste, as well as many other cities and villages belonging to those two states, and they acquired so much power over the residents of Tashkent that they forced them to choose their khans from the horde.

Shubai, Arslanov, and Mansur, residents of the former province of Vyatka, came from Tashkent to Orenburg in 1742 (1)

1. See the file for 1742 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and told how the khan named above ruled in Tashkent until 1739, and that a powerful old Kazak named Tiul Biu shared his authority,
[651] and every year they levied a tribute on the city. Later Djulbars was killed, but Tiul Biu continued to rule after him for a time and to levy tribute. A certain Kussiak Bek, a tributary subject of Galdan Tsyren, and perhaps his lieutenant, put an end to the power of Tiul Biu.

He was the ruler of Tashkent while Shubai and Mansur were there, but the Dzungarian sovereign received the tribute he took from the people. According to our travelers, under Kussiak Bek the Kazaks had no more influence over Tashkent, but they re-
[726] strained the environs of this city to such a degree that it was as though under a state of permanent siege. They cultivated land under its walls, seized the neighboring forests, and at the slightest dissatisfaction they seized the residents of the city and the merchants who came to trade with them.

x648 Turkestan too was for a certain time in a [159] similar
●721 position, although the Kazaks did not hinder the Dzungars from
[439] trading there. As for the small towns between Tashkent and Turkestan, the Kazaks who conquered them during this period kept them until the beginning of the present [19th] century.

[159 cont.]

x648 We are obliged to note with surprise, however, that in
●721 spite of these conquests and hostilities of a people subject to Galdan Tsyren, the Great Horde never dared to go and attack the Dzungars, nor even to call themselves independent of them.

x648 Some years later, in 1749, Tiul Biu, who had been driven
662 out of Tashkent by Kusiak [sic] Bek and was dissatisfied by his insignificance, wished to elevate himself through the protection of Russia, and he sent deputies to Orenburg to propose that he become a Russian subject (1). His weakness was no doubt known

1. Tevkelev mentions this in one of his journals.

to the Russian government, and his proposal also had no effect.

[152] The terror with which the Dzungars filled the Kazaks and the apparent submission of the latter lasted until internal dissensions began to weaken the Dzungars and until these dissensions finally led to the complete dispersal of this people, as is known. The disagreement had scarcely begun to be noticeable when the Kazaks took the most active part in it. They offered asylum to all the exiled Dzungarian princes and zaisangs, and joined with
[726] them to avenge their wrongs. They attacked their enemies, and on the pretext of helping the unfortunate, they never let the opportunity pass of weakening their old enemies by raids. Finally, when the Chinese wished to interfere in the dissensions of the Dzungars, and the success of their arms had reduced Galdan Tsyren's successors to a state of utter weakness, then the Kazaks of the Great Horde took Amursan's (2) side and formed a part of

2. This prince was the last Dzungarian sovereign. At first he was a subject of China, then her enemy, and he died in Russia.

the army which opposed the invaders [160] until 1756, the time when the Dzungarian empire, which had been so powerful ten years earlier, fell under the blows of the Chinese. The people who had

[160 cont.]

*648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

*648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

*648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
*648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

648 [160 cont.]
726 approach of the [161] Torguts to his lands and of the misfortunes
[721] they had had to endure in the Middle Horde, he prepared at once to fight them once more and with the utmost severity. He called upon Sultan Ablai to attack them from the rear and his weaker allies to make a flank assault, while he himself marched to meet the enemy at the head of his elite troops, taking the precaution of sending his family, as well as the women, children, and old people, and their most precious possessions, to places sheltered from danger. These first plans were very well conceived but were not as fully successful as was expected, for Ablai refused to participate in carrying them out. Erali (1) remained alone, and

1. Prince Tsichi calls this sultan Erelinasali. This name is not Kazak and was no doubt erroneously composed from two names or was distorted by the Chinese.

since he was much weaker than the Torguts, he could not attack them openly. But his presence of mind and military strategems took the place of the assistance he lacked. He disclosed his intention of halting the fugitives and not allowing them to pass through.

Ubashi and his subjects, who had already suffered so many mishaps during their journey, were struck with terror by this hostile move of the Kazaks, and instead of overthrowing their enemy at once, they halted before him and began to take counsel and to reflect, and spent 18 days in complete inactivity. Erali was able to profit from their indecision. While the Kalmuks busied themselves with fruitless deliberations, he gathered around him auxiliaries and allies from all sides to defend himself. Sometimes he indicated the injustice done them by the closeness of the Kalmuks, or else he dazzled them with hopes of the rich booty which would be the reward of victory over a people moving from one land to another with all its wealth and a large number of women.

[162] Ubashi, who saw the forces of his enemies constantly increasing, completely lost his courage and instead of fighting

x648 [163 cont.]
726 He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners de-
[727] capitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously
[721 828] resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

x648 Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in
[727] their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally
[651] he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighbor-
[166] ing him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[192 cont.]
648 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu
641 of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this
[439 meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should
728] escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to
[721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193]
662 and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor.
152] But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[202 cont.]
×648 their attacks on the borders while he, fearing to come near the
[726] Ural River, found a way in the heart of his deserts to avenge himself upon the Russians who had retained his son. First he robbed a caravan going from Astrakhan to Khiva, which had the misfortune to pass through his lands. Later he stopped the journey of Lieutenant Gladyshev, who was going from Orenburg to the Karakalpaks. Nor was he satisfied with robbing the Karakalpak envoys who had come from St. Petersburg and were accompanying Gladyshev, but he even seized the imperial letter which was entrusted to them (1).

[739]

1. It is worthy of note that in his journal Gladyshev speaks of having found an English merchant named Djake [Jack?] with the Little Horde in 1742, and that he bought various articles from him in order to present them to the Karakalpaks as gifts.

×648 This conduct strengthened the Russian government in their
721 intent to punish the Kazaks through the Volga Kalmuks, inasmuch as the quarrels of these two peoples and their raids upon each other had become more intense at this time. Consequently, on April 24, 1744, Dunduk Dash, deputy of the Kalmuk khanate was presented with a letter patent commanding him to collect as many armed Kalmuks as possible, who would receive powder and shot at Astrakhan, would march against the Kazaks, and would act under the orders of the governor of Orenburg, Nepluev. By way of recompense, the Kalmuks were promised all the plunder they could take from the Kazaks, except for elders and their children. This letter, out of precaution as much as through confidence in [203] Nepluev, was sent to him directly instead of to the horde, so that he could use it if it were indispensable. It is not known what he thought of such a decisive measure, but this letter remained at Orenburg, and the original is still preserved in the archives of the Border Commission.

[204 cont.]
[662] this he used threats and favors by turns, and finally he bought various Russian articles at his own expense which he had sold to the horde, not only without profit but even at a loss.

[186] Although the circumstances were so opposed to the views of the Russian government, yet the hereditary and inveterate hate of the Kazaks for the Dzungars still had enough power to keep them from being entirely indifferent to the hints of the Russians. They preferred to leave their border in peace rather than neglect the opportunity to attack their perpetual enemies, who at this time threatened to reduce them to complete subservience. In spite of their submission to Galdan Tsyren, the khans and sultans feared his domination more than that of the Russians. However, they took part with the people in the preparations for hostilities which were being made. The tribes of the Middle Horde, who were still suffering from the ravages committed against them in 1741, almost under the walls of Orenburg, were the most anxious to help the Russian troops. They were only waiting for the opening of war between them and the Dzungars, and at the first news of the beginning of hostilities they would have thrown themselves upon the settlements of their enemies with all the fury of semi-primitive people. But their hopes were dashed, for the Dzungars, in spite of their threats, left Russia in peace. This was the only way the Kazaks could have avoided the storm which threatened them, for in spite of all the patience with which the Russian government had borne their raids on the border for more than a year, it had been firmly decided to use the troops [205] stationed on the Orenburg line and others to be added to them in order to punish the Kazaks severely.

During the interval, Sultan Khodja Akhmet, who until then had been detained as hostage in the fort at Sarachinsk, was transferred to St. Petersburg. Although Abulkhair could not have been [152] happy to see his son taken further away when he wished him closer, and although he was furiously angry with Nepluev and allowed [721] himself new violence in his relations with him, still his subjects

[205 cont.]
made no raids during the year 1745. Rychkov says (1), according

1. The continuation of his history of Orenburg.

to a Russian Cossack who was with the Little Horde then, that this year as in 1773, Khan Abulkhair incited his subjects to renew their raids on the right bank of the Ural, but on this occasion the people refused to obey. However we cannot accept this report as accurate for the following reasons:

1. The Kazaks were too accustomed to pillage to refuse the proposal of their khan to attack a foreign country, especially when they had not had a chance to test the force of its arms.

2. At that time Abulkhair's attention was directed to Khiva, whose inhabitants, attacked by those of Turkestan, had sent to him to ask help, and who although subjects of Persia wanted to have Sultan Nurali as khan later. He sent Nepluev the letters he had received from Khiva on this subject and asked his advice.

3. It was at this time that he swore an oath of loyalty in his aoul in the presence of a Russian officer, to Emperor Peter III, successor to Elizabeth, and afterwards liberated 30 prisoners, Russians as well as Kalmuks, who had been taken by his subjects.

4. He complained about Nepluev to the highest authorities (2),

2. See Abulkhair's letter and Nepluev's rescript of September 17, 1745 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and indicated that except for his personal quarrel with this governor and the displeasure he had felt at the refusal to exchange [206] his son Khodja Akhmet for Chingis, he had no other cause for complaint against Russia nor any harmful intention.

As for the office of khan which had been proposed to the son in Khiva, Nepluev had sought by all possible means to persuade

[208 cont.]
100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

Y 648 [213 cont.]
[562]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

● [721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X 648 [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that [664] he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[219 cont.] In
1750 he only requested the Orenburg authorities, through his envoys, that the Russian caravans proceeding to Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara should pass through his pasture lands, and he undertook to escort them and defend them. In order to give this proposal greater force, his son, Khan Kaip, sent a deputy charged with bearing assurances of peace and amity and also the request that the caravans be sent by way of the auls of his father. This wish of Batyr and his son could not be fulfilled because it tended to do an obvious wrong to Nurali, who in his capacity as a vassal of Russia and a khan recognized by her was [220] in charge of protecting Russian trade in the steppes between the Ural River and the Syr [Darya] and had already undertaken this task.

It is true that one could scarcely count upon his efforts, but the Sultan Batyr's promises presented still less security in view of his distance from the Russian border. For this reason he was answered that the obligation of escorting the caravans across the lands of the Kazak Little Horde was under the jurisdiction of Nurali, that he could help in this, and finally that he was to live on good terms with Nurali if he wished to enjoy Russian protection.

The envoy from Khiva received a reply from Nepluev which contained nothing decisive but was, nevertheless, very honest.

These measures, without regard to their justice, were based on the benefits to Russia. She had to protect and even augment the power of the khans she had installed or recognized, for their weakness would not produce or even promise any use for her. At that time the Kazak hordes had been numbered among her subjects for nearly 20 years. For nearly 20 years she had been losing money in keeping them peaceful, presenting gifts to the sultans and elders, building forts and maintaining troops. Yet, in spite of all these sacrifices, she had been unable during this interval to protect her borders from pillage, nor even to find a way of rescuing her native subjects from the fetters of a people who had submitted to Russia voluntarily. Abulkhair's excuses as to his lack of power, expressed rather rarely because of his vanity, were regarded as subterfuges, as much because of his knavish character as of his

[220 cont.]
×648 open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated re-
[662] quests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners.
[721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but
[683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to
685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should
[681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend.
[431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[221 cont.]
x648 ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[143] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[72] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[727] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[644] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[726] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[166] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[143] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[222 cont.]
x648 acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[143] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai
[262] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[139] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
●[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu
[166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[139] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[226 cont.]
he did not release it until nearly a year had passed. When this caravan returned to Orenburg in 1754, an envoy of Kaip himself accompanied it as well as a Russian officer who had been in Khiva. The latter declared that he had met Sultan Erali on his way and that this prince had begged him to report to Nepluev that he and his brothers were ready to attack Khiva to avenge the insults of Sultan Batyr and his son, and that he planned to join the discontented subjects of Kaip, to put him to death, to seize his place, and to release the Russian prisoners who were then in Khiva. He asked only that in case he were unsuccessful Russia would promise to ransom him if he himself were taken.

To everyone's great astonishment the envoy from Khiva, instead of carrying out his master's orders, complained to the Russian government of the avidity and injustices of the Khan. He described the evils he made the people suffer, and in the name of all the Uzbeks, the people [race] to whom he belonged, he demanded help in order to dethrone the Khan.

Although this demand provided Russia with an opportunity to punish the Khivans for their perfidy and their prince for his insolence the year before in detaining a caravan from Orenburg, nevertheless the government then thought the conquest of Khiva more difficult than it was useful. Moreover Erali's pledge provided hope for acquiring some influence over this land without bloodshed. Consequently the government refused to acquiesce to the proposal of the Khivan envoy, who [227] had solicited help in overthrowing Kaip, but did not forbid him to ask help from the Kazak princes (1). Khan Nurali and Sultan Erali were

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of April 2, 1755.

permitted to march against Khiva and to seize it if luck was on their side. Also it was decided to grant Erali his ransom if he happened to be captured on this expedition.

Russia would certainly have gained an enormous advantage commercially if Abulkhair's sons had carried out their plan and

[227 cont.]
had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali. The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

Prince Maksiutov, the captain sent at that time from Orenburg to the Little Horde, wrote in his reports that Nurali Khan and his brothers were preparing to march against Khiva and convoked an assembly of the people who approved of the plan. But when a khoja, who as a kind of saint had been asked for a blessing for the success of the expedition, forbade them to make war against the Khivans, they obeyed him. The Middle Horde then suffered from the last exertions of the Dzungars. In 1754 they found themselves so harassed by the latter that a large number of Kazaks of this horde asked the government to allow them to pass their women and children over the Russian lines if they could not be allowed this permission themselves. Some of them went so far as to ask that they be granted lands on the border, where they promised to engage in agriculture and to build villages.

Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 317, 1755.

after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars [726] and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

[232 cont.]

648 circumstances, and Nepluev, who had finally received the orders
662 he had requested for the execution of his plan, at once informed
661 the Khan, the Kazak sultans, and the most distinguished elders that as a reward for their faithfulness and devotion to Russia, the Empress was presenting them, as a gift, all the wives and daughters of the Bashkirs who were among them, on condition that the men be surrendered on the line, or at least driven out of the Kazak hordes. In addition, other rewards were promised for the extradition of the deserters.

[721
722] The voluptuous Kazaks hastened to seize the women who were being abandoned to them. The Bashkirs wished to defend their families, but their number was too small and they could not resist. Some of them perished on the spot, others were surrendered to the Russians, and still others returned by themselves to their homes, waiting impatiently for the time to carry out their firm resolve to avenge this offense perpetrated by the Kazaks.

Rage and jealousy immediately aroused bands of avengers among the Bashkirs, who requested permission from the government to cross the Ural. Nepluev replied that the Empress did not grant permission to cross the border, but in secret he gave orders to the commanders of the forts and military posts to pay no attention to the people who crossed without permission into the steppes beyond the [233] Ural. Taking advantage of the pretended negligence of the guards, whole bands of Bashkirs crossed the Ural, fell upon the hordes, and began to pillage and massacre and to take away women and children.

Khan Nurali complained; he received the reply from Orenburg that the Kazaks had brought all these misfortunes upon their own heads by receiving the faithless deserters in their villages, and that all the Bashkirs were going to hasten to make similar exploits. Then Nurali's subjects took arms and began to repulse the attacks of their enemies, which the latter repeated constantly. The two people continued to destroy each other in this manner until Nepluev decided that it was fitting to call a halt to these disturbances. It was then strictly forbidden to the Bashkirs to cross the Ural, and it was suggested to the Kazaks that they retreat to

[234 cont.]
x648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years. [431 661] These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.

[721 726] The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
y648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[235 cont.]

[578]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

[646] Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the [728] demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

[236 cont.]
×648 that its probability be considered and also the basis for it. From
662 information received about the Little Horde from an officer (1)
721

1. See Prince Urakov's reports of 1757 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

who was sent there for the purpose, it was found out that the Kazaks had had no thought of the Kuban, but that Dunduk Dashi and two other Kalmuk princes had themselves sent confidential agents to Khan Nurali to warn him that the Crimean Tatars intended to attack Russia and to invite him to give them help, as the Kalmuks had themselves decided to do. Nurali had not rejected this proposal, but he had asked that he be warned of the moment when the Tatars would carry out their plan.

×649 This duplicity on the part of Dunduk Dashi and his Kalmuk
661 subjects' eternal hatred of the Kazaks caused the presumption
662 that his real aim was to decide Nurali to march against the Russians and to profit by the absence of a large part of the Little Horde to attack its defenseless auls.

However this is only a presumption, and events did not prove that it was true. For neither the Crimean Tatars nor the Kazaks attacked Russia in 1757, and consequently the Volga Kalmuks had no occasion to help the first nor to destroy the second.

×648 [237] The behavior of the Middle Horde in 1758 disturbed the Russian government more than the rumors of Nurali's alliance with the Crimean khan. Part of this horde had invaded the
[727] borders and taken the liberty of carrying off 220 Tatars of the Kuznetsk district as prisoners, people known by the name of Dvoedantsy (this name means "those who pay double tribute, or two tributes"). The Russians and the Dzungars levied tribute on these people at the same time. Another part of the Middle Horde, and this was the largest part, having seized the lands of the Dzungars who had been driven from their country, were coming closer to China and seemed too devoted to that empire.

[238 cont.]

×648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [662] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as [731] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

X 648 [241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their
[728] demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires,
[562] sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

[726 721] The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This
[574] irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

[242 cont.]

×648 These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 18, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

●[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

×648 Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent letters with this information without demanding a new oath from [662] them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[244 cont.]
x 648 this distinction and paid no more attention to Russian complaints.
[721] His subjects again began their raids against the Volga Kalmuks and later insisted that they be allowed to spend the winter on the right bank of the Ural River. They had been refused this request several times, but the new refusal enraged them so that they wished to pass the border by force to spend the winter in Russia with their herds and studs. This insolence led the Empress Catherine to give
[681] Ubashi, a deputy of the Kalmuk khanate, a letter patent (2) on

2. This letter remained in Orenburg, where it is still preserved.

May 18, 1763 to punish the Kazaks of the Little Horde by force of arms as soon as he received word from the government of Orenburg that part of them had crossed the border. Orders were also given to authorize the Bashkirs and Yaik Cossacks to do the same. But no one gained from this, because the Kazaks remained in their steppes.

The wily Sultan Ablai, who for several years had succeeded in pleasing two powers with opposing interests, was called at this time to the aid of a third, which was less [245] necessary than the first two to his security in the horde but to whose fate he was
x 648 linked by both the laws of the Koran and his amour-propre.
721 The Chinese conquered what is called Little Bukhara almost at the same time as Dzungaria and wished to extend their conquests still further over other small Moslem states of Central Asia. The expectation of this invasion and the impossibility of repulsing it forced the khans of Tashkent and Kokand and their neighbors, who were as weak as they, to beg help against the Chinese first of all from Akhmet, sovereign of the Afghans, for with this title and as a Moslem, he should protect his coreligionists. The inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkend and other cities already conquered by the Chinese likewise asked him to deliver them from the rule of the infidels. Aroused by so many demands, Akhmet sent a strong army against the Chinese, which halted between Tashkent and Kokand to enter into discussions with the Chinese.

[245 cont.]

×648 ●721 During the correspondence and the sending of couriers, the zealous Moslems joined their defenders from all sides, and by letters and sermons they incited everyone to come to their aid. Abul Mahmet, who was regarded as the khan of the Middle Horde, also received a letter of invitation, but since he had ceased to rule the Kazaks long before, he transmitted the invitation to [662] Ablai (1). The latter would no doubt have entered the general

1. The Bashkir, Tergulov, who was sent to the Middle Horde, brought a copy of this letter to Orenburg in the same year of 1763.

league of the Moslems if he had been a little less closely linked to the Chinese. But the court of Peking, in order to forestall his inclinations to help his coreligionists, had sent to Ablai shortly before the arrival of Abul Mahmet's letter a letter patent (2)

2. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev.

which permitted him to occupy the environs of the Ili River and assured him constant protection. But at the same time [246] the [661] court of Peking took as hostage his father-in-law, Sultan Sultanamet, several elders and their children.

[662] It was also proposed to Nurali that he join the Afghans, and he did not categorically refuse. But the position of his horde and the circumstances did not permit him to march with an army toward the Chinese borders. The Kalmuks on one side and the Bashkirs on the other would not have failed to profit by the absence of the Kazaks and would not only have pillaged all their riches but also have carried off their wives and children into slavery. Nurali had reason to fear this, for the Bashkirs retained a vivid memory of the injuries they had suffered in 1755 from the Little Horde, many of which had not yet been avenged. And in 1762 the Kalmuks had suffered another blow from the Kazaks, who had reached the Volga by crossing the Caspian Sea over the ice.

[246 cont.]

[648] [721] This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

[167 439 579] During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

[361] For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach [177] them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their [181] nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

[439 579] For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[248 cont.]
x 648 secure hostages from Ablai to guarantee the freedom of the
[661] Russians sent to him.

x 648 662 Khan Nurali, who was proud of his relations with the army of the Afghans and with China, wrote directly to the Empress in 1764, both to inform her of the invitation sent him by all the Moslems of Central Asia to take part in the war against China and also to acquaint her with the distinguished reception his embassy had had in Peking. These two circumstances inflated his vanity, and in his dreams of [249] his importance, he thought he could exact several concessions which he had already been refused. However, these repeated demands had no more success than they had had the first time. He was sent thanks from Russia for the news he had provided about the Afghans, and several gifts were added with a reply which was as polite as it was lacking in satisfaction. His horde did not remain calm, however, but con-
[721] tinued its raids against the Volga Kalmuks as much as against the Russian settlements on the border, nor did they renounce their usual dissensions, which are not worth a detailed description. Thus passed the years 1765 and 1766. In 1767 Russian troops punished them in a clear manner, by pursuing the brigands to the very middle of the horde.

x 648 662 643 There is no doubt that this chastisement made Nurali violently angry. Since he needed Catherine's good graces, however, he hid his resentment for a long time. He was afraid that after his death the position of khan might pass to another family, and asked that a successor or deputy be designated while he still lived and that the Russian government ceremonially elevate his eldest son, Ishim, to this new post. This was a new desire, but it was not in opposition to Russian views. It was true that Russia could designate one of Nurali's brothers as khan of the Little Horde if she chose. But since there was no reason then for preferring them above other sultans and since the Empress Anna, when she promised Abulkhair to preserve the post of khan for posterity, did not fix any rule for the choice of his successors, Nurali's wish could be fulfilled. Also the particular qualities of Sultan Ishim were no obstacle to the accomplishment of his

K [250 cont.]
x648 Horde, and with greater success, and finally the vexation of his
[152 [251] own weakness, all troubled him and removed his power to
578] act with coolness. Having aroused his arrogance, the court of
K Petersburg rejected the thought it had had of increasing his power
[661] over the Kazaks, a measure which had once been thought indispensable. Thus Nurali came to the point where he began to be given less consideration. In spite of his brothers' quarrels with him, they were sent sabers as a reward for their zeal, and his request for stipends fixed by the year were put aside. He was even refused permission to send deputies to Petersburg. It was directed to pay no attention to his obstinacy on the matter of the hostage and to say to him always that Russia would know how to maintain the Kazaks in obedience without that (1). The same

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 16, 1770.

thing was written that year to Sultan Ablai, who, in the hopes of receiving several advantages and privileges from Russia, offered to give up one of his sons as hostage, but later, after he saw that most of his demands could not be satisfied, he refused on fantastic pretexts to carry out what he himself had proposed.

K
●[721] The renewal of the raids on the Orenburg border by the Little Horde in 1770 was about to bring still another punishment (2)

2. Reinsdorf, the governor of Orenburg, received on January 10, 1771 an order from the Empress to send troops into the Kazak steppe in order to punish the bandits and free the prisoners.

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EK
KO
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upon them by the Russian government, which they were fortunate enough to avoid only because of the desertion of the Volga Kalmuks, which gave affairs a new turn. This change gave a new destination to the Russian troops, who had been enemies of the Kazaks and now became their allies. We will now give the history of

EK KO 648 K x648 EK KO [667 668]

[253 cont.]
after having taken counsel with the princes and the lamas (priests), he fixed the time of departure for the time when the Volga should be covered with ice. This arrangement was necessary because, although Ubashi himself was on the left bank of the river, a large part of the Torguts were on the right bank and could not join him with what they possessed except by crossing the ice.

This is why a [254] large part of the inhabitants of Astrakhan are still composed of Kalmuks today. For the winter of 1770 was warm and the rivers of southern Russia did not freeze, and Ubashi, after waiting in vain until the month of January for the Kalmuks from the right bank to join him, was obliged to abandon them and to leave with only those who were on the left bank.

They departed on the fifth of January, numbering 30,000 tents (1).

1. This is what Rychkov's journal says, but the Geographical Dictionary of the Russian Empire puts it at only 28,162.

K EK KO [662]

As they approached the Yaik /Ural River/, the governor of Orenburg warned Khan Nurali that they were going to attack the Kazaks. Consequently, in the name of the supreme government, he granted Nurali the right to fight against them and to take as much booty from them as he could, on condition that they then be made to return to their former places of abode within our borders. The government of the borders of Siberia transmitted the same advice to the Middle Horde through Sultan Ablai and other chiefs. In order to confirm these declarations, on January 27, 1771 an imperial letter patent was presented in the name of Nurali and all the Kazak people to seize the Torguts.

EK KO K ● [721 186]

Every kind of instigation or advice was quite superfluous for the accomplishment of such designs. Every Kazak considered the chance to contribute to their execution a special bit of good fortune. Stirred with a violent hatred for all the Kalmuk descent groups, a heritage from their fathers and their most distant

European Kalmyk RF4
Kalmyks (Oirat) AHE

K 648 [721 186] EK KO 648 [721 186]

[254 cont.]

ancestors, they hastened out to fight against them and despoil them. In less than a month the Kazak hordes were under arms, and the entire length of the country, from the shores of the Yaik to the borders of China, was covered with bands of warriors waiting impatiently for the appearance of a people whom the Kazaks burned to immolate for injuries suffered and for the hatred they aroused simply by their name and their origin. Nurali replied to the letter patent that he was not only ready to comply [255] with the wishes of the Russian government but that he was already on the march with his subjects against the fugitives. At the same time news was received that Ablai and his horde were ready for combat. Aichuvak and other sultans wrote in the same vein, and Kaip, who had been khan of Khiva and who lived within the Little Horde after his expulsion by his subjects, promised to join the Russian troops. East of the Kazak steppes, the Kalmuks were awaited by the Sultans Abulfenz, son of Abulkhair Khan, and Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, and finally by the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, who surpassed all the neighboring peoples in daring and ferociousness.

EK KO K [721 167]

What a terrible series of battles the Torguts had to endure! What a succession of attacks, murders, and robberies occurred on their route all the way to their destination on the banks of the Ili, traveling not with an army always ready to fight, but taking along with them their wives, children, herds, and all their possessions!

Several detachments of Russian troops were immediately detailed to restrain the Kazaks, but various circumstances prevented them from acting in a manner which corresponded to the hope of the government. From then on all hope was lost of seizing the Kalmuks, and the arming of all the Kazak hordes served only to exterminate a large part of the Torguts, without contributing in any way to their return to Russia.

The first barrier which should have been opposed to them was the army of the Ural (Yaik) Cossacks, whose lands they crossed. After the Kalmuks had passed, the Cossacks were firmly ordered to pursue them, but they rebelled and openly refused to leave their homes.

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[255 cont.]

A second detachment was composed of Orenburg Cossacks. They entered the Kazak steppe and joined Khan Nurali in the first half of February. But their horses were so exhausted by the lack of fodder that this [256] detachment remained in the rear and was finally forced to pass into Russia.

Regular troops were detailed to replace them. But the same lack of forage in the steppes beyond the Ural River during the winter and the loss of precious time in correspondence and preparations prevented this corps under the command of Major General Traubenberg from leaving the fortress of Orsk until April 12. He was directed to join Khan Nurali and to await the Kalmuks on the Irtysh, but he did not reach this river until they were already on the Turgai. Having thus lost the opportunity of action in any other way than against the rear of the fugitives, the Russians who had joined the troops of Nurali (1) and Kaip (2) marched swiftly

1. On this occasion Nurali paraded his devotion to Russia in the presence of the commander of the Russian troops and complained of the fact that they had not asked his help in the Prussian War or the one against Turkey.

2. Nurali effected his meeting with the Russian troops near the Aksakal Barbi lakes, and Kaip did so on the Karaganly-Turgai, 754 versts /805 km./ from the fort of Orsk.

in pursuit of the Torguts. Near the Ulu-Tau Mountains famine and bad water caused swelling ailments to spread among the soldiers, and the horses tired and began to die in large numbers. Meanwhile the fugitives were moving farther and farther away, and the impossibility of reaching them became more evident every day. Finally, General Traubenberg was obliged to turn from the east to the north and to return into Russia by the fort of Uisk, which was the nearest point on the border.

[256 cont.]

The Kazaks alone could not seize the Kalmuks, and they did not need to. The aim of their cooperation was better accomplished by their endless and repeated attacks, their pillaging and the capture of a large number of prisoners. Sultan Aichuvak routed one section on the Sagiz. Nurali delivered a violent blow to another section toward the east, and he also carried off several victories over them near the Mugodzhar Hills and on the Ishim River. Ablai [257] fought them with constant success. In some regions he acted in accord with Sultan Abulfenz, and their united forces caused immense losses to the Kalmuks, especially through the number of prisoners they took.

Erali, sultan of the Great Horde and at the same time paladin of the court of Peking, invited Ablai to join him against the Kalmuks several times. The latter refused to aid him, but this did not stop him from carrying out the plan he had devised. Erali found other allies and caused the fugitives to undergo enormous losses in men, animals, and personal belongings. We saw the details of this event in the historical account of the Great Horde.

When they were finally free of the Kazaks, the Kalmuks fell into the hands of the Buruts, and the misfortunes which the latter inflicted upon them were much worse than those they had suffered previously, particularly with regard to losses in prisoners. The Buruts, who were as greedy as they were ferocious, pursued them all the way to the Chinese border, to the new line established on the lands of the Dzungars. Ubashi crossed this line, not as he had imagined when he left the Volga as an independent sovereign, but as a humble subject who wished to save his life. He brought to China less than half of the Kalmuks who left Russia with him, the rest having perished en route.

In 1773 and 1774 Pugachev's revolt caused violent agitation in the provinces in the southeast of Russia. The lands washed by the Ural River, almost from its source to its mouth, were most exposed to this, because the Yaik Cossacks were the first accomplices of the false Peter, and the Bashkirs were his first allies. The troops forming the border guard assembled in the principal forts to defend them against the rebels, and the borders remained

x648 [260 cont.]
[439]

subject on December 17, 1775, the geodetic specialist Vasiliev drew a map of the environs of the Emba and the rivers which flowed into it.

execution, as had all the others which had been made previously.
[721] It can be seen in the reports from the governor of Orenburg, Reinsdorf, to the Empress in the months of March and April, 1776 that the Little Horde had once more begun acts of hostility against Russia, and although after the Russian troops entered the steppes in 1774, the border authorities had been forbidden to send troops beyond the Ural, yet Khan Nurali himself had asked for armed assistance to bring his restless subjects to their senses.
[662] Sultan Ablai, on the contrary, was then becoming more powerful, older, and wilier from day to day. Having had more experience than any of the contemporary Kazak princes and being known for his intelligence, dreaded by his subjects, and distinguished for his ties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of China (2) /sic/,

2. The best known among them was Sultan Dair, son of Barak, who complained to the governor of Orenburg that Ablai had unjustly usurped the title of khan.

he had every possible right to the post of chief of the Middle Horde. Sure of his ability, he knew how to attract followers by his importance and his prudent behavior. He threatened his enemies with his power and acknowledged himself now a subject of Russia and now that of China (3), depending on the occasion,

3. Some Kazaks who came within our borders stated that Ablai spoke Chinese.

being in fact a completely independent sovereign. One can notice this especially after the year 1771, when he made less
[643] effort to conserve appearances of an external submission to Russia, and having become less hypocritical, he openly took the title of khan.

[261 cont.]
×648 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
●[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[262 cont.]
*643 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
[764] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
●[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
*648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
643 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobs in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[264 cont.]

~~648~~ 643 The election of Vali by Ablai's Kazak subjects and his confirmation by Russia did not prevent another khan from appearing in the same horde. He was chosen by the Naiman descent line and confirmed by the emperor of China. The descendants of the ancient Naimans, who had blended into the mass of the Kazak people of the time, obeyed, at the time of Ablai, Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet and brother of Pulat, the khan of Turkestan. And although he had had some relations with the Orenburg authorities and had even requested a stipend, he was nevertheless a subject of China. He died in 1783, leaving a son named Bupu and a son-in-law, Khan Khodja, son of Barak, whose acquaintance we have already made. One of these princes was to inherit Abulfenz's authority, but each had his partisans, who could not come to an agreement on the choice and who set the entire Naiman descent group in commotion with their quarrels. The majority of the votes were in favor of Khan Khodja, however, so that this prince became the sovereign of the former subjects of Abulfenz, and the troubles were ended. When the emperor of China learned this, he sent him a certificate as khan by one of his high officials. The ministry in Peking considered this a necessary measure because it regarded the entire Middle Horde as subjects of China and because it had named Ablai a Chinese prince. When it was seen that Ablai's son Vali was submitting [662] himself to Russia, he was speedily replaced, for the dignity of the empire, by another Kazak prince who was submissive.

~~648~~ With the exception of Vali, the other sons and close kinsmen of Ablai had few relations with Russia. Some of them proudly acknowledged themselves to be subjects of China.

This was the behavior adopted by Sultan Chingis, who [265] marched in 1784 with an army raised in the steppes to put down a revolt which had broken out in Tashkent. Another brother of [186] Khan Vali, Sultan Tyz, who was also devoted to China, is known to us only for his hatred of the Buruts.

Tyz was not the only one to attack his bloodthirsty neighbors. [721] Several sections or branches of the Kazaks who lived near the Chinese borders continued to maintain the war against the Buruts

[265 cont.]

x648 begun by Ablai. But the Buruts, who were accustomed to con-
[721] stant fighting, were not easy to defeat. The Chinese also experienced the effects of their valor several times and sometimes were vanquished by them. Thus it is not surprising that Sultan Tyz, who rashly attacked them with a handful of men, was
[727 defeated and taken prisoner, and he emerged from prison only
728] under humiliating conditions and after giving them the slaves which belonged to him.

[721] The elder Berdy Khoja suffered still more from the Buruts (1). He ruled the part of the Middle Horde which

1. This same Berdy Khoja came to the fort of Semipalatinsk in the month of July, 1785 and imparted the information to the Russians which we have given here about Ablai's son and on the Buruts. This was published for the first time in Sibirskii Vestnik, Bk. III, 1820, and we have taken it from this source.

nomadized near the Chinese borders, and often fought against the savage Kirgiz, winning battles against them frequently. In 1785 he won quite an important victory over them, but it was his last. Acting as an auxiliary of the Chinese army, which was marching against them from the shores of the Ili, he advanced swiftly from the shores of the Ayaguz and gave them a terrible rebuff. Encouraged by his success he set out again with a small number of his men and halted on his arrival at the Jidisse /Djidis?/ to await reinforcements. The Buruts took advantage of his
[727] weakness and attacked him during the first night, defeating him and taking him prisoner. The unfortunate elder, in despair, knowing the customs of his enemies, could no longer hope for good luck in the future, and resolving to hasten his death, he killed one of the Buruts who was [266] leading him to the chief of the tribe. The others could not endure the idea of letting this act pass unpunished for an instant. They stopped on the way

[266 cont.]

x648 and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They
[727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use
[233 every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent in-
166] tentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[266 cont.]
x648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[346] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. *In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians,* and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[267 cont.]

x648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

x648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

x648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[269 cont.]
X648 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784
692 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks, Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

X648 At the same time as this establishment, from which great
[346] advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-
[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from
721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against them and did more than enemies.

X648 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance.
721 But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

[270 cont.]
had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken. For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line, and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent against them.

In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The detachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more daring.

His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order [271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[271 cont.]

648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it because no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

648 662 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into three sections, according to the number of its descent lines, namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[274 cont.]

course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[276 cont.]

he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

● [721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

X 648 ●721 771 186 662

[281 cont.]

to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg gov- [721 578] ernment. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

[283 cont.]

×648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[142] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

×648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

×648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

[284 cont.]

successful, because the sultans, and especially the descendants of Abulkhair, were trying to please the Russian government, having been informed of the Empress' intentions to re-establish the post of khan among them. As for individual raids, Syrym's followers continued them almost without interruption for seven or eight years.

The main raids took place after the election of Sultan Erali to the position of khan, which was in 1791 by order of the Empress. When she learned of Nurali's death, she commanded on January 29 that Erali be named his successor and that he be sent the patent of khan of the Little Horde without waiting for any representations. In carrying out the will of his sovereign, the commander of the province of Orenburg at once informed Abulkhair's son of the honor which was being given him and invited him to appear at the border at the end of summer to receive the ceremonial investiture. Erali arrived at the Ural at the designated time with his followers and on September 4 was proclaimed khan, 15 versts from the fortress of Orsk.

This is how his election took place. On the day at the hour designated, Lieutenant General Peutling, supreme commander of [285] the border region of Orenburg, escorted by a body of troops appeared before the assembled Kazaks and commanded first of all that the imperial document be read to them, in which it was said that Erali had been designated khan, both because of his personal merit and because he was the eldest in Abulkhair's family. Then he invited the people to proceed to the election according to its old customs.

At this same moment there appeared the deputies of Batyr Syrym, those of Sultan Abulgazy Kaip, and those of several elders, who announced that they did not consent to the election of Erali. They received the reply that he had been designated by the wish of the Empress. The next day, after the proclamation of the Khan, that is, September 5, six deputies were chosen who were sent to St. Petersburg to ask that he be confirmed.

On September 6 a letter was received from the khan of Turkestan, Pirali, son of Nurali, in which this prince, who had

x 648 [286 cont.]
663 that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom
662 had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems
[688] to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his
● [721 rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this
726] declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

x 648 Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

[290 cont.]
x648 for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon be-
[646] came useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a
council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.
x649 In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it
643 was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim.
Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali,
but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of
Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council,
inspired much more confidence in the government and had much
more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled
near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year
Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little
Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little
Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by
Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.
x648 It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had
[643] often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia
554 but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled
by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to
promise various advantages. However, what followed did not
justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not
[579 act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader.
578 The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the
●721] raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the
acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations
[43] and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde.
The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples,
which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to
dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish
the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy
which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks in-
creased from one day to the next, and finally the disorder spread
everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences.
Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River
withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the
descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[294 cont.]

very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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628]

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342] places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[315 cont.]

181 152 [636 342]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 627 628 578] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling [166] places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: 166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always 578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the

the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
sian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
manent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

[151 cont.]

175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
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2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

ught inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and
studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and
ery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[227 cont.]
x648 had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did
[721 not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali.
439] The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

[721] Prince Maksiutov, the captain sent at that time from Orenburg to the Little Horde, wrote in his reports that Nurali Khan and his brothers were preparing to march against Khiva and con-
[792 voked an assembly of the people who approved of the plan. But
783] when a khoja, who as a kind of saint had been asked for a blessing for the success of the expedition, forbade them to make war against the Khivans, they obeyed him. The Middle Horde then
[722] suffered from the last exertions of the Dzungars. In 1754 they found themselves so harassed by the latter that a large number of Kazaks of this horde asked the government to allow them to pass their women and children over the Russian lines if they could not be allowed this permission themselves. Some of them went so far as to ask that they be granted lands on the border, where they promised to engage in agriculture and to build villages.

Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 317, 1755.

after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they
[661] were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which
722] menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes.
662] Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[146 cont.]
175 Ishim in 1635, and that Djangir, then the commander of the
721 Kirghiz-Kazak army, was taken prisoner. When he had regained his liberty by chance, he wished to avenge himself against the Dzungars, and tormented them constantly by his raids. In order to force peace over a long period, or if possible to completely extesminate such dangerous neighbors, Bagatyr assembled an army of 50,000 men, made up of an equal number of his own men and those of his allies.

175 At the head of his forces he easily subdued two descent
722 lines of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, 10,000 persons altogether. He would have continued to destroy all those whom Djangir set in opposition to him if this Kirghiz [-Kazak] sultan, a gifted warrior as one can see, had not used the most salutary measures in defending himself. He had only 600 armed men, and not daring
175 to attack the enemy openly with this handful of men, he placed
723 half of his group in a gorge between two mountains, causing them to be surrounded by a deep ditch and with a raised entrenchment. Then he himself lay in wait with the other half on the other side of the mountain. The Dzungars arrived in front of the entrenchment and attacked it. While they were losing many men in this struggle, in which they were at a disadvantage because of the narrow expanse of the terrain, Djangir fell upon them from the rear. This unexpected attack, the daring of the men he had chosen for this purpose, and the excellence of the guns with which they were all [147] armed, inflicted great losses upon Bagatyr. At this moment Alantush, the Tatar prince, arrived to support the Kirghiz [-Kazaks] at the head of 20,000 fresh troops and completed Bagatyr's ruin. The Dzungars were forced to withdraw and to limit their vengeance to taking away the prisoners they had taken during the battle. The Kazaks continued to harass them with frequent raids, not only during Bagatyr's time, but also under his successors.

175 We found the third reference to Ishim in the papers of
648 Tevkelev, former interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later major general. He spent two years among the

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726 WARFARE--wartime mobilization; departure of troops (e.g., public ceremonies, rituals for securing supernatural aid, exhortations to bravery); military expeditions (e.g., marching, scouts, protection of flanks and rear, camping, mounting of guards, foraging, billeting); types of combat (e.g., skirmishes, surprise attacks, assaults, pitched battles, siege operations); joining battle (e.g., choice of time and place, ritual preliminaries and precautions); deploying and coordination of forces; special characteristics of naval and air combat; military conventions and rules of war (e.g., flag of truce); personal encounters (e.g., duels between champions); termination of combat (e.g., after first casualty, after desperate last stand); tactical withdrawals; flight and pursuit; surrender; etc. See also:

Religious practices 78
War songs 533
International law 648
Organization of army or war party 701

[146 cont.]

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[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
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[151 cont.]
175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
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167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

●[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and re-
[727] covered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[153 cont.]
175 [166 726] latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to [721] give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, [648] new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order [636 181] and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

[648 636] These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

[128] Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

[158 cont.]
×648 could not destroy their love nor habit of freedom.

When they realized that it was impossible for them to keep their old regions on Lake Balkash, they drew back to the Tsuya
●[726] and Sara-Su [Sary-Su?] rivers. Later when they united their forces, they attacked Tashkent and Turkestan and laid them waste, as well as many other cities and villages belonging to those two states, and they acquired so much power over the residents of Tashkent that they forced them to choose their khans from the horde.

Shubai, Arslanov, and Mansur, residents of the former province of Vyatka, came from Tashkent to Orenburg in 1742 (1)

1. See the file for 1742 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and told how the khan named above ruled in Tashkent until 1739, and that a powerful old Kazak named Tiul Biu shared his authority,
[651] and every year they levied a tribute on the city. Later Djulbars was killed, but Tiul Biu continued to rule after him for a time and to levy tribute. A certain Kussiak Bek, a tributary subject of Galdan Tsyren, and perhaps his lieutenant, put an end to the power of Tiul Biu.

He was the ruler of Tashkent while Shubai and Mansur were there, but the Dzungarian sovereign received the tribute he took from the people. According to our travelers, under Kussiak Bek the Kazaks had no more influence over Tashkent, but they re-
[726] strained the environs of this city to such a degree that it was as though under a state of permanent siege. They cultivated land under its walls, seized the neighboring forests, and at the slightest dissatisfaction they seized the residents of the city and the merchants who came to trade with them.

×648 Turkestan too was for a certain time in a [159] similar
721 position, although the Kazaks did not hinder the Dzungars from
[439] trading there. As for the small towns between Tashkent and Turkestan, the Kazaks who conquered them during this period kept them until the beginning of the present [19th] century.

[159 cont.]

x648 721 We are obliged to note with surprise, however, that in spite of these conquests and hostilities of a people subject to Galdan Tsyren, the Great Horde never dared to go and attack the Dzungars, nor even to call themselves independent of them.

x648 662 Some years later, in 1749, Tiul Biu, who had been driven out of Tashkent by Kusiak [sic] Bek and was dissatisfied by his insignificance, wished to elevate himself through the protection of Russia, and he sent deputies to Orenburg to propose that he become a Russian subject (1). His weakness was no doubt known

1. Tevkelev mentions this in one of his journals.

to the Russian government, and his proposal also had no effect.

[152] The terror with which the Dzungars filled the Kazaks and the apparent submission of the latter lasted until internal dissensions began to weaken the Dzungars and until these dissensions finally led to the complete dispersal of this people, as is known. The disagreement had scarcely begun to be noticeable when the Kazaks took the most active part in it. They offered asylum to all the exiled Dzungarian princes and zaisangs, and joined with [726] them to avenge their wrongs. They attacked their enemies, and on the pretext of helping the unfortunate, they never let the opportunity pass of weakening their old enemies by raids. Finally, when the Chinese wished to interfere in the dissensions of the Dzungars, and the success of their arms had reduced Galdan Tsyren's successors to a state of utter weakness, then the Kazaks of the Great Horde took Amursan's (2) side and formed a part of

2. This prince was the last Dzungarian sovereign. At first he was a subject of China, then her enemy, and he died in Russia.

the army which opposed the invaders [160] until 1756, the time when the Dzungarian empire, which had been so powerful ten years earlier, fell under the blows of the Chinese. The people who had

[160 cont.]

×648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazakks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

×648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

×648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
×648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

648 [160 cont.]
726 approach of the [161] Torguts to his lands and of the misfortunes
[721] they had had to endure in the Middle Horde, he prepared at once to fight them once more and with the utmost severity. He called upon Sultan Ablai to attack them from the rear and his weaker allies to make a flank assault, while he himself marched to meet the enemy at the head of his elite troops, taking the precaution of sending his family, as well as the women, children, and old people, and their most precious possessions, to places sheltered from danger. These first plans were very well conceived but were not as fully successful as was expected, for Ablai refused to participate in carrying them out. Erali (1) remained alone, and

1. Prince Tsichi calls this sultan Erelinasali. This name is not Kazak and was no doubt erroneously composed from two names or was distorted by the Chinese.

since he was much weaker than the Torguts, he could not attack them openly. But his presence of mind and military strategems took the place of the assistance he lacked. He disclosed his intention of halting the fugitives and not allowing them to pass through.

Ubashi and his subjects, who had already suffered so many mishaps during their journey, were struck with terror by this hostile move of the Kazaks, and instead of overthrowing their enemy at once, they halted before him and began to take counsel and to reflect, and spent 18 days in complete inactivity. Erali was able to profit from their indecision. While the Kalmuks busied themselves with fruitless deliberations, he gathered around him auxiliaries and allies from all sides to defend himself. Sometimes he indicated the injustice done them by the closeness of the Kalmuks, or else he dazzled them with hopes of the rich booty which would be the reward of victory over a people moving from one land to another with all its wealth and a large number of women.

[162] Ubashi, who saw the forces of his enemies constantly increasing, completely lost his courage and instead of fighting

[162 cont.]
648 726 preferred to humbly ask permission to pass beyond toward the Ili River. Erali pretended to consent but had the intention of striking [662] a most terrible blow against the fleeing prince after having lulled him into security to some extent. And this is exactly what happened. Scarcely had the Kalmuks moved away from the Kazaks and set up their camp to spend the night when Erali and his allies attacked them abruptly, annihilated whole groups which had gone [727] to sleep without taking precautions, and took an immense booty of prisoners, various objects, and livestock. The third part of the Great Horde, which had camped in the neighborhood of Tashkent from the time of Galdan Tsyren, did not move after the annihilation of the Dzungars but began to establish itself on the spot in the localities it occupied, and persecuted the neighboring cities and villages more strongly. Tashkent was the city which suffered most. Raids, the pillage of caravans, and the almost complete loss of arable lands brought about the absolute ruin of its inhabitants. Although they were not subjects of the Kazaks, they were dependent upon them for everything and were obliged to purchase all the necessities of life and trade from them at a high price.

In 1760 a large number of Karakalpaks [Kara-Kalpak] joined this part of the Great Horde. These Karakalpaks lived at the mouth of the Syr [Darya] River, but being hemmed in by the Little Horde, especially under Khan Nurali, they had retreated further east. It is not known why the Kazaks, who were so powerful, did not seize Tashkent completely and establish themselves there. But there is no doubt that this city has had to suffer from their aggressions until our day. The khans of this country, being weak and unenterprising, have tried to avert these raids by favors, gifts, and concessions more than by resistance and [829] vigorous measures. The Kazaks are accustomed to viewing indulgence as [163] a sign of weakness, and consequently this kind of behavior, far from disarming them, leads them to renewed violence.

Tashkent proved the truth of this by its own experience some time later when Iunus Khodja became ruler of this city.

x648 726 [163 cont.]
He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners de-
[727] capitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously
[721 828] resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

x648 Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in
[727] their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally
[651] he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighbor-
[166] ing him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[183 cont.]

[648] we know that in 1736, in addition to the fortress of Orenburg, he had founded the forts of Guberlinsk and Ozernaya on the Yaik, which still exist today, and three fortified ports, Sredny, Berdskoy, and Krylov. We do not speak here of the forts erected on the Samara River and in the interior of the country of the Bashkirs since they have no connection with our subject.

The arrival of Russian troops at the Ural River could not help but influence the peace of the Kazak hordes, even if only momentarily. But this did not prevent them from harassing Russian subjects in the west.

Although Kirilov had not succeeded in seeing the Kazak princes and consequently could not carry out the order he had received to prepare their hordes to attack the Volga Kalmuks who were revolting, the Kazaks had no need of being urged to an act toward which they were naturally inclined.

x648 726

Scarcely had they heard of the disturbances on the Volga, when they hastened off to pillage the Kalmuks (2). The successful

2. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of February 9, 1737, under the name of Kirilov, and the copies of reports of Prince Repnin and Beklemishev which are appended to it.

outcome of this campaign and the seizure of many prisoners and some livestock in 1736 was not enough to satisfy the greed of the Kazaks, and they repeated their attacks in 1737, returning home with considerable booty.

x648 Kirilov was charged (3) with making Abulkhair realize how

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 8, 1737.

much the ravages which his subjects were inflicting upon those of the empire [184] were contrary to the views of the government, and ordered to take measures to prevent them from committing similar acts in the future. This admonishment did not achieve

[185 cont.]

x648 was never sent and still remains today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg (1).

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of December 30, 1737.

x648 669 The Bashkir revolt had still not been put down. Abulkhair was afraid to take any part in this revolt, and he himself suggested to Tatishchev that he help to subdue the rebels. The higher authority was informed of this proposal and gave permission for it to be accepted (2), authorizing the Khan to enter the land of the

2. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 22, 1738.

Bashkirs, provided however that in acting against the rebels he would leave in peace those who remained loyal and would defend their persons and properties if necessary. In defiance of this order, x648 Abulkhair pillaged the lands of the Bashkirs for two consecutive ● 726 months without distinguishing between rebels and loyal subjects, and the results proved that he had no other end in proposing his [663] services but to gorge himself and his Kazaks on booty. It is even asserted that he intended to make his son khan of the Bashkirs, and when he entered the lands of this people, he announced him- x648 self their protector and defender before the Russian government, 726 but when he saw that his deceit was a failure he began the pillage. 727 As a consequence it was commanded that he be made to depart from the lands of the Bashkirs as soon as possible. Tatishchev carried out this order with gentle means and without wrangling.

The son of Abulkhair Khan, Erali, remained in Orenburg as hostage, however.

While Abulkhair was carrying out his ravages against the Bashkirs, part of his horde, which was camping at the mouth of the Ural, renewed its attacks against the Kalmuks and took many Russians prisoners during one of the raids (3). Fearing the just

3. See the reports sent from Astrakhan,

[185 cont.]

x648 ● 726 727

and the ukase of February 6, 1738 addressed to Tatishchev, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

punishment for their misdeeds, Abulkhair and his partisans were terrified to hear that Tatishchev was approaching from Orenburg with troops in the month of July, 1738. They believed that this army, which according to [186] rumor had been joined by several thousand Kalmuks, was coming to punish them, whereas Tatishchev, who was being escorted by the army, had no other purpose but to open meetings with the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans.

x648 Wishing to assure themselves of his intentions, they sent Batyr Bukenbai, of whom we have already spoken and who was universally respected, to meet Tatishchev. The ostensible reason for his mission was to discover at what time Abulkhair should come to Orenburg and the number of sultans who should accompany him. The true reason was to reconnoiter the strength of the army and to find out if there were Kalmuks.

[728] In spite of the fact that Bukenbai had calmed his compatriots on this subject, Abulkhair, who was conscious of his crimes, took a long time to decide to go to Orenburg. He finally arrived, and halted with his entire suite below the walls of the fortress, but he was afraid to surrender himself before Tatishchev, making the excuse that it was not befitting the person of a sovereign to make the first visit to a general. He held to this idea primarily because of the arguments of the elders who accompanied him. However Tevkelev, as his coreligionist and an old acquaintance, reassured him and made him decide to renounce his proud claim. The assurance that he was surrendering himself to the imperial camp and not to the State Councilor Tatishchev made him reduce his pretentions and go to Orenburg, which was then no more than an armed camp.

The interview was scheduled for the month of August, 1738.

In order to give it greater pomp, and thus to strike the fancy of the Asiatics, who love pageantry in all things, a major

×648 [193 cont.]
of 1741 gave reason to doubt the sincerity of their demonstrations and promises. We said above that Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir [167] rebels, had retreated to the Kazak hordes. It is not known which khan or sultan took him under protection, but it is recognized that having announced himself to be the brother of Galdan Tsyren, the general of the Dzungars, he went out and laid waste the settle- [726] ments of the latter people at the head of a large number of armed Kazaks. Galdan had been warned of this attack and sent to punish these brigands an army of 15,000 men, who pursued them [727] almost to Orenburg across the Kazak steppe and devastated the auls in their path, killing or taking away men and livestock. The subjects of Abul Mahmet and Ablai suffered most from this situation, which causes one to suppose that they had supported Karasakal and aided him, and that this had brought down all these misfortunes upon them. The swift advance of the Dzungars was stopped by the commander of Orenburg, who saw them approaching the border and sent word to them that they were violating the peace which existed between Russia and Galdan Tsyren. The head of the Dzungarian army withdrew at once, after declaring that neither he nor his master had been informed of the submission of the Kazaks to Russia, and that these peoples had made all their neighbors lose patience with them because of their constant brigandage. They were told that in future they should address their [194] complaints about the Middle and the Little Hordes to the Russian government and not take justice into their own hands. It can be imagined that neither Galdan nor his general could understand the justice of this diplomatic solution, and that they continued to act toward the new Russian subjects as they had during their independence.

This event made Abul Mahmet request the Russian government to erect a fortified city in the midst of the grazing lands of the Middle Horde. He knew that a similar promise had been made to Abulkhair, and he considered himself worthy of being treated on the same footing.

[726] Although the Kazaks had been given a strong lesson by the Dzungars, a still more terrible storm menaced them from the

x648 [194 cont.]
[726] southwest. Shah Nadyr, the terror of Asia, was nearing Khiva, and once he had conquered it he could easily attack the Kazak hordes. The cabinet in St. Petersburg had already taken measures to fortify the new border along the Ural as much as possible. But this precaution was useless, for Nadyr passed around the Kazak steppes without paying any attention to it. He could not help but know that the conquest of a nomadic people is difficult in general, and that the booty which can be gained from it is practically nothing. Thus it is not surprising that he left the Kazaks in peace.

Abulkhair had seized Khiva in 1741 and was there when the Persian armies entered this country. At that time with him was Muravin, a geodetic officer who, as we said above, had been ordered in 1740 to explore the site on the Syr /Darya/ where Abulkhair had requested that a city be built. Relying upon this officer more than upon his sultans, Abulkhair sent him as his representative to meet the Shah to pay him his respects and to beg the latter to allow him to remain khan of Khiva. Nadyr received Muravin most graciously, gave him gifts in silver and clothing, and sent him back, directing him to tell Abulkhair to present himself in the Persian camp, where he would be received and rewarded as a subject of the [195] Empress of Russia, with whom the Shah wished to maintain peace and good terms (1).

[727]

1. As proof of his sincerity we cite the following fact: Zhanaiev, a Russian Tatar, brought to Samara ten Russian slaves who had been prisoners in Khiva. Nadyr freed them and gave each one 50 rubles and a horse to return home.

x648 726 Whether from fear, or from lack of faith in Nadyr's words, or because of a conspiracy plotted by the Khivans, Abulkhair refused to appear before the Persian conqueror and withdrew within his horde. After his departure the Khivans decided to resist the Persian army and shut themselves up in the city. Nadyr took it by assault in three days (2) and gave the people of Khiva one of

2. See in the archives of the Orenburg

[195 cont.]

x 648 [726]

Border Commission the reports of the Tatar Zhanaiev, already mentioned, who himself was in Khiva during the siege.

[669] his generals as khan. But this new prince had few troops at his disposal, and the Khivans were not slow in getting rid of him.

Nurali, son of Abulkhair, was chosen to replace this chief, who had done nothing more than appear, but his reign was no longer than that of his predecessor. When he learned that Nadyr was angered at the revolt of the Khivans and was preparing an army to punish them, he hastened to leave Khiva and to rejoin his father within the pasture lands of the Kazak Little Horde.

[726] He had not yet found security, however. Galdan Tsyren had grown impatient with the raids the Kazaks made while he had been engaged in war with China, and having finished his most important affairs, he again sent two bodies of troops, one of which attacked the Little Horde and the other the Middle Horde. Abulkhair appealed at once to the Russian government, requesting help. In order to respond to the Khan's wishes, the Imperial Cabinet gave orders that in case of danger he should be allowed to enter the fortress of Orenburg with his family and servants.

This permission was a kindness to Abulkhair, but it did not protect him from the attacks which the Dzungars might make later. Since he lived most of the time in the midst of the steppes or near the Syr /Darya/, [196] it was not always easy for him to seek refuge in Orenburg, which was too far away; the Dzungars could always cut him off from it by occupying the northern part of the Kazak steppes. In the west the Dzungars would have been aided by the Kalmuks, who belonged to the same race. It was still more dangerous for Abul Mahmet and Ablai. In many localities their subjects were the closest neighbors of the Dzungars and often themselves lived as nomads closer to the lands of the latter than to Orenburg.

When the danger was proven by the abduction of Ablai, the

[201 cont.]

×648 622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [461] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[726] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

[202 cont.]

×648 [726] their attacks on the borders while he, fearing to come near the Ural River, found a way in the heart of his deserts to avenge himself upon the Russians who had retained his son. First he robbed a caravan going from Astrakhan to Khiva, which had the misfortune to pass through his lands. Later he stopped the journey of Lieutenant Gladyshev, who was going from Orenburg to the Karakalpaks. Nor was he satisfied with robbing the Karakalpak envoys who had come from St. Petersburg and were accompanying Gladyshev, but he even seized the imperial letter which was entrusted to them (1).

[439]

1. It is worthy of note that in his journal Gladyshev speaks of having found an English merchant named Djake [Jack?] with the Little Horde in 1742, and that he bought various articles from him in order to present them to the Karakalpaks as gifts.

×648 721 This conduct strengthened the Russian government in their intent to punish the Kazaks through the Volga Kalmuks, inasmuch as the quarrels of these two peoples and their raids upon each other had become more intense at this time. Consequently, on April 24, 1744, Dunduk Dash, deputy of the Kalmuk khanate was presented with a letter patent commanding him to collect as many armed Kalmuks as possible, who would receive powder and shot at Astrakhan, would march against the Kazaks, and would act under the orders of the governor of Orenburg, Nepluev. By way of recompense, the Kalmuks were promised all the plunder they could take from the Kazaks, except for elders and their children. This letter, out of precaution as much as through confidence in [203] Nepluev, was sent to him directly instead of to the horde, so that he could use it if it were indispensable. It is not known what he thought of such a decisive measure, but this letter remained at Orenburg, and the original is still preserved in the archives of the Border Commission.

[203 cont.]

[648] The order given in this letter was not carried out. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave orders that the Kalmuks as well as the Kazaks were to be prevented from crossing the Ural to attack each other.

[726] It must be supposed that the government changed its mind because of the troubles which broke out at that time on the Siberian frontier. The Dzungarian kungtaidji suddenly advanced with his troops toward the Russian border, and his subjects began to threaten the garrisons with war, while the rumor spread that he wished to attack the establishments of Kolyvano-Voskresensk, where he was attracted by the mines of precious metals.

At this time the Dzungars were still formidable, and an attack by them could not be compared to the raids of the Kazaks. Therefore it was indispensable to prepare adequate forces against them. As a result the insolence of the Kazaks was forgotten, and Nepluev received an order (1) to persuade them to

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 3, 1744.

make raids against the Dzungars.

It was a difficult task to carry out. Khan Abulkhair still [186] held resentment against Russia in spite of the indulgence granted for his crimes. Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, retreated toward Turkestan in order to avoid Abulkhair's intrigues, and thus practically put an end to his relations with the border authorities. Besides he had less need for the help of Russia than the protection of the kungtaidji of the Dzungars, who held his son as hostage. [662] Finally, Abul Mahmet sought to be khan at Turkestan, and this city recognized the authority of Galdan Tsyren.

[664] [204] Sultan Barak, who had sworn allegiance to Russia two years earlier, lived far from her border, and fearing the Dzungars more than the Russians, he, like Abul Mahmet, had given his son to Galdan Tsyren as hostage.

[662] The latter sought to attach the sultans and the common people of the Middle Horde to himself by every means. To attain

[206 cont.]
×648 him in the name of the Empress (1) to make Abulkhair refuse it,

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 21, 1745.

but the latter would not have paid any attention to his advice if other circumstances had not prevented him from acceding to the wishes of the Khivans. Nurali received a letter from the son of the Shah of Persia inviting him to come to him. This prince considered the khanate of Khiva his property, being the conqueror. Nurali was on the point of departing for Khiva when his wife, whom he had left in that city, sent word that the Persians were only inviting him there in order to put him to death (2). This news kept

2. Continuation of the history of Orenburg by Rychkov, events of 1745.

him back with his father.

[643] Meanwhile the leaders of the Middle Horde, who had had no relation with Russia for nearly two years, approached the Russian border and renewed their assurances of devotion to the Empress. Abul Mahmet left Turkestan to join his horde and sent a messenger to St. Petersburg to volunteer his services; later he renewed his oath of loyalty. Sultan Barak did likewise. He also sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

[668] The Kazaks were not yet at peace when disturbances took place in the Volga Kalmuk horde. The rumor spread that a large section wished to leave Russia, on the invitation of Galdan Tsyren, to join their compatriots, the Dzungars. This rumor, which was confirmed in fact 26 years later, was false at this time, but it disturbed the government, especially when the news had been received from the Ural that a large number of Kalmuks had crossed over from the Russian bank to the Kazak side, and [207] when reports from Siberia stated that the Dzungarian
● [726 727] armies had reached the Irtysh /River/ in some places. Subsequent events showed that the passage of the Kalmuks across the Ural

[207 cont.]

x648 River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they
[726 took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army
727] returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders
[87] who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians.
[72] The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

[724] The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected
[727] attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

[208 cont.]
100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.

After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

[210 cont.]
[648] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his
[662] daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.
[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
[579 the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of
643] Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[211 cont.]

X 648 This act against a people considered subject to Russia and
[726 the assassination of a khan who was a vassal of the empire made
152] Barak afraid to remain in the regions near the Russian borders,
[166] and for this reason he hastened to move away from the Aral Sea.
Having taken the route toward Turkestan, he seized the towns
of Ikan, Otrar, and Saganak and established his camps between
these towns. He did not reside here long, however, for the
[682] following year (1749), on a visit to a khoja with his two sons,
he was poisoned (2).

2. In the papers preserved in the archives
of the Border Commission in Orenburg it
[662] can be seen that the Kazaks of the Little
Horde who came to the Russian border then
affirmed that Barak had been poisoned by
order of the Dzungarian kungtaidji, who
was blamed by Nurali for the assassination of
his father.

The news of Abulkhair's death could not have caused an unpleasant impression in Russia. During the last years of his life, the conduct of this khan had been such that the [possibility of the] administration of the Little Horde by a new chief aroused greater hope than Abulkhair's death aroused compassion. The dignity of the empire demanded only that the Kazaks, as subjects, should request the Empress to confirm their new khan. It would have been dangerous and useless to annul the choice made according to the ancient customs of the nation and to designate another arbitrarily. But it seemed easy to cause the people to elect one of Abulkhair's sons. With this in mind Nepluev, after [212] consulting Tevkelev, sent to the horde an officer who was charged with contriving the means of making the choice of the people fall upon Sultan Nurali and if he was successful to convince him as well as the elders of the necessity of sending an embassy to Petersburg to request the confirmation of the Empress.

[221 cont.]

x[48] ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[43] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[121] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[127] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[64] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[126] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[16] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[43] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[229 cont.]

x648 [662 724] Sultan Ablai, who was as wise as he was enterprising, did not fail to profit from the quarrels of the Dzungarian princes, and he worked to prolong them, realizing the usefulness, both for his own security and that of the Kazaks on the outside, of weakening and parceling out their old enemies. To this end, he not only gave asylum to Amursan (2) and Lobacha (another

2. Amursan had broken away from China and wandered among the Kazak hordes. Later he sought refuge in Russia, where he died.

Dzungarian prince) in his village but went out to fight for them (3)

3. See the reports of Captain Iakovlev, who was then with the Middle Horde and who accompanied Ablai for some time as he followed Amursan and Lobacha in order to fight the Dzungars.

and helped them to destroy their own compatriots. When matters took a new turn, and the Chinese army won decisive victories over the Dzungars, Ablai joined the conquerors. But this change of allies did not cause him to change his goal, and he continued to exterminate his hateful neighbors as an ally of the Chinese, just as he had killed them when he was allied to the partisans of Amursan. But when Dzungaria had been completely vanquished, and the Chinese army, in order to complete its occupation, began to approach the Kazak steppes, Ablai came to meet them and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor.

From this time on (1756) the vanity of the Chinese led them to include Ablai's pasture lands among their states, and he was immediately sent by Ch'ien Lung (4) a [230] letter patent

4. This is recorded by the Chinese who wrote the book Hsi Yu Wen Chien Lu, and we find an extract of it in Timkovskii, op. cit., I, p. 253.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the [726] occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 722] presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

● [726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 662] river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes. Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[232 cont.]

*648 circumstances, and Nepluev, who had finally received the orders
662 he had requested for the execution of his plan, at once informed
661 the Khan, the Kazak sultans, and the most distinguished elders that as a reward for their faithfulness and devotion to Russia, the Empress was presenting them, as a gift, all the wives and daughters of the Bashkirs who were among them, on condition that the men be surrendered on the line, or at least driven out of the Kazak hordes. In addition, other rewards were promised for the extradition of the deserters.

[721 726] The voluptuous Kazaks hastened to seize the women who were being abandoned to them. The Bashkirs wished to defend their families, but their number was toosmall and they could not resist. Some of them perished on the spot, others were surrendered to the Russians, and still others returned by themselves to their homes, waiting impatiently for the time to carry out their firm resolve to avenge this offense perpetrated by the Kazaks.

Rage and jealousy immediately aroused bands of avengers among the Bashkirs, who requested permission from the government to cross the Ural. Nepluev replied that the Empress did not grant permission to cross the border, but in secret he gave orders to the commanders of the forts and military posts to pay no attention to the people who crossed without permission into the steppes beyond the [233] Ural. Taking advantage of the pretended negligence of the guards, whole bands of Bashkirs crossed the Ural, fell upon the hordes, and began to pillage and massacre and to take away women and children.

Khan Nurali complained; he received the reply from Orenburg that the Kazaks had brought all these misfortunes upon their own heads by receiving the faithless deserters in their villages, and that all the Bashkirs were going to hasten to make similar exploits. Then Nurali's subjects took arms and began to repulse the attacks of their enemies, which the latter repeated constantly. The two people continued to destroy each other in this manner until Nepluev decided that it was fitting to call a halt to these disturbances. It was then strictly forbidden to the Bashkirs to cross the Ural, and it was suggested to the Kazaks that they retreat to

[234 cont.]
×648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years.
[431 These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to
661] the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.
[721 The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and
726] the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
×648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[240 cont.]

×648 not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very [439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[662 643] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

●[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. [727] Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

X 648 [241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their
[728] demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires,
[562] sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

● [726 721] The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This
[574] irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

[266 cont.]

x 648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[346] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x 648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[267 cont.]

x648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

x648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

x648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[270 cont.]
X 648 721 had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken. For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line, [724] and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent against them.

X 648 668 In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the [721 provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding 727] about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The detachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more daring.

X 648 721 662 His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order [271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[276 cont.]
he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[284 cont.]

×648 successful, because the sultans, and especially the descendants of
646 Abulkhair, were trying to please the Russian government, having
721 been informed of the Empress' intentions to re-establish the post of khan among them. As for individual raids, Syrym's followers continued them almost without interruption for seven or eight years.

×648 The main raids took place after the election of Sultan Erali
[726] to the position of khan, which was in 1791 by order of the Empress. When she learned of Nurali's death, she commanded on January 29 that Erali be named his successor and that he be sent the patent of
[643] khan of the Little Horde without waiting for any representations. In carrying out the will of his sovereign, the commander of the province of Orenburg at once informed Abulkhair's son of the honor which was being given him and invited him to appear at the border at the end of summer to receive the ceremonial investiture. Erali arrived at the Ural at the designated time with his followers and on September 4 was proclaimed khan, 15 versts from the fortress of Orsk.

This is how his election took place. On the day at the hour designated, Lieutenant General Peutling, supreme commander of [285] the border region of Orenburg, escorted by a body of troops appeared before the assembled Kazaks and commanded first of all that the imperial document be read to them, in which it was said that Erali had been designated khan, both because of his personal merit and because he was the eldest in Abulkhair's family. Then he invited the people to proceed to the election according to its old customs.

At this same moment there appeared the deputies of Batyr Syrym, those of Sultan Abulgazy Kaip, and those of several elders, who announced that they did not consent to the election of Erali. They received the reply that he had been designated by the wish of the Empress. The next day, after the proclamation of the Khan, that is, September 5, six deputies were chosen who were sent to St. Petersburg to ask that he be confirmed.

On September 6 a letter was received from the khan of Turkestan, Pirali, son of Nurali, in which this prince, who had

[286 cont.]
that Erali's election was illegal, claiming that Baron Igelstrom had concluded an agreement with the Little Horde by which he had promised, in the name of the government, to remove the descendants of Abulkhair forever from the position of khan. Using every possible weapon against Russia, he did not forget to call the Koran to his aid, pointing out that it is forbidden to Moslems to submit themselves to Christian powers. To this same end he sought, in 1791, to induce the Kazaks to end their barter with the Russians and, if possible, to withdraw into the interior of the steppes. He spread the rumor that he was expecting the Bukharan army which the khan of that country had promised him. He sent his son to Khiva in 1793 to ask for similar aid, and although he received a flat refusal, he boasted nevertheless of the success of the embassy. In 1792 he addressed an extremely insolent letter to Peutling, chief of the viceroyalty of Ufa, in which it was not enough to insult him by the most coarse expressions, but the Empress was attacked as well. Finally, in his rage, he solemnly declared war against Russia. The results of this declaration were several new raids by bandits, made by Syrym upon Ilezkoi [Iletski] Gorodok [now Ilek], Fort Kalmuk, and various other places on the Iletsk line.

Khan Erali could not make his enemy see reason, and therefore in 1792 he demanded that troops be sent to the horde to punish the offenders. The Empress did not grant this request. Rightly contemptuous of Syrym's malicious intentions, she [287] did not wish to spill the blood of the Kazaks, especially since the severe defeat they had suffered in 1790 in the midst of their steppes at the hands of the Ural Cossacks had in no way corresponded to her humanitarian intentions nor to the expectations of the ministry.

In the midst of the disturbances which were then troubling the Little Horde, we should note Erali's request for a house to be built for him near the fort of Orsk and the request of Sultan Ishim for the construction of a city in the midst of the steppes. Circumstances did not permit the satisfaction of this last demand at that time, but Erali's request would have been granted if he had not died in the month of June, 1794, after ruling the Little Horde for three years.

[288 cont.]

X648 1795, his partisans assembled by invitation near Orenburg, and on
[673] September 17 he was elected and proclaimed khan. They then swore on the Koran to live in peace with each other and not to disturb the Russian border.

X648 Ishim's elevation did not diminish his attachment to the
681 power which had given him a new title. After he became khan he did not cease to carry out the wishes of the Russian government as much as possible, against the wishes of his people, and this caused him to have many enemies. In order to avert the dangers which threatened him because of the severity with which he investigated the crimes as well the intrigues of Syrym and his followers, Empress Catherine decided to send him a detachment of troops to guard him and at the same time to help him carry out sentences against the offenders.

Y648 It was also decided to establish a divan or council of the
645 khan around him to support him in the administration of the Little Horde. The members of this divan, chosen by the people from among the most distinguished sultans and elders, were to carry out the wishes of the Khan, to help him, to represent him, and to [289] live with him in houses which were ordered to be built for them in the steppes in the territory of Taissugan.

X648 These plans could not be carried out because Syrym Batyr at-
[669] tacked Ishim in November, 1797 near the fortified post of Krasny Yar [Krasnoiar] and, after causing him to perish cruelly, pillaged all his belongings.

This crime of Syrym's exhausted the patience of the government, but how and where was he to be punished, much less brought into Russia? No doubt it was possible to send troops against him, but the difficulty of looking for him, the maintenance of the troops beyond the borders, the loss of men from hunger and thirst, even the destruction of Syrym's followers still did not assure the success of the pursuit they might undertake. Thus we should not be astonished that this famous brigand evaded punishment for all his attacks against Russia.

●[726] However, all the Kazaks who followed his example and pillaged the borders at that time did not remain without punishment.

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[167] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [643] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [646] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [173] [126]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 289-300.
[2] For a summary, see Tagirdzhanov, 1934, passim.

[Great Horde]

69 Again, each clan had a war cry, or uran, whereby it iden-
[726] tified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an uran was the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.[77] The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

63 The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation[1] as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter--the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the 19th century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations

[77] Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy,... to invoke aid...there is a special signal called uran and consisting of the names of the clan ancestor or of later distinguished ancestors...." The English "hurrah!" is a derivation of the term uran.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 389, for these criteria--Analyst]

[137 cont.]

175 Having spoken in passing of the ancient Kazaks' way of life to show their resemblances to those of today, let us return to what the Oriental writers teach us about them.

This people has been known in Asia for a very long time. As one of the branches of that very numerous race, the Turks, it is no less ancient than the Naimans or the Kirgiz, or any of the [636] Asiatic peoples of the same race. The Kazaks came under the domination of Chingis Khan, and after the death of the conqueror passed in appanage to his son Djuchi, but although they belonged to the Golden Horde, they kept their own khans. For this reason they were sometimes under the dominion of their own main chiefs, and sometimes were joined to the Chagatai horde, that of Almalyk, or that of Tashkent, which was later called the Mogul Ulus.

After the weakening of the powerful states of Djuchi and Chagatai, internal disputes arose within many of the descent lines [races] belonging to the sons and descendants of Chingis Khan, especially among the nomads. The Uzbeks, who had seized Maverannahr and Khorezm, became the most powerful. But not all the peoples contributing to the disorder came under their sway. Some of them joined the Crimean Tatars, others the Mogul uluses, still others the true Tatars, that is, those of Kazan, and finally some joined the Kazak horde. All this took place after the fall of the Golden Horde. Later, when the Uzbeks split up, many of their branches fused with the Kazak horde. In this manner two powerful states were formed at the beginning [138] of the 16th century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes. The first of these states, the Mogul Ulus, was headed by Khan Dadam, while the second, ruled by Arslan, khan of the Kazaks, was so powerful that it could raise an army of 400,000 men. This is found in the writings of Sultan Baber, founder of the famous empire of the [648] Grand Mogul in India. He gave one of his nieces in marriage to Arslan Khan and was an eyewitness to his power.

175 631 727 In this period several branches or tribes of many of the peoples known in the history of the Orient, and which broke away from the Golden Horde, were united with the Kazaks, either voluntarily or by force. It was at this time that the Kipchaks,

[138 cont.]
175 Naimans, Konrads, Djalairs, and Kankly mingled with the
[631 Kazaks, and their names are preserved in the descent lines,
727] tribes, and most powerful sections of the Kazak hordes.

After joining the Kazaks, some peoples, such as the Durmans, Karluks, etc., parted from them once again to rejoin the Uzbeks. But the Kazaks were reinforced from another side by various Turkic tribes [races] who joined them at the time Tashkent was taken by Shabakht Khan and after the complete destruction of the Mogul Ulus, overthrown by Khan Abdulla.

[669] We should speak here of the descendants of Khan Arslan and of the destiny of the Kazak peoples under their dominion, as well as of the successive revolutions to which they were exposed and the quick overthrow of the power which they had acquired under Arslan. Instead of this, we will content ourselves
[114] with saying that the Kirghiz-Kazak led a nomadic life, had no chronicles nor any other historical monument of this nature, and, consequently, it is impossible to write a complete and coherent history about them.

Nevertheless this people did not remain entirely unknown to us after Arslan Khan. After having lost the thread of events described by the Oriental historians, we begin to find the Kazaks again, or, as they are called [139] today, the Kirghiz-Kazaks, in the works of European travelers and in Russian chronicles; and independently of the evidence which they furnish us, we have the archives to guide us, which preserve unimpeachable testimony of Russia's specific relations with different peoples of Asia.

Herberstein is the first of the European historians (1) to

1. Herberstein arrived in Moscow for the first time in 1517 and for the second time in 1526. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. VII, notes 165 ff.

speak of the Kazak horde. Having twice been ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich, and having

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[578] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[643] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and recovered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from
●[727] Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

[160 cont.]

648 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the
662 lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the
[726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless
721] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending
their pasture lands over excellent places.

648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being
opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and
indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established
[712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still
called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted
for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands
to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the
Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the
Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual
brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among
Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little
further west, have retained their independence.

648 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts,
181 and having often had to fight against them, have become more
721 warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We
could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neigh-
bors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they
648 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing
726 from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was
Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his
bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the
[721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

[162 cont.]
preferred to humbly ask permission to pass beyond toward the Ili River. Erali pretended to consent but had the intention of striking a most terrible blow against the fleeing prince after having lulled him into security to some extent. And this is exactly what happened. Scarcely had the Kalmuks moved away from the Kazaks and set up their camp to spend the night when Erali and his allies attacked them abruptly, annihilated whole groups which had gone to sleep without taking precautions, and took an immense booty of prisoners, various objects, and livestock. The third part of the Great Horde, which had camped in the neighborhood of Tashkent from the time of Galdan Tsyren, did not move after the annihilation of the Dzungars but began to establish itself on the spot in the localities it occupied, and persecuted the neighboring cities and villages more strongly. Tashkent was the city which suffered most. Raids, the pillage of caravans, and the almost complete loss of arable lands brought about the absolute ruin of its inhabitants. Although they were not subjects of the Kazaks, they were dependent upon them for everything and were obliged to purchase all the necessities of life and trade from them at a high price.

In 1760 a large number of Karakalpaks [Kara-Kalpak] joined this part of the Great Horde. These Karakalpaks lived at the mouth of the Syr [Darya] River, but being hemmed in by the Little Horde, especially under Khan Nurali, they had retreated further east. It is not known why the Kazaks, who were so powerful, did not seize Tashkent completely and establish themselves there. But there is no doubt that this city has had to suffer from their aggressions until our day. The khans of this country, being weak and unenterprising, have tried to avert these raids by favors, gifts, and concessions more than by resistance and vigorous measures. The Kazaks are accustomed to viewing indulgence as [163] a sign of weakness, and consequently this kind of behavior, far from disarming them, leads them to renewed violence.

Tashkent proved the truth of this by its own experience some time later when Iunus Khodja became ruler of this city.

[163 cont.]
He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners decapitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighboring him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

[185 cont.]

×648 was never sent and still remains today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg (1).

1. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of December 30, 1737.

×648 669 The Bashkir revolt had still not been put down. Abulkhair was afraid to take any part in this revolt, and he himself suggested to Tatishchev that he help to subdue the rebels. The higher authority was informed of this proposal and gave permission for it to be accepted (2), authorizing the Khan to enter the land of the

2. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of March 22, 1738.

Bashkirs, provided however that in acting against the rebels he would leave in peace those who remained loyal and would defend their persons and properties if necessary. In defiance of this order, ×648 726 Abulkhair pillaged the lands of the Bashkirs for two consecutive months without distinguishing between rebels and loyal subjects, and the results proved that he had no other end in proposing his [667] services but to gorge himself and his Kazaks on booty. It is even asserted that he intended to make his son khan of the Bashkirs, ×648 726 and when he entered the lands of this people, he announced himself their protector and defender before the Russian government, ● 727 but when he saw that his deceit was a failure he began the pillage. As a consequence it was commanded that he be made to depart from the lands of the Bashkirs as soon as possible. Tatishchev carried out this order with gentle means and without wrangling.

The son of Abulkhair Khan, Erali, remained in Orenburg as hostage, however.

While Abulkhair was carrying out his ravages against the Bashkirs, part of his horde, which was camping at the mouth of the Ural, renewed its attacks against the Kalmuks and took many Russians prisoners during one of the raids (3). Fearing the just

3. See the reports sent from Astrakhan,

x648 [185 cont.]
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and the ukase of February 6, 1738 addressed to Tatishchev, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

punishment for their misdeeds, Abulkhair and his partisans were terrified to hear that Tatishchev was approaching from Orenburg with troops in the month of July, 1738. They believed that this army, which according to [186] rumor had been joined by several thousand Kalmuks, was coming to punish them, whereas Tatishchev, who was being escorted by the army, had no other purpose but to open meetings with the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans.

x648 Wishing to assure themselves of his intentions, they sent Batyr Bukenbai, of whom we have already spoken and who was universally respected, to meet Tatishchev. The ostensible reason for his mission was to discover at what time Abulkhair should come to Orenburg and the number of sultans who should accompany him. The true reason was to reconnoiter the strength of the army and to find out if there were Kalmuks.

[728] In spite of the fact that Bukenbai had calmed his compatriots on this subject, Abulkhair, who was conscious of his crimes, took a long time to decide to go to Orenburg. He finally arrived, and halted with his entire suite below the walls of the fortress, but he was afraid to surrender himself before Tatishchev, making the excuse that it was not befitting the person of a sovereign to make the first visit to a general. He held to this idea primarily because of the arguments of the elders who accompanied him. However Tevkelev, as his coreligionist and an old acquaintance, reassured him and made him decide to renounce his proud claim. The assurance that he was surrendering himself to the imperial camp and not to the State Councilor Tatishchev made him reduce his pretentions and go to Orenburg, which was then no more than an armed camp.

The interview was scheduled for the month of August, 1738.

In order to give it greater pomp, and thus to strike the fancy of the Asiatics, who love pageantry in all things, a major

*648 [193 cont.]
of 1741 gave reason to doubt the sincerity of their demonstrations and promises. We said above that Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir
[167] rebels, had retreated to the Kazak hordes. It is not known which khan or sultan took him under protection, but it is recognized that having announced himself to be the brother of Galdan Tsyren, the general of the Dzungars, he went out and laid waste the settle-
[726] ments of the latter people at the head of a large number of armed Kazaks. Galdan had been warned of this attack and sent to punish these brigands an army of 15,000 men, who pursued them
[127] almost to Orenburg across the Kazak steppe and devastated the auls in their path, killing or taking away men and livestock. The subjects of Abul Mahmet and Ablai suffered most from this situation, which causes one to suppose that they had supported Karasakal and aided him, and that this had brought down all these misfortunes upon them. The swift advance of the Dzungars was stopped by the commander of Orenburg, who saw them approaching the border and sent word to them that they were violating the peace which existed between Russia and Galdan Tsyren. The head of the Dzungarian army withdrew at once, after declaring that neither he nor his master had been informed of the submission of the Kazaks to Russia, and that these peoples had made all their neighbors lose patience with them because of their constant brigandage. They were told that in future they should address their [194] complaints about the Middle and the Little Hordes to the Russian government and not take justice into their own hands. It can be imagined that neither Galdan nor his general could understand the justice of this diplomatic solution, and that they continued to act toward the new Russian subjects as they had during their independence.

This event made Abul Mahmet request the Russian government to erect a fortified city in the midst of the grazing lands of the Middle Horde. He knew that a similar promise had been made to Abulkhair, and he considered himself worthy of being treated on the same footing.

[726] Although the Kazaks had been given a strong lesson by the Dzungars, a still more terrible storm menaced them from the

x648 [194 cont.]
[726] southwest. Shah Nadyr, the terror of Asia, was nearing Khiva, and once he had conquered it he could easily attack the Kazak hordes. The cabinet in St. Petersburg had already taken measures to fortify the new border along the Ural as much as possible. But this precaution was useless, for Nadyr passed around the Kazak steppes without paying any attention to it. He could not help but know that the conquest of a nomadic people is difficult in general, and that the booty which can be gained from it is practically nothing. Thus it is not surprising that he left the Kazaks in peace.

Abulkhair had seized Khiva in 1741 and was there when the Persian armies entered this country. At that time with him was Muravin, a geodetic officer who, as we said above, had been ordered in 1740 to explore the site on the Syr /Darya/ where Abulkhair had requested that a city be built. Relying upon this officer more than upon his sultans, Abulkhair sent him as his representative to meet the Shah to pay him his respects and to beg the latter to allow him to remain khan of Khiva. Nadyr received Muravin most graciously, gave him gifts in silver and clothing, and sent him back, directing him to tell Abulkhair to present himself in the Persian camp, where he would be received and rewarded as a subject of the [195] Empress of Russia, with whom the Shah wished to maintain peace and good terms (1).

[727]

1. As proof of his sincerity we cite the following fact: Zhanaiev, a Russian Tatar, brought to Samara ten Russian slaves who had been prisoners in Khiva. Nadyr freed them and gave each one 50 rubles and a horse to return home.

x648 726 Whether from fear, or from lack of faith in Nadyr's words, or because of a conspiracy plotted by the Khivans, Abulkhair refused to appear before the Persian conqueror and withdrew within his horde. After his departure the Khivans decided to resist the Persian army and shut themselves up in the city. Nadyr took it by assault in three days (2) and gave the people of Khiva one of

2. See in the archives of the Orenburg

[201 cont.]

x648 622 [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks ● [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [61] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[724] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

x648 [205 cont.]
[721] made no raids during the year 1745. Rychkov says (1), according

1. The continuation of his history of Orenburg.

to a Russian Cossack who was with the Little Horde then, that this year as in 1773, Khan Abulkhair incited his subjects to renew their raids on the right bank of the Ural, but on this occasion the people refused to obey. However we cannot accept this report as accurate for the following reasons:

1. The Kazaks were too accustomed to pillage to refuse the proposal of their khan to attack a foreign country, especially when they had not had a chance to test the force of its arms.

2. At that time Abulkhair's attention was directed to Khiva, whose inhabitants, attacked by those of Turkestan, had sent to him to ask help, and who although subjects of Persia wanted to have Sultan Nurali as khan later. He sent Nepluev the letters he had received from Khiva on this subject and asked his advice.

[727] 3. It was at this time that he swore an oath of loyalty in his aoul in the presence of a Russian officer, to Emperor Peter III, successor to Elizabeth, and afterwards liberated 30 prisoners, Russians as well as Kalmuks, who had been taken by his subjects.

[66] 4. He complained about Nepluev to the highest authorities (2),

2. See Abulkhair's letter and Nepluev's rescript of September 17, 1745 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

and indicated that except for his personal quarrel with this governor and the displeasure he had felt at the refusal to exchange [206] his son Khodja Akhmet for Chingis, he had no other cause for complaint against Russia nor any harmful intention.

As for the office of khan which had been proposed to the son in Khiva, Nepluev had sought by all possible means to persuade

[206 cont.]
×648 him in the name of the Empress (1) to make Abulkhair refuse it,

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 21, 1745.

but the latter would not have paid any attention to his advice if other circumstances had not prevented him from acceding to the wishes of the Khivans. Nurali received a letter from the son of the Shah of Persia inviting him to come to him. This prince considered the khanate of Khiva his property, being the conqueror. Nurali was on the point of departing for Khiva when his wife, whom he had left in that city, sent word that the Persians were only inviting him there in order to put him to death (2). This news kept

2. Continuation of the history of Orenburg by Rychkov, events of 1745.

him back with his father.

[643] Meanwhile the leaders of the Middle Horde, who had had no relation with Russia for nearly two years, approached the Russian border and renewed their assurances of devotion to the Empress. Abul Mahmet left Turkestan to join his horde and sent a messenger to St. Petersburg to volunteer his services; later he renewed his oath of loyalty. Sultan Barak did likewise. He also sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

[668] The Kazaks were not yet at peace when disturbances took place in the Volga Kalmuk horde. The rumor spread that a large section wished to leave Russia, on the invitation of Galdan Tsyren, to join their compatriots, the Dzungars. This rumor, which was confirmed in fact 26 years later, was false at this time, but it disturbed the government, especially when the news had been received from the Ural that a large number of Kalmuks had crossed over from the Russian bank to the Kazak side, and [207] when reports from Siberia stated that the Dzungarian [726] armies had reached the Irtysh /River/ in some places. Subsequent ● [727] events showed that the passage of the Kalmuks across the Ural

[207 cont.]
x 648 River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they
[726 took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army
727 returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders
[97] who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians.
[72] The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

[724] The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected
[727] attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

[208 cont.]
[148] 100 men, and led away an enormous number of livestock.
[127] After this celebrated expedition, several small raids took place on the Russian border.

[186 152] Khan Abulkhair was still the cause of these new plunderings. He continued to nurse a deep hatred of Nepluev and was angry because the government had not satisfied his complaints against the border authorities and had not given up his son Khodja Akhmet. For this reason he adopted the course of wreaking his vengeance against all the Russians. Not content with the wrong he had committed against Russia through the raids of his subjects, he took the advice of the latter and abused an interpreter whom Nepluev had sent to him with papers, did not let him out of sight, and detained him for about a year, tormenting him in different ways.

It was still too little. Abulkhair's fury was so blind that he sought to persuade his people to depart from Russia and go south into the sands and the waterless deserts. But the Kazaks knew the [662] advantages of the lands neighboring Russia, and they openly refused to obey him in this case. His rage then fell upon those of his subjects who had opposed his plan to move, and he wrote to the border authorities to arrest these people when they entered fortified localities, as the fomenters of all the disturbances.

[721] While he was thus delivering the innocent to punishment, he was preparing the true brigands for a new attack against the Volga Kalmuks and was only waiting for winter to send them off. In [726] January, 1747, when the ice was strong enough on the Caspian Sea, they left their camps, successfully crossed [209] the ice opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and attacked the uluses of their enemies once again. But this time fortune betrayed them: the Kalmuks had been warned of the attack in time and retreated into the western part of their steppes. They were too far away, and it was too dangerous to pursue them; thus the bandits returned with empty hands. Then, to complete their misfortune, the ice began to melt, the passage across the ice became difficult, and they were obliged to cross the Ural River where the Yaik Cossacks, who had been sent against them, were waiting. The passage through the Russian troops was very costly, for when they had reached their shore, many dead were found there, and a greater number drowned in the river, for the ice had broken. Most of their horses fell into the hands of the Russians.

[221 cont.]
x[48] ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he
[43] had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[72] [222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that
[72] Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them
[44] pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

[72] Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

[16] Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated
[43] to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[222 cont.]
[648] acquaintance of the Russians. Sultan Kuchak, who had been
[643] proclaimed khan by several tribes, had not been confirmed by Russia and had not even sought her protection. The good graces of the Dzungarian prince were more necessary to him, as they were to all [223] the sultans of the Middle Horde. Only Ablai
[662] failed to renounce the protection of Russia, in spite of his secret relations with the Dzungars, for most of his subjects lived near the Russian border, and he sensed how useful it was to him to remain on good terms with Russia.

[439] Since he had to look out for the advantages of trade with the Russians in addition to the interests of his security, he requested that a market be opened in the fort of Troitsk, saying that Orenburg was too far away for him and particularly for most of his subjects to go there.

Batyr Djanibek, who had moved away from Orenburg after Abulkhair's death, asked for the same thing. The fulfillment of this request was equally advantageous to the Russian government, giving it greater means of surveillance over the Great Horde, and consequently a trade market was opened at Troitsk in 1750.

Before his death Galdan Tsyren had become reconciled with the Kazaks and seemed to wish to attach them to him more by kindness and good deeds than by terror. But his son had an entirely
[721] different view of the matter and renewed his attacks. The Middle Horde especially suffered greatly in 1751 near the Ulu
[166 Mountains. The considerable loss of men taken prisoner by the
● 727] Dzungars made it necessary for most of this horde to come closer to the Russian border and almost to mix with the Little Horde, after reaching the Ori River and the Mugodzhar Hills.

[439] In 1752 Russia's relations with Nurali Khan had less to do with Kazak matters than with the expansion of caravan trade with Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, and Tashkent, and across these lands with the other states of Central Asia, even to the Indies, which were regarded as the source of all riches. Since the Indies were not far from the Kazak steppes, it was wished to make the first step across this country to reach that [224] region. This is why Nurali's help, if he were to give it in good faith, would have been of great importance to Russia in connection with trade.

[231 cont.]

x 648 Fortunately this region was then governed by Nepluev. His
[643 presence of mind and his actions averted the storm which
722] menaced it. He immediately united the troops under his command at the points where defense was most necessary. He had reinforcements brought in from Kazan and also drew them from the Don Cossacks and from the khan of the Volga Kalmuks. While waiting, he armed the Meshcheriaks and Teptiars against the Bashkirs. He promised a complete pardon to those rebels who showed signs of repentance, and offered large pecuniary rewards for the heads of Batyr Shah and his principal accomplices. He sent declarations in the Tatar language to the Kazak hordes in the name of the akhun of Orenburg, in which this senior member of the Moslem clergy expressed his approbation of the Bashkir revolt but at the same time his fear that if they came to make themselves independent of Russia they might attack the Kazaks and finish by conquering them.

[726] When the auxiliary troops had entered the land of the Bashkirs, the latter were not powerful enough to resist the Russians, Kalmuks, Teptiars, and Meshcheriaks together, and they fled across the Ural River with their wives and children, numbering more than 50,000 persons. A large number perished crossing the
[727 river, and the others concealed themselves within the hordes.
662] Those who remained in their settlements asked pardon, but their repentance was not sincere, and they were waiting for a new revolt. To avert this, and above all to prevent the Bashkirs from joining the Kazaks, Nepluev was obliged to take a cruel measure, but one which the times and circumstances made absolutely necessary.

x 648 He felt that it was necessary, for the security of the [232]
662 Orenburg line, to cause an irreconcilable hatred between the
661 Bashkirs and the Kazaks, for without this a reunion between them was always possible, and the inevitable result of such an alliance would be the ruin of all the Russian establishments on the Ural River. To achieve this end, he decided to place in the power of the Kazaks the wives and children of the Bashkirs who had left Russia to seek refuge among the Kazaks. Elizabeth's ministry had wished to protect the Russian border by a method more consistent with the views of kindness and humanity, but it was necessary to yield to

[233 cont.]

648 the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the
[663 same time the border commanders were directed not to permit
661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727 The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two
728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead
[771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[236 cont.]
648 that its probability be considered and also the basis for it. From
662 information received about the Little Horde from an officer (1)
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1. See Prince Urakov's reports of 1757 in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

who was sent there for the purpose, it was found out that the Kazaks had had no thought of the Kuban, but that Dunduk Dashi and two other Kalmuk princes had themselves sent confidential agents to Khan Nurali to warn him that the Crimean Tatars intended to attack Russia and to invite him to give them help, as the Kalmuks had themselves decided to do. Nurali had not rejected this proposal, but he had asked that he be warned of the moment when the Tatars would carry out their plan.

648 This duplicity on the part of Dunduk Dashi and his Kalmuk
661 subjects' eternal hatred of the Kazaks caused the presumption
662 that his real aim was to decide Nurali to march against the Russians and to profit by the absence of a large part of the Little Horde to attack its defenseless auls.

However this is only a presumption, and events did not prove that it was true. For neither the Crimean Tatars nor the Kazaks attacked Russia in 1757, and consequently the Volga Kalmuks had no occasion to help the first nor to destroy the second.

648 [237] The behavior of the Middle Horde in 1758 disturbed the Russian government more than the rumors of Nurali's alliance with the Crimean khan. Part of this horde had invaded the
[727] borders and taken the liberty of carrying off 220 Tatars of the Kuznetsk district as prisoners, people known by the name of Dvoedantsy (this name means "those who pay double tribute, or two tributes"). The Russians and the Dzungars levied tribute on these people at the same time. Another part of the Middle Horde, and this was the largest part, having seized the lands of the Dzungars who had been driven from their country, were coming closer to China and seemed too devoted to that empire.

[240 cont.]

x 648 not ceased their thieving and laid waste the border provinces as before. But the departure of the Kazaks would have been very [439] injurious in regard to trade, and it was to prevent this that Russia wished to keep her semisavage subjects in their old habitat.

[662 643] It was essential to keep Sultan Ablai well disposed toward Russia, for he was acquiring more influence over his subjects every day and was becoming more fitted than anyone else to drive them in some high undertaking. A large part of the Middle Horde had already given him the title of khan. He himself in his relations with the Russian authorities did not yet give himself more than the title of sultan. But his power and his rank as a Chinese prince, to which Ch'ien Lung had elevated him, made it easier for him to change his title and to adopt that of supreme chief of all the Middle Horde, without any permission or cooperation on the part of Russia. This manner of behavior would have been contrary to the dignity of the empire, for the Middle Horde was among its subjects. But it was impossible to prevent such an event by [241] prohibiting it, and it would have been too injurious to take revenge by force of arms. It was therefore decided to induce Ablai by kindness and favors to himself request his investiture with the title of khan in the name of his people. In anticipation of this request, he was assigned an annual stipend, and an officer was sent to him charged with subtly showing him the path by which he could acquire the position of khan and to inform him that in order to reach this goal it was necessary that he give his son as hostage, following the example of Nurali.

Against all expectations Ablai received the Russian envoy in a very unfriendly manner and refused to present his son. In addition, it was learned soon after from a reliable source that Abul Mahmet, who had been created the khan of the Middle Horde by Russia, was still alive, and therefore the elevation of a new khan was put off to another time.

[726] In 1760 the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde attacked the savage Kirgiz, or Buruts, and inflicted great losses upon them. [727] Later they caused a disturbance in a sector of the new conquests of China and took several prisoners there. The Chinese demanded

K [257 cont.]
×648 undefended. No one could protect them from the raids of outside
C 648 enemies, for everyone thought about saving himself from an
K enemy from within who was far more dangerous. This is why
C [669 there was reason to fear then that the Kazaks [258] might join
662] the rebels, enter the empire, and pillage and lay waste all the border settlements. This did not happen because the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs who made up Pugachev's army were enemies of the Kazaks.

Nevertheless, if this hatred prevented them from joining together to march into the interior, it did not protect the borders from the usual pillaging and raids which the Little Horde often repeated during Pugachev's revolt.

We see by a report from the commander who was then in the city of Yaisk (now Uralsk) that Nurali had armed quite a large number of his subjects but was making no move, waiting near the border for the outcome of the affair. One might suppose from the assurances he gave and the zeal with which he extradited several rebels who had taken flight that it was his intention to decide for the legitimate government, but in spite of this the local authorities were very much afraid that in case good luck favored the leader of the insurrection, Nurali might join him.

On this basis and to punish several raids, some across the borders, by the Kazaks during the revolt, the government of Orenburg sent a body of troops against the Little Horde in 1774, after the defeat of the rebels. These troops succeeded in capturing a large number of prisoners, carrying off many animals, and made the audacious bandits feel Russia's might.

K At this same time an event took place in the interior of
[643 the Little Horde which is worthy of attention. Several Turkmen
651] tribes who nomadized near the Caspian Sea chose Sultan Pirali, the second son of Nurali, for their khan. The new sovereign immediately left his father and went to live in the midst of his new subjects on the route which led from Khiva to Saraichik [259] and Guryev. He soon made a name for himself through the high duties he exacted from the merchant caravans.

K In 1775 the Kazaks did not disturb Russia. The Little
[727] Horde remained quiet because it still felt the painful consequences

[259 cont.]

×648 of the punishment inflicted upon it by the Russian troops the year
[727] before. The Middle Horde had been causing suspicion for some time because the rumor had spread that Ablai, profiting from the recent troubles of the Bashkirs, had sent several messengers to them to induce them to move under his domination. But investigations proved that these rumors were false.

During the months of June and October of this same year, several elders and sultans who were independent of Ablai sent deputies to the commander of the Siberian line to propose that
[661] they be recognized as Russian subjects. Among these was the son of Khan Abul Mahmet, Abulfeis, who had asked that he be assigned an annual stipend. Ablai's son and nephew asked for the same thing.

Empress Catherine received the report and replied in a rescript of May 25, 1776 in the name of the governor of Orenburg, as the principal administrator of Kazak matters, that the individual proposals made by the Kazaks of the Middle Horde to be received as subjects were founded on nothing more than the desire to obtain gifts. It was added that they were completely useless, for the entire horde had been recognized as subjects of the empire since the reign of Empress Anna, and that if such demands were satisfied this would only produce new demands. Furtheremore it was said that the fixing of annual stipends would become an obligation for the government and would accustom the Kazaks to regard as a duty that which was only the effect of the government's indulgence, and consequently it would be much better to conciliate them with gifts which were not fixed. These concepts showed a profound knowledge of the character of the Kazaks; they were the fruit of 46 years experience, from 1730 to 1776.

×648 Irnazar Maksiutov, the Bukharan ambassador, who came to
439 [260] Russia in 1775, revived the idea of building a Russian city in the Kazak steppe at the mouth of the Emba in the conferences he had on the means of removing the trade of caravans between Russia and Bukhara from all danger. The Russian government showed itself ready to carry out the plan (1), but it remained without

1. As a result of the ukase given on this

[262 cont.]
x648 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
[724] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
x648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
643 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobi in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[265 cont.]

x648 begun by Ablai. But the Buruts, who were accustomed to con-
[721] stant fighting, were not easy to defeat. The Chinese also experienced the effects of their valor several times and sometimes were vanquished by them. Thus it is not surprising that Sultan Tyz, who rashly attacked them with a handful of men, was
● [727 728] defeated and taken prisoner, and he emerged from prison only under humiliating conditions and after giving them the slaves which belonged to him.

[721] The elder Berdy Khoja suffered still more from the Buruts (1). He ruled the part of the Middle Horde which

1. This same Berdy Khoja came to the fort of Semipalatinsk in the month of July, 1785 and imparted the information to the Russians which we have given here about Ablai's son and on the Buruts. This was published for the first time in Sibirskii Vestnik, Bk. III, 1820, and we have taken it from this source.

nomadized near the Chinese borders, and often fought against the savage Kirgiz, winning battles against them frequently. In 1785 he won quite an important victory over them, but it was his last. Acting as an auxiliary of the Chinese army, which was marching against them from the shores of the Ili, he advanced swiftly from the shores of the Ayaguz and gave them a terrible rebuff. Encouraged by his success he set out again with a small number of his men and halted on his arrival at the Jidisse /Djidis?/ to await reinforcements. The Buruts took advantage of his
[727] weakness and attacked him during the first night, defeating him and taking him prisoner. The unfortunate elder, in despair, knowing the customs of his enemies, could no longer hope for good luck in the future, and resolving to hasten his death, he killed one of the Buruts who was [266] leading him to the chief of the tribe. The others could not endure the idea of letting this act pass unpunished for an instant. They stopped on the way

[266 cont.]

[648] and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They [727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use [233 166] every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent intentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[266 cont.]
x648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[316] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[267 cont.]
x648 721 726 we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

x648 439 712 It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

x648 692 The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

[270 cont.]
x648 had been provoked. This band was composed of 3,000 men under
721 the command of Batyr Syrym, of whom we have already spoken.
For a long time it threatened several forts on the Orenburg line,
[72] and finally this daring band succeeded in winning a considerable
victory at the fort of Tanalytsk and against a body of troops sent
against them.

x648 In 1785 a revolution began in the internal administration
668 of the Little Horde, which is of great note to the historian and
very interesting to the political scientist. The end for which it
was undertaken held to the plan conceived by Catherine and her
ministry to establish peace among the Kazaks. We shall describe
the means by which the local authorities attained such a desirable
result. Baron Igelstrom, who was then appointed to the post of
governor general of Orenburg and commander of the entire Russian
border from the Caspian Sea to the Tobolsk gubernia, found the
Little Horde in a state of violent agitation and the borders of the
[721 provinces in his care in danger. Troops of armed Kazaks riding
●727] about the left bank of the Ural River caused the constant fear of an
attack and kept the peasants from busying themselves with the
work in the fields. And whenever they found a chance, they
carried men off, pillaged, and led away the livestock. The de-
tachment commanded by Batyr Syrym showed itself even more
daring.

x 648 His attack on the fort of Tanalytsk was one of the first
721 events which took place after the arrival of Baron Igelstrom in
662 Orenburg. In order to take advantage of this fact, Khan Nurali
hastened to inform the new governor that all the brigandage
was committed by Kazaks who were defying his orders; that
Syrym was not satisfied with denying his authority, but was
even arousing the entire horde against him, and that in order
[271] to prevent the greatest disasters, both for Russia and for
the Kazaks, it was indispensable to punish the rebels by force
and to remove the fomenters of disorder from the horde. The
Khan concluded as before by acknowledging his weakness and
requesting help to bring the bandits to their proper duties.

[271 cont.]

x648 All this was true, but no one paid any attention to it be-
[721 cause no one in Orenburg believed in Nurali's sincerity, and the
662] new government, being prejudiced against him, believed the
● 727] re-establishment of peace in the horde to be impossible without changing its administration, or at least without a new khan.

x648 Baron Igelstrom's first choice for a new khan was Kaip, son
662 of Sultan Batyr, who had reigned in Khiva and was driven out for his rapaciousness and cruelty. We have spoken of him several times, as well as of his father. The central government could not ignore the acts of hostility committed by this sultan against the Russians, nor his conduct in Khiva, and therefore his election was put off until more detailed information could be collected concerning him (1). And in the end it did not take place (2).

1. Rescript from the Empress to Baron Igelstrom of November 25, 1785.

2. A similar rescript of November 12, 1786.

Kaip was proposed for this position twice. The first proposal was brought about by two plans drawn up by Baron Igelstrom, who had firmly decided to introduce a new form of government in the Little Horde.

x648 In one of these plans he proposed to divide the horde into
[621 three sections, according to the number of its descent lines,
177 namely those of Semirod, Baiulin, and Alimul, and to give each
643 a khan, but to limit the authority of these new chiefs so that they would bear only an honorary title and be, in effect, only the executors of the commands of the supreme head of the government of Orenburg.

[272] The other plan was to abolish the position of khan in the Little Horde completely and gradually to apply to them the
[671] code given by Catherine for the administration of guberniyas.

This last thought was drawn from one of the cherished as well as most remarkable works of the Empress, and thus it was especially commended and confirmed in St. Petersburg.

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
● 727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[274 cont.]
course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[289 cont.]

[648] During the winter of 1797-98, a strong detachment of Ural Cossacks [726] crossed the Ural River and not only defeated the robbers but in exchange for the studs which had been taken from them in Russia, [727] they carried off several thousands of horses, which were distributed to those who had suffered losses. Shortly afterward they were attacked by the Bashkirs, who took 5,000 horses from them.

It can be imagined that the Kazaks did not leave these two losses unavenged. The result was new raids, new reprisals, and new insults from one side and the other. In order to put an end to these disturbances, commissions were established on the borders composed of deputies of the Bashkir, Kazak, and Kalmuk peoples, as well as the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks. These commissions were supposed to examine the complaints which came to them from all sides and to satisfy them as much as possible, as well as to try to suppress permanently demands which were unjust or impossible to satisfy.

[290] These commissions did not fulfill the object of their meeting, and indeed scarcely set about satisfying the duties imposed on them, for no one appeared at the tribunal.

[167] At this time many Kazaks from different hordes asked to establish themselves permanently in Russia. Their requests were answered in an ukase of September 30, 1797, as a consequence of which 12,000 tents of the Middle Horde alone are settled down in various localities to this day.

[646] After Ishim's death the government of the Little Horde was entrusted to a council composed of Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair, as president, and six councilors, two from each tribe. They were all chosen by Baron Igelstrom, who was then commanding the Orenburg border area for the second time and had once [643] again given the government the idea of maintaining the Kazaks without the intermediary of a khan. When Emperor Paul had sent a confirmation of his demands, he chose the Khobda River as the [646] permanent residence of the council and had it opened in this region by the mufti Mohammed Djan Hussein, who was sent from Orenburg in 1797. The councilors took an oath of loyalty and swore to carry out their duties zealously, and the mufti remained with them

[291 cont.]
[648 descent lines of the Middle Horde and chose to live much farther
[669 to the east than the former. Others withdrew to the mouth of the
164] Syr[Darya], and after overthrowing the Karakalpaks, they chose
[727] Sultan Abulgazi Kaip as khan.

A third group attacked the Turkmen, and after forcing them to give up part of their lands, they occupied a large part of the isthmus which separates the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea. Aichuvak himself and several sultans with [292] him were obliged to cross the Ural River to save their lives and to remain in Russia until this general fermentation was calmed.

[643 Sultan Bukei, son of Nurali, who had had the place of
646] president in the council of the khan, did the same, but he followed a different course. He lived near the border of the
[167] government of Astrakhan, and knowing that after the departure of the Kalmuks, many lands had remained deserted which were suitable for pasturage, he decided in 1799 to leave forever the steppes beyond the Ural River and to go over into the territory called Ryn Peski. Having decided thus and hoping to become an independent khan soon, Bukei addressed himself to General Knorring, the governor general of Georgia and Astrakhan, begging for permission to occupy the lands he had chosen between the Ural and the Volga and the freedom to transport there the Kazaks in his auls, while assigning him 100 Cossacks with their officers in order to maintain order.

It was impossible to neglect a proposal which was so advantageous and so useful. Governor Knorring brought it to the attention of Emperor Paul, who, by an ukase of March 11, 1801, commanded that it be put into execution.

[619 Without losing time, Bukei prepared to move into Russia
167] about the autumn of that same year. The Kazaks who followed him belonged mostly to the Baiulin descent line. There were few of the Alimul line and almost none from that of the Semirod. All
[511 of them together comprised about 10,000 tents. Once they had
727] occupied the Ryn Peski, they promptly became a clear and striking demonstration of the effects of a peaceful life. While their compatriots beyond the Ural River, ruined and exhausted by their

[292 cont.]
[648] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[511] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
[727] point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

[101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[727] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[643] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[295 cont.]

×648 In 1793, Lieutenant General Strandman, commandant of the Siberian line, sent a body of troops into the Kazak steppes which liberated the Turkmen prisoners. Vali was so distressed at this loss that he complained to the Empress. The only satisfaction he received was the permission to come to St. Petersburg to explain all his needs and his requests, and he did not take advantage of this because he was afraid to leave the horde. Finally, after the death of his brother Chingis, he announced that all his complaints [662] had been made on the advice of his brother, and he reconciled himself with the local authorities and promised to help them in all matters.

This move, however, was not a proof of perfect devotion to Russia, for he wished to maintain his relations with China, following the example of his father, and to this end he sent his son to the emperor of China in the winter of 1794-95 to bear witness to his [643] submission. At the same time he continued to oppress the tribal [661] chiefs, except those who were attached to Russia. The result of this behavior was that in January, 1795 two sultans, 19 elders, 43,360 of their subjects and 79,000 other Kazaks submitted a petition to the Empress asking to be delivered from Vali's rule and to be accepted under the direct dominion of the Russian government.

The execution of this demand was too difficult and promised no advantage to Russia. In the meantime Vali showed signs of repentance and raised the hope that he would become reconciled with the malcontents, and therefore things remained in their original state.

[619] The part of the horde which lived along the Verkhne-Uralsk line and had the Bashkirs for neighbors, as we said above, in 1795 gave the most [296] convincing proof of the truth of our reflections about the causes which made the Middle Horde more peaceful than [639] the Little Horde. At the time when the tribes and divisions of the [721] Kazaks along the border were peacefully carrying on trade with the Russians on the Siberian line, it made several raids in the districts [727] of Chelyabinsk and Verkhne-Uralsk, laid waste several villages then, took many prisoners, and carried off quite a large number of

[296 cont.]

[648] studs, to avenge themselves for the thefts and offenses committed [727] against them by the Bashkirs. Finally, this group decided to withdraw into the depths of their steppes and did not agree to come near the Russian borders except on the invitation of General Viazmitinov, the commander in chief of the Orenburg region.

[692] In 1798 it was ordered that a tribunal be established, after the example of the Little Horde and on the request of Khan Vali, in the fort of Petropavlovsk, for the judgment of suits and disputes between the Kazaks of the Middle Horde and the residents along the Siberian border. This tribunal, made up of deputies of these two peoples, was organized in 1800, but the Kazak members let several years pass without appearing, so that it was not opened until 1806.

Here we end the detailed description of the Kazak hordes. [114] Having shown everything which took place among these peoples until the end of the 18th century, we will not speak of the events of the 19th century. The time which has passed since its beginning is still too close to us, and the judgments we could bring to this period would seem either partial, or misplaced, or doubtful.

We consider it necessary, however, to mark the transition between the past and the present by indicating briefly the order of succession of the khans of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde of the Kazaks.

[643 578] Vali, who succeeded his father in 1781, reigned until his death, which came in 1818. However in his last years he was not the sole khan of the Middle Horde, for because of [297] his quarrels with several tribal chiefs and at the request of several Kazaks, in 1816 Emperor Alexander designated a second khan for this horde, who was Bukei, son of Barak, and who died in 1818.

[631] With him the title of khan died out in the Middle Horde. Today it is divided into districts and governed by a special regulation which we will enter at the end of this work. [This section not translated.]

[643] Aichuvak ruled the Little Horde until 1805 and then abdicated of his own accord because of old age and illness.

His successor was his son Djantiura, who was assassinated by his cousins, the sons of Khan Nurali, and their accomplices.

[148 cont.]

175 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof
643 can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[114] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in
643 the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans
554 and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every
643 Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent
● 728 compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the
669 Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[149 cont.]

175 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain
643 tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him
728 by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite
669 in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 In spite of all his services and his influence among the
643 hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into
631 three hordes, without having said when and how this took place.
173 Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

[150 cont.]

175 replied by [151] promising to be obedient to Russia in all things.
643 These relations had no sequel, however, for Prince Gagarin was
[662] recalled to Moscow shortly after, and Tiavka, the oldest and most cautious of the khans, died. His companions did not know enough to profit from this favorable situation. Instead of joining together again to ask Russia's protection against the Dzungars, they
[57] began to quarrel among themselves, and without any thought of the general welfare they continued in their usual calling, that is, they pillaged all their neighbors. And Russia, who had offered them help and protection, was not the last to suffer from
[726] this. Not content with their frequent raids across the borders of Siberia, in that same year, 1717, they moved in as far as Novo-Sheshminsk (in the Kazan guberniya), took the city, and laid it waste, and although they were driven out with great losses, they
[727] took away a large number of prisoners. This last expedition was made by the subjects of Khan Abulkhair (1). Kaip was afraid

1. See Rychkov's History of Orenburg /Istoriia Orenburgskaia/ and governor
[43] Nepluev's reports to the senate. Rychkov does not say who commanded the Kazaks in this expedition, but Nepluev says that it was Khan Abulkhair, who later became a subject of the Russian empire.

that it might be attributed to him and that he might be punished, although innocent, for the crime of his rival, so he sent a letter
[728] in 1718 to Peter I, in which he offered perpetual peace and alliance (2).

2. This letter, as well as the reply made to it by the governor of Kazan, is still preserved today /1832/ in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

175 This letter, however, did not stop the just vengeance of
721 the dwellers along the border, who were annoyed by the constant
726

[185 cont.]

x648 726 727

and the ukase of February 6, 1738 addressed to Tatishchev, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

punishment for their misdeeds, Abulkhair and his partisans were terrified to hear that Tatishchev was approaching from Orenburg with troops in the month of July, 1738. They believed that this army, which according to [186] rumor had been joined by several thousand Kalmuks, was coming to punish them, whereas Tatishchev, who was being escorted by the army, had no other purpose but to open meetings with the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans.

x648 Wishing to assure themselves of his intentions, they sent Batyr Bukenbai, of whom we have already spoken and who was universally respected, to meet Tatishchev. The ostensible reason for his mission was to discover at what time Abulkhair should come to Orenburg and the number of sultans who should accompany him. The true reason was to reconnoiter the strength of the army and to find out if there were Kalmuks.

● [728] In spite of the fact that Bukenbai had calmed his compatriots on this subject, Abulkhair, who was conscious of his crimes, took a long time to decide to go to Orenburg. He finally arrived, and halted with his entire suite below the walls of the fortress, but he was afraid to surrender himself before Tatishchev, making the excuse that it was not befitting the person of a sovereign to make the first visit to a general. He held to this idea primarily because of the arguments of the elders who accompanied him. However Tevkelev, as his coreligionist and an old acquaintance, reassured him and made him decide to renounce his proud claim. The assurance that he was surrendering himself to the imperial camp and not to the State Councilor Tatishchev made him reduce his pretentions and go to Orenburg, which was then no more than an armed camp.

The interview was scheduled for the month of August, 1738.

In order to give it greater pomp, and thus to strike the fancy of the Asiatics, who love pageantry in all things, a major

[191 cont.]
Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter, Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

[192 cont.]
x 648 641 their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

x 648 On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this [439 728] meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to [721] a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

[579] It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] [662 152] and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

x648 662 [197 cont.]
in this way, and second, he could make his excuses to Galdan for not having sent him hostages, for he was certain that the border commander would not permit this.

This was exactly what happened. Abulkhair had scarcely arrived in Orenburg when Nepluev announced to the Dzungarian envoys that since the khan of the Little Horde was a subject of Russia he had no right to negotiate with foreign princes or to give them hostages. The same was stated for the Middle Horde and Khan Abul Mahmet. The Dzungars replied that the Kazaks were [728 651] constantly making raids in their territories; that it was impossible to have any peace without taking hostages from them; and that besides they themselves had offered to satisfy this demand just as the Great Horde, which having become their vassal, not only gave hostages but also paid a tribute, and because of this there was perfect peace. The Dzungars were told once more that Russian subjects could neither make nor carry out such promises without the consent of their government. Nepluev himself assumed the burden of preventing any more Kazak raids into Dzungarian territory. It was then suggested to the deputies that they return home, but they answered that although they were thoroughly satisfied with their reception by Nepluev, his words were still not enough; for knowing the Kazaks intimately, who had deceived the Russians and the Dzungars alike with their promises of submission, they could expect nothing but pillage and robbery in the future, and that therefore they dared not return home without hostages. Finally, they said openly that they had been sent by their kungtaidji to Khan Abulkhair and not to the Russian government.

x648 Nepluev and the Khan had considerable trouble in persuading them to leave with the promises they had been given, but they finally departed from Orenburg to go directly to their [198] country. Major Müller, who had been in command of the first Russian caravan which was pillaged by the Great Horde, was sent with these deputies, in order to persuade Galdan Tsyren more firmly that the Kazak hordes were vassals of Russia, and to deliver a letter to him from Nepluev.

[198 cont.]

×648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[728] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged ×648 their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this [662] time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg. [595] But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he [622] wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

[209 cont.]

*[43] Blinded by his resentment, Abulkhair considered this punish-
[662] ment as a new offense against him. He sought every means to harm Russia, and requested the protection of Persia.

[584] His son Khodja Akhmet had been transferred from Petersburg to Kazan, where he had fallen in love with the daughter of a Tatar and asked for her hand in marriage. Abuljhair's impertinences had been so frequent and so serious, that one cannot admire enough the patience with which the court at St. Petersburg put up with it. In order to give this khan one more proof of its indulgence, both toward him and toward his people, Tevkelev, who, as we have said, professed the same religion as the Kazaks, was sent to Orenburg in 1747. Furthermore he had spent more than a year among them and had acquired general respect, and he knew their customs and habits and had always been a friend of Abulkhair's. He was charged with placating Abulkhair through his advice, of reconciling him with Governor Nepluev, and of returning his son Khodja Akhmet to him, but in exchange for another son born of a khaness.

Abulkhair's death, which took place soon after, prevents us from [210] saying what the consequences of his dealings with Tevkelev would have been. But at the opening of these conferences, Abulkhair showed himself disposed to reconciliation. During the summer of 1748, he arrived at the fortress of Orsk (1)

1. This was the name given to the old Orenburg, after the new one was founded on the site which it now occupies.

for an interview with his old friend, and he not only gave as hostage another legitimate son named Aichuvak, who later became a khan, in place of Khodja Akhmet, but he also added the children of some of his elders. Furthermore he promised to
[728] deliver immediately all the Russian prisoners taken by his subjects, and promised in writing that the Little Horde would never attack
[662] the borders. When he arrived at the horde, however, he secretly

[233 cont.]

[648 the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the
[663 same time the border commanders were directed not to permit
661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727 The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two
●728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead
[771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

X 648 [578] [235 cont.]

Khan of having secret relations with the Orenburg authorities. As a result, in order not to confirm the opinions of his subjects on this idea, he asked that when he was sent reprimands for them in letters coming from Orenburg, they be sent for him also. Concerning known brigands, he said he could make them known in secret but could not deliver them, leaving the power of sending troops against them to the Russian government.

As a result the government resolved to increase Nurali's power and at the same time to devise a plan for punishing the Kazaks in such a way that they would feel at least once the power and the force of the empire. An order had already been given to draw a detailed map of the western part of the Kazak steppe, and the best means were already being sought for carrying on a campaign beyond the Ural. Everything foretold a terrible calamity for the Little Horde (2), when the Seven Years War opened between

2. See the ukase of June 10, 1756.

Russia and Prussia, and it was averted.

[646] Nevertheless there was a great national assembly in the Little Horde in 1756, no doubt with the aim of discussing ways of averting the danger menacing them, and it opposed not only the demand of the Khan and his brothers to return the Russian prisoners [728] and the Bashkir deserters, [236] but also undertook to help them. The Sultans Erali and Aichuvak pursued the interests of Russia with great warmth on this occasion.

X 648 662 721 At the beginning of 1757, Dunduk Dashi, deputy of the khan of the Volga Kalmuks, warned the governor of Astrakhan that all the Kazaks were intending to enter the Turkish possessions on the Kuban and that they had already requested permission from the Ottoman Porte through an embassy sent for this purpose. This news was difficult to believe. Nevertheless prudence demanded

x648 [239 cont.]
[661] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[343] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[577] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

X 648 [241 cont.]
of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their
[728] demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires,
[562] sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

[726 721] The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This
[574] irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

[265 cont.]

x648 begun by Ablai. But the Buruts, who were accustomed to con-
[721] stant fighting, were not easy to defeat. The Chinese also experienced the effects of their valor several times and sometimes were vanquished by them. Thus it is not surprising that Sultan Tyz, who rashly attacked them with a handful of men, was
[727] defeated and taken prisoner, and he emerged from prison only
728 under humiliating conditions and after giving them the slaves which belonged to him.

[721] The elder Berdy Khoja suffered still more from the Buruts (1). He ruled the part of the Middle Horde which

1. This same Berdy Khoja came to the fort of Semipalatinsk in the month of July, 1785 and imparted the information to the Russians which we have given here about Ablai's son and on the Buruts. This was published for the first time in Sibirskii Vestnik, Bk. III, 1820, and we have taken it from this source.

nomadized near the Chinese borders, and often fought against the savage Kirgiz, winning battles against them frequently. In 1785 he won quite an important victory over them, but it was his last. Acting as an auxiliary of the Chinese army, which was marching against them from the shores of the Ili, he advanced swiftly from the shores of the Ayaguz and gave them a terrible rebuff. Encouraged by his success he set out again with a small number of his men and halted on his arrival at the Jidisse /Djidis?/ to await reinforcements. The Buruts took advantage of his
[727] weakness and attacked him during the first night, defeating him and taking him prisoner. The unfortunate elder, in despair, knowing the customs of his enemies, could no longer hope for good luck in the future, and resolving to hasten his death, he killed one of the Buruts who was [266] leading him to the chief of the tribe. The others could not endure the idea of letting this act pass unpunished for an instant. They stopped on the way

[272 cont.]

×648 No one stopped to reflect on the possibility or impossibility of carrying out this measure, because the Orenburg administration had proposed it itself and must have the means of accomplishing it.

[177] Having received the approbation of the court, Baron Igelstrom at once began to introduce the new order of things.

His first step produced results which were in perfect harmony ×648 with the end to which he aspired.

646 Without the intermediary of the Khan, he sent solemn procla-
● 728 mations throughout the entire horde, in which, without speaking
668 of the Khan nor of the sultans, he invited the elders and the peo-
177 ple to form an assembly in order to come to an agreement on the means of maintaining order in the horde and living in obedience to the Russian government. He advised them to renounce brigandage and raids and to expect the pardon they deserved for their repentance or severe punishments for the crimes which had been disturbing public order. These proclamations almost completely destroyed the last vestiges of the weak power of the Khan. Many Kazaks who were followers of the Khan abandoned him and joined his enemies, and all together they formed a national assembly which did not contain one sultan, and where Batyr Syrym, of whom we have spoken, twice presided as chief.

×648 The confidence shown by the people in Syrym in this instance
646 is very common, and is in perfect harmony with the Kazak notions
728 of the greatness of spirit. But who would fail to be surprised at the consideration given in Orenburg to this [273] man who the year before had been the leader of a band of brigands, at whose head he had attacked Russian troops and forts?

All Syrym's actions showed that he was a man of vast intelligence but one unsatisfied, restless, and vindictive, and moreover, of an enterprising character rarely found among a half-savage people. After having distinguished himself among the bandits, he soon came to eminence in the council which had assembled to re-establish the general peace, as he believed that new and brilliant advantages lay in this for him. As he was an irreconcilable enemy of the Khan, not so much because of specific disputes with Nurali as of the longing he felt for the heriditary

[273 cont.]
x 648 privileges which the latter held by birth, Syrym proposed that
646 the position of khan was unnecessary and sought to make up for
728 his own lack of illustrious ancestors by personal merit. Under his influence the national assembly swore the oath of loyalty to the empress of Russia without the least opposition, promised to stop its raids, and to apply its efforts to maintain peace in the horde and to obey all the commands of the Russian government. But it demanded as a guarantee of Russia's protection, that Abulkhair's descendants, including Nurali himself, should forever lose the right to be khans of the Little Horde.

x 648 Can one fail to recognize Syrym's ambition in this demand?
643 Nurali and his brothers were poor leaders because of their weak-
662 ness, not because of their cruelty. Thus they could not have incurred the hatred of the entire horde to the point of forcing it to consider their removal from power as necessary to their peace. Then the government even went so far as to say that it was no longer up to it to change the course of affairs, because the idea of abolishing the position of khan had long since been adopted. Moreover, the peaceful inclinations of the national assembly and Syrym's clever actions seemed favorable to the re-establishment of calm within the horde.

x 648 [274] Actually, the year 1786 stood out among all other
721 years, especially the two preceding, because of the calm which
727 reigned during its span and the more frequent relations between the Russians and the Kazaks. It is true that there were also several disturbances springing from the abasement of all the sultans, especially the descendants of Abulkhair. Nevertheless this does not prevent our notice of the fact that the greatest exchanges of
[439] livestock (1) on the line took place in 1786 and 1787, and in the

1. See the table on the quantity of livestock exchanged by the Kazaks with the Russians from 1745 to 1820 that we have included in the statistical article [pp. 426 to 427, not translated].

[275 cont.]

x648 Baron Igelstrom not only forgot Batyr Syrym's former actions but even took him under his special protection, chose him as the instrument of his operations, maintained a correspondence with him at once, and held conferences with him, as though he were the chargé d'affaires or the representative of the entire national [662 assembly. When the Khan was informed of these details, he wrote 152] that Syrym was a knave who was deceiving the government and that he had no thought of re-establishing good order but only considered his own interests. The Khan also said that he attributed his own opinions to the entire assembly and that in his heart he was a sworn enemy of Russia, etc. These accusations were vindicated by time, but coming from the lips of a weak and humiliated sovereign and under circumstances which explicitly belied his accusations, they could not appear true and were accordingly allowed to slip into oblivion. It is true that Nurali added certain unequivocal signs of his devotion to Russia, for at this time he [128] released several Russian prisoners whom he had brought to the horde, offered his children as hostages, and placed himself at the disposal of the government. But he was too late. His personal submission was no longer needed. What was wanted was the force of power or of genius, which alone was capable of acting upon the horde.

x648 Syrym had already acquired this force by his intelligence, 643 his influence over the people, and by the protection of the border 661 authorities. Thus it appeared that he promised greater advantages than the Khan, who had shown nothing but weakness for 37 years. The fate of this unhappy prince deserves pity. Yet following the opinion he had formed of Nurali and the system which had been adopted, Baron Igelstrom no longer found it possible to keep him in the horde. Thus he asked permission to [276] have the Khan brought into Russia, and once he had been received (1),

1. By a rescript of the Empress of June 3, 1786.

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
567

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend- 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

[151 cont.]
175 raids of the Kazaks. The Volga Kalmuks, the Bashkirs, and
721 the Siberian Cossacks began to attack again with more strength
726 than ever. Galdan Tsyren could not watch the ruin of the old enemies of his people with composure, nor leave unavenged the aggressions and wrongs which his ancestors had been obliged to endure for more than a century. After having delivered several terrible blows against them, he [152] seized Turkestan, the capital of their khans, in 1723 (1), in addition to Tashkent and Sairam,

1. Nepluev and Rychkov, in their reports written from Orenburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, often say that Abulkhair lived in Turkestan until 1723, at which time he was driven out by the Dzungars.

and finally he brought several branches of the Great Horde and the Middle Horde completely under his rule.

[722] A similar fate awaited all the other Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazaks], who were pressed and pursued from all sides, and they might have been completely exterminated if they had not retreated to the south. The remnants of the Great Horde and a small part of the Middle Horde fell back toward Khodzhent /Leninabad/, most
175 of the Middle Horde retreated to Samarkand, and the Little Horde
167 moved to Khiva and the realm of Bukhara (2). These migrations
731

2. This is what the famous elder of the Middle Horde, Bukenbai, said to Tevkelev when they met in Orsk in 1748, and he added: "At that time we fled before the Kalmuks, the Siberian and the Yaik /Ural/ Cossacks, and the Bashkirs like hares before the hounds."

brought inevitable ruin and disaster in their wake. The herds and the studs dwindled from one day to the next, and misfortune and misery befell everyone, some died of hunger, and others abandoned

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and recovered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from
[727] Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

the Soviet Union. Traditionally, peoples of Central Asia were able to leave their native pastures when times were bad and claim hospitality among other more fortunate Turkic groups. Instances have been reported in the 19th and 20th centuries of groups of Kazakhs whose herds had been depleted through drought or plague doing this; some even joined Uzbek groups, on the basis of descent from a common ancestor. Such an argument would hold only for the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks. It is not applicable to the Tadzhiks, and certainly not to the Russians. According to a long-established cultural pattern, Kazakhs who leave herding for farming join another group, such as Sart, for example, or Karakalpak, according to the area in which they have settled. 648 167 [731]

The general consideration of shifts in ethnic identification raises the problem of the smaller peoples of Central Asia. Aside from the many millions of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz, there are various small groups, none of which number more than fifty-odd thousand. These smaller groups, who together number about one quarter of a million people, have suffered the same fate of cultural levelling, absorption, and elimination of cultural differences that has taken place throughout the Soviet world from the Caucasus to the Bering Sea. The cost of administering many small peoples is too great a luxury for the USSR to afford; the Soviets have ceased to regard these peoples as independent entities, and have awarded the highest honors to those ethnologists who have justified the formation of ever larger groups of peoples. 648

In 1926 more than 200,000 Kazakhs lived within the 1939 boundaries of Uzbekistan, exclusive of the Karakalpak ASSR, and 86,000 Kazakhs were living in what is today Karakalpakia. The Karakalpaks are a people closely related to the Kazakhs; they are in the main Kazakhs who a few centuries ago settled down to farming. They still maintain strong ethnic ties to the Kazakhs, and linguistically are barely distinguishable from them. The Karakalpaks increased from 146,000 to 186,000 between 1926 and 1939, an increase of 27 per cent and the highest gain of all the Central Asiatic peoples during that period. Part of this gain may have been due to the decision of Kazakhs to declare themselves Karakalpaks, or the decision of the census authorities to list the Kazakhs as Karakalpaks. The latter alternative is implausible, because it would have the Soviets contributing further to a population picture of the Kazakhs which was already unfavorable. Marxist theory rejects the capitalistic Malthusian concept, and extreme population losses are embarrassing for the Communists to explain. 648 167 [71] [97]

From 1929 to 1933 the total livestock in Kazakhstan dropped from nearly 40,000,000 to 5,000,000 head. This was a disastrous blow to the nomads. The number of sheep and goats dropped by about 90 per cent. More than two-thirds of the horses and three-quarters of the cattle died in those years; between 1930 and 1933 more than 90 per cent of the camels died. Without these animals, the nomads cannot live. The farmer can store his grain, but the nomad can store food only on the hoof. When a head of stock dies on the steppes either it is eaten or it rots. The nomad's staple is milk, which he cannot store. These losses in livestock give some idea of the starvation conditions which prevailed during 1930-1933. Hundreds of thousands of nomads must either have 731 161

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 179 648

The Kazakhs were collectivized more slowly than the Slavs. By 1930, the Pavlodar region, a Slavic farming area since the 19th century, was 76 per cent collectivized while the Guryev region, a Kazakh pastoral region, was only 44 per cent collectivized.[1] Progress on collectivization was slow both because Kazakh herders were among the strongest resisters to collectivization, and because their nomadic existance made the administrative problems in collectivizing them more difficult than for sedentary peoples.

Another indication of the severity of the impact of collectivization on the Kazakhs is seen in the rate of recovery. During the period including World War I, the Revolution, and the civil war, the Kazakhs suffered a number of heavy blows. They had their own revolution in 1916, which resulted in severe reprisals by the Tsarist enforcement agencies, and during 1917-1922 they suffered losses again. But during the 1920's they recovered to a point where the stock total exceeded that of 1917. Such was not the case in the period following collectivization, however; in 1953 the entire herding economy of Kazakhstan had not reached the position which it had attained in any one of the years in the 1927-1930 period. The Kazakhs in the 1920's demonstrated a resiliency and capacity to meet and overcome disasters, a capacity which is part of their very history as herders. Herding is an economy which has few shock absorbers; herders may easily be wiped out by a drought, a blizzard, or disease among their animals. Farmers have an ability to store against future need which the herders do not.

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The Kazakhs showed this resiliency during the first years of the Soviet era, in recovering from the civil war. But they have not recovered, even after 25 years, from collectivization. This loss of capacity to recover in the face of disasters is one indication of the collapse of the traditional Kazakh economy, and is related to a breakdown in the traditional form of the Kazakh society and culture.

THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE RURAL ECONOMY

KN 433

In 1952 and 1953, the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a series of statements indicating the grave situation in farming and herding in the republic.

It has already been stated that of three million hectares of land under irrigation, only 1,300,000 hectares, or 43 per cent, were actually in use. Afonov, until recently the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, attacked this situation in 1953 as a gross waste of resources.[2] In 1952, the same general criticism had been made in a somewhat different form. The then secretary of the Central Committee, and boss of the Kazakh Party, Shaiakhmetov, attacked the farmers of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, the Uzbeks, Taranchis, Dungans, and others, in Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan, and Dzhambul, the leading agricultural regions of the republic. The principal charge

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 211.
[2]Afonov, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 8 Oct 53.

576 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

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The support of the poor.

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cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

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vice of the aksakals (yakhsy kŭller) (communicated by Kunakbai). 612
When the kinship is more distant, if they do not give livestock they give something cheaper or else food. /115/ An aksakal makes a collection from the people (yurtchilik) for the benefit of the poor, even against people's will. A collection is also taken from the people for influential people, to pay their private debts. (1) Poor people who

1. From the affairs of the Syr-Darya Regional Administration, it is evident that also under Russian domination, collections are made from the population for influential people, with the permission of Russian authorities. Thus, one of the uyezd chiefs presented for the approval of the military governor a judgment of the volost deputies of the Dzhulek volost for the sacrificing of one ruble from each tent to cover the debts of the volost administrator Ayake Bikdzhanov. He received an answer from the military governor that he did not consider it "suitable to approve officially a collection of one ruble from each tent on behalf the volost administrator Bikdzhanov." (Instruction of 17 March, 1876. No. 2727). In 1878 it was permitted to take a voluntary contribution from the Kazakhs of the Dzhulek volost, of an amount not exceeding seven thousand rubles for the payment of the private debts of the same Ayake Bikdzhanov, in view of his exemplary fulfillment of official duties during more than ten years and the extremely poor position of the family remaining after him. (Proposal of the military governor to the chief of the Perovsk uyezd, 21 August, 1878. No 4127).

beg support from their rich relatives and do not receive it, steal from them or borrow what they wish for a time or forever. Prizes for races are divided by the clan of the winner. The seeking of wergeld among kinsmen ends with a wergeld "of kin", i. e., a small wergeld (karyndas khun).

According to bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd, assist- 612
ance is asked of relatives, under the name of nemeurin or dzhylulaye 735
kan, under the following circumstances: 1) when someone is deeply in debt; 2) when someone has been ruined because of a false suit against him; 3) when someone is required to pay a wergeld. (2)

2. He who wishes to turn to the people for general help, invites representatives of the sections of the clan to him,

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feasts them, and then makes a speech to them, in which he tells of his failures, or his straitened circumstances, ending by pointing to their ancient custom, established in times long forgotten, when people like themselves helped each other. The suppliant never fails to bring in the proverb: "If water is taken from a lake with spoons, the water does not decrease. In the same manner a community which shows help does not become poor" (kisyk tap algan minen' kul' tausyk mas bergek mek musaparge il' tausul' mas). To this they reply: "If one man spits, nothing comes of it, but if a whole cummunity spits, a lake is formed" (ber tu kurse ber bular kak tukurse kul' bular). And thus the question is resolved for help to be shown by the general people.

However, help in the payment of debts, as bii Sultan and Khalmakhammed were obliged to admit, is always shown in proportion to the influence (kadryna yarasa) of that person in the community who has become indebted So that if an uninfluential but good man went in debt for a large sum and turned to his kinsmen, their contribution would cover only a small part of the debt.

/116/ According to Torgai, it is necessary to distinguish dzhilu and yurtchilik. Dzhilu is the forced contributions of friends, kinsmen and relatives, in case of fire, plundering of the village by enemies, the payment of wergeld and hunger. Yurtchilik is putting the debts on the people. In both the dzhilu and the yurtchilik, reciprocity is a condition of this contribution. But in the yurtchilik they are almost forced to pay, under the pretext that in the time of their fathers and grandfathers there were cases of reciprocal yurtchilik, or by threatening to cut off the hems and thus to end the mutual giving of yurtchilik (yurtchilik kylmaska itek kesti kylamyz). Incidentally the hem is not cut off. This is only a metaphor.

The poor person who asks for support says to the rich man: "Give me the grass of your livestock" (malyngnyng shubin ber magan), i. e., remunerate me for my right in common with you for that grass, on which your livestock are grazing. Support, in the form of a collection from the people under the direction of an aksakal, is arranged when all the livestock of the poor man have been slaughtered. Anyone who refuses to contribute loses the right to support in his turn, when a similar disaster happens to him.

This support extends even to the service of mating bulls. If

the owners of these animals are poor, they demand pay for the loan of the male animals saying: "Give for his strength (sidigin ber). They are given a kerchief or another article, called aktygy, i. e., "for his blamelessness" or else are lent a working animal.

At present, the yurtchilik is already going out of use, this being particularly noticeable in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast.

A very little known custom is that of giving out all the milk or butter of a given village by turns (kezek), one day to one tent, another to another, etc. This depends on common consent and is done by good people in order to support those who have little or no livestock (Perovsk uyezd). In the Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds it is said that this is a custom of poor Sarts who own one or two milk animals apiece /117/ (saun or sauaman). Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, kezek is for the purpose of preparing cheese (kurut and irimshik),(1), where much milk

1. Irimshik is obtained by boiling the milk a long time, with the addition of "mandil" or "zhutkunchak" (neck gristle) from a slaughtered lamb. [234]

is needed at one time. This giving out, based on reciprocity, is equivalent to a sale, satulu.

In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the custom is known of assistance (khashar) during construction, field work, etc. The person who is invited offers food, but it is not obligatory to appear. Among the Kirgiz there is also a custom of assistance. The help continues no longer than one day, otherwise no one will come. They do not go to poor people, who provide poor feasts. 476

In the Chimkent uyezd, one who has suffered rustling /baranta/ has the right to demand that his neighboring kinsmen go with him in pursuit of the rustlers. These helpers are called kumek. If a kumek is killed, the person who invited him to join the chase bears no responsibility. (Communicated by bii Sultan Kanaev).

According to Torgai, as soon as a person has work to do which is not within his power, he asks for help (kumek chakyrady, asar kylady, kubdesib kylady), for example, in rustling, in building a memorial over a grave, in field work, even in cleaning a canal if he himself is ill or advanced in years.

For rolling up felts and other woman's work the girls and women call for help (kumek), according to the communication of Aleksandrov from Kazalinsk.

005 a horse, sheep or some other object.

When the farmers are threshing, gathering the grain from
735 the threshing floor, or measuring it, poor people who do not have their own fields go about to the threshing floors of their clan or community and collect alms, keusen. They are usually given a wooden bowl containing from 2 to 6 pounds of grain, or else one or two handfuls. /Inserted page. Picture of girl from the Perovsk uyezd.[1]

431 /125/ "Bazarlyk" is asked from someone who is riding back from a bazaar.

If a bii concludes a matter successfully, the people who are close ask for "satal" (1) from the biilyk he has received.

1. In general satal is given by everyone who has gained a profit or made a find. (Bii Khalmakhammed).

If a rich man gives his son a small allotment, the latter turns to his sisters, matchmakers and respected outsiders and asks for "inchibasy" (Torgai). They give him something, for example, a ewe, with the wish of increasing his herd. (2)

2. According to the communication of the Kazakh Katpa of the Kurama uyezd, inchibasy is set aside to support the mother in her old age, before the division among the family. According to bii Sultan the word inchibasy denotes in general that cow, good horse or other good animal which is selected (tanglab alady) by the persons receiving their allotment, or by their father or mother, as the "beginning" (bas) of their allotment.

If the father has arranged the betrothal (ayttyrsa) of a bride for his son, the latter asks a man of the same age for a congratulatory gift called "nemeurin." This one gives him something, thereby gaining the right to demand a similar gift when he is in a similar position (Torgai). According to bii Sultan, the nemeurin is customary both during the allotment and during the kalym. In the first case the kinsmen give sacks, lassos, utensils and livestock, and in the second case only livestock or money.

A person who has bought something new is greeted with the words: kutty bulsyn, i. e., to your happiness! The owner of the object expresses his thanks by saying: aytsyn, or kuttuktamak sizden bulsyn. In the first case they demand a gift of "baygazy" from him,

1 [Not reproduced --A]

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844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow
776 girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating
846 fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling (suuk).

When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give
553 the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another,
551 then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long life, *for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he* not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut, Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta (stop). Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom) Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower) Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i. e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

700 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

848

the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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It is said by the baksy (sorcerer) Aike, of the Kurama uyezd, that when a woman in labor cannot give birth (balany bittirmeydi) 754 or is giving birth improperly (egri), the sorcerer calls in the spirit Nurperi and others to give her more strength. According to the evidence of E. A. Aleksandrov, during birth they always send for a sorcerer, if there is one in the neighborhood.

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When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzho!das) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, they [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

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An hour after the delivery, when the woman who has given birth is bleeding, she is sometimes being pressed down (basady) by the 756 evil demon (albasty) Martu. (1) Martu will cause her death if a man or a

1. Martu never frightens men.

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be encountered more rarely, for danger forced them to move as nomads with large auls. Now this reason for keeping together is considerably less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world without causing any particular worries to his relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers. It is self-evident that in most cases their devices are actually harmful. In fortunate cases they consist only of whisperings and grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases little peace is allowed the woman who has borne the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has /342/ only one right: to name her newborn child. She does this in a very original way, acting entirely upon inspiration, often naming the child after the first object she happens to look at after the birth. As a result names occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and in general is circumcision inaugurated by festivities, but does not occur until after the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially

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the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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It is said by the baksy (sorcerer) Aike, of the Kurama uyezd, that when a woman in labor cannot give birth (balany bittirmeydi) or is giving birth improperly (egri), the sorcerer calls in the spirit Nurperi and others to give her more strength. According to the evidence of E. A. Aleksandrov, during birth they always send for a sorcerer, if there is one in the neighborhood.

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When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzholdas) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, the [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

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An hour after the delivery, when the woman who has given birth is bleeding, she is sometimes being pressed down (basady) by the evil demon (albasty) Martu. (1) Martu will cause her death if a man or a

1. Martu never frightens men.

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura-
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow
776 girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

846 After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling (suuk).

553 When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another,
551 then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long life, for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut, Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta (stop), Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom), Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sary'kyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower), Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i. e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

100 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

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777 bury a handful of salt in a small bag. When he starts out on the
789 dangerous day the Kirghiz /Kazak/ disinters the small bag and takes it with him, believing that this will insure him against misfortune. Amulets are quite widespread, being hung both on favorite animals and on children (on the chest for boys and sometimes in the hair of little girls).

•756 From earlier paganism the Kirghiz /Kazak/ retain a belief in the baksi /bakshi/ (shaman). He is usually an old man to whom they turn for the healing of sicknesses. Christianity is finding
797 conversion among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ very difficult. The activity of the Semipalatinsk and Turgai Kirghiz /Kazak/ missions has not produced noticeable results. The preaching has had some success only among the poor people (dzhetak or baygush), for whom purely material considerations are not least important among the incentives for adopting Christianity. Cases of reconversion to Islam are not rare.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Polarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Polarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Polarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Polarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1931, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

443 /212 cont. /
262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
272 and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/,
[275] there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible
[435] to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-
[958] known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
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It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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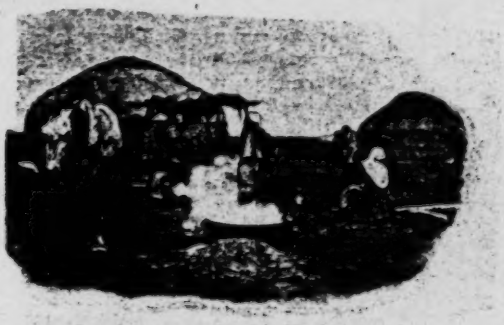

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

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the race, wergeld is not paid.

At Kirgiz funerals they arrange single combat, called seis. Two young men (batyr) on good horses, armed with spears, try to push each other out of the saddle and down on the ground. Sometimes two women fight each other in this way. The victor receives a prize: 9 animals /256/ (tyuya bastagan toguz) among the rich, and 5 or 3 animals among the poor. The winner of the prize does not divide it with anyone.

Wergeld is not paid for death or mutilation in this competition.

Burials and memorial services.

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A man who dies (1) during the night or in the morning is buried

1. The custom entered in the Budagov dictionary, under the word zhyrtu, that the Kazakhs tear the clothing of the dying person in order to relieve the agony, is not known among the local Kazakhs.

on the next day. One who dies in the evening is buried in the morning. In general the burial takes place as soon as all the close relatives gather for the ritual of the burial.

The deceased is usually carried on a litter of tent panels, /kerege/ if the grave is nearby and on a camel if it is far away.

Before the corpse is placed in the earth a prayer (iskat, pid"ya, daur, daur aylantyrady) is read. They give an animal to the mullahs to be divided among them and they also give to one of the poor people present, who is called mustakhikk (Perovsk uyezd).

According to the communication of Torgai, immediately after the corpse has been washed, they lead a camel up to it from the right side, and throw the bridle over the corpse to the mullah, who is sitting on the other side, saying to him: "We have designated you for the cleansing of sins by prayer (namazning kafaratiga seni koydyk). Do you take upon yourself the sins of the deceased for not performing (kaza) the prayer five times daily?" The mullah answers three times that he takes it, and receives a camel or a horse. This ritual can be carried out at first with a camel, then with a horse, a bull, finally with a ram. When they have no mullah, this ritual, called daur, is carried out by a kinsman.

After this the ritual of burial (dzhanaza) is carried out, for which /257/ the imam receives a sheep or another reimbursement. For reading the Koran after the funeral the mullah again receives a

•764 gift. Praying with beads the mullah turns back one bead for every year of life, excluding the first 13 years of life, for a person does not commit sins until he is thirteen (gunaga batpaydy). Nothing is cooked in the house of the deceased person for five days, according to Mikebai, or 3 days, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd. The neighbors provide this house with food.

765 The kinsmen slaughter an animal and give a feast on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day and on the anniversary of the death. On the seventh day the clothing of the deceased is given to the person who washed the body. Now on the advice of the mullahs, as Mikebai thinks, they have begun to give them on the day of the death.

764 Among the Kirgiz the married daughter comes to the funeral with her husband and father -in-law. If they live far away, they appear a month later. Their horses are tied up by outside persons of the village of the deceased. They say a prayer, like "God is great, may He have mercy" (Alla akbar rakhmet kylsyn). At the funeral they arrange a bayga but not kukbure. If the deceased was an old man, they also give out yirtich. The rich even give a long coat to each related lineage (uru). No food is cooked in the tent of the deceased for three days. The food is brought by the neighbors. If they wish to cook before the three days have elapsed, they must move the tent, even though it be for a short distance. Otherwise the angel of death [776] Azrail suffocates the deceased, and from this the tent becomes stained with blood and polluted (makrukh). The memorial service on the 765 seventh day is called khatmi kuran (the full reading through of the Koran). They slaughter an animal. The memorial service on the fortieth day is called kyrkach, and for this they slaughter a sheep or a mare. The memorial service on the anniversary of the death is called chungach (great feast). They slaughter many animals, arrange a bayga, throw a black kerchief into the fire and the black clothing of the widow, allowing her to marry. (1)

1. According to a communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, a black kerchief is set out on the tent of the deceased person for the course of a year.

764 /258/ Not all widows know how to lament, (1) and for this

1. When something is denied, they use the saying, taken from the denial of the wives of knowing how to lament: "I do not know laments; let the woman who knows laments have

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her husband die" (yilaudy bil'meymen, yilau bil'gen khatynnyng bayi ul'sin).

reason wailing women (yilauker khatyn) are invited to the funeral. This woman never sits on the ground but on a bed or on something else. She supports herself with both hands at her sides and leans her body forward. Among the Kirgiz she must sit on the ground turning her back to the door. She leans her left arm on her left leg which is bent under, while the sole of her right foot is on the ground. The elbow of her right arm is on the knee of her right leg, supporting her cheek. Her lament concerns the activity, trade and wealth of the deceased. The woman who weeps for her husband wears a black kerchief on her head (kara yaulyk). A woman who weeps for another man, for example, for her son, wears a white kerchief. (2)

2. There are laments (zhylau) in Supplement No. 9.

1 [Not translated - A]

The kinsmen of a wealthy man spend up to 1000 tillias for the regalement of the people at the funeral and memorial services (assu, asatau). The poor spend less, depending on their means, but it is impossible to dispense with this ritual for shame before the people.

According to I. I. Ibragimov, (3) there are never sumptuous

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3. "Ocherki byta kirgizoz" /Studies of the life of the Kazakhs/, Drevniaia i Novaia Rossiia, 1877, No. 9, p. 51.

memorial services for a woman. However, Torgai arranged a memorial service lasting three days with bayga for his grandmother (ul'kun sheshem). Although memorials come at all times of the year, they are often more gala (ul'kun as) in the autumn.

Poor people, arranging modest memorials (kichkine as), send a messenger (shakyrushi) on the very day of the memorial and invite people only for one day. Bayga can be arranged for this day, and a combat before the arrival of the race horses. A singer (dzhirchi) who is invited or comes of his own accord does not sing during the day, but only in the evening and at night.

The rich announce the event earlier and let people know the name of the place /259/ where the village is to be found, the day of the uchakkazu, on which it is customary to "dig hearths"; the day of malsoyu, on which they will slaughter; the day of as beru or batasynoku, on which there will be a feast and prayer, and finally the day of atchabu, the day of the races. In the summer each guest

[261 cont.]
×643 deliver the objects. Ablai did not wish to swear a new oath of
643 loyalty even under this condition. He believed that the demand that was being made for these [262] external signs of submission had the goal of rendering him suspect to the Chinese, to whom he was then particularly attached. For this reason all the proposals which Russia made him were fruitless, and the certificate and the marks of the position of khan remained at the fort of Petropavlovsk, opposite which he lived in the house which the Russian government had had built for him.

×648 Ablai's disobedience became more patent when the Russian
662 government turned down his request for aid in men to make war against the Buruts, and he openly refused to return the Russian prisoners in his horde, as well as the Turkmen whom the Kalmuks had taken away from the Astrakhan government in their flight and who had remained with the Kazaks. The government was justly annoyed by Ablai's audacity and insolence, and withdrew his stipend and sought to humble him by supporting one of the sultans among his enemies. Measures had even been taken to this effect, and it was thought for a moment to take him prisoner
[721] and send him into the interior of Russia. But at this time he assembled troops, attacked the Buruts, delivered a severe defeat to them, took hostages from them, and returned to nomadize in the environs of Turkestan.

×648 While he was living there, he built a house surrounded by a
[361] rampart on the little river Talash, near the Ulu-Tau Mountains for his son, Sultan Hadil, and at the entreaty of his Kazak subjects of the Great horde, he founded a village nearby, which he populated with Karakalpaks who were accustomed to agriculture. As
[166] for the Buruts he had captured, he made them go north of the Middle Horde, where they are still living today with their children, making up the tribe of the Djany or Iany-Kirgiz, which means New Kirgiz.

●[764] In 1781 Ablai returned toward the Russian frontier, but he died on the way at the age of 70 and was buried in Turkestan. As soon as this news arrived in Peking, the Chinese government

[262 cont.]
x648 sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of
● [724] the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet
[721 it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan
579] seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

[721 According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde
727] underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he
x648 asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was ful-
643 filled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacobs in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

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101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
175 15th century, the customary struggle for power aomong the Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
175 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic

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A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan in Kara-Chungul.

175 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
175 people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
643 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in 779 addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a 795 deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz 793 /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are [872] medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

8:Kostenko -29-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak R92

584 is only given an ordinary beating. From all
583 this one can see that the marriage consists of a civil agreement under a show of gifts, and both sides have almost an equal interest in conforming to it. But the real advantage goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is not given so informally to the groom, and she must be taken by force, and yet certain customs are observed in this case as well. After the final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the celebrations begin at the groom's father's and at his expense. It is self-evident that the number of gifts and the elaborateness of the feasts are always in proportion to the means of both sides.

764 /344/ Burial. According to Kazakh custom the deceased is washed and dressed in his best clothing, and sometimes he is wrapped in a khalat. If a man has died, his wives are required to set up a terrible wail of despair and repeat this ceremony mornings and evenings for a year. In these cases the neighboring women never lag in visiting the one in mourning in order to wail with her to satiety. At the funeral the mullah reads prayers twice; at home, before the body is carried out, and at the actual burial. They dig a pit with a wooden floor for the deceased, or they place him at the side of the main pit. Graves are usually on elevations, and over them they make memorials of wood, stone, clay or earth, sometimes in the form of buildings with a round cupola and turrets. It is remarkable that very often the Kazakhs depart in this case from the Moslem rules and make images of animals and people in
765 these tombs. Of course, at the burial there is usually a feast for the guests, but the

583

For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595

According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd.[1] / /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: 'did I not bear you a child,' etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, 765 according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 587 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). A widow or divorcee

[1] [Not reproduced-- A.]

•765 should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Alek-
587 sandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

587 The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /86/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to
589 remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that, even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

587 After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older' and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

764 gift. Praying with beads the mullah turns back one bead for every year of life, excluding the first 13 years of life, for a person does not commit sins until he is thirteen (gunaga batpaydy). Nothing is cooked in the house of the deceased person for five days, according to Mikebai, or 3 days, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd. The neighbors provide this house with food.

765 The kinsmen slaughter an animal and give a feast on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day and on the anniversary of the death. On the seventh day the clothing of the deceased is given to the person who washed the body. Now on the advice of the mullahs, as Mikebai thinks, they have begun to give them on the day of the death.

764 Among the Kirgiz the married daughter comes to the funeral with her husband and father -in-law. If they live far away, they appear a month later. Their horses are tied up by outside persons of the village of the deceased. They say a prayer, like "God is great, may He have mercy" (Alla akbar rakhmet kylsyn). At the funeral they arrange a bayga but not kukbure. If the deceased was an old man, they also give out yirtich. The rich even give a long coat to each related lineage (uru). No food is cooked in the tent of the deceased for three days. The food is brought by the neighbors. If they wish to cook before the three days have elapsed, they must move the tent, even though it be for a short distance. Otherwise the angel of death [776] Azrail suffocates the deceased, and from this the tent becomes stained with blood and polluted (makrukh). The memorial service on the 765 seventh day is called khatmi kuran (the full reading through of the Koran). They slaughter an animal. The memorial service on the fortieth day is called kyrkach, and for this they slaughter a sheep or a mare. The memorial service on the anniversary of the death is called chungach (great feast). They slaughter many animals, arrange a bayga, throw a black kerchief into the fire and the black clothing of the widow, allowing her to marry. (1)

1. According to a communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, a black kerchief is set out on the tent of the deceased person for the course of a year.

764 /258/ Not all widows know how to lament, (1) and for this

1. When something is denied, they use the saying, taken from the denial of the wives of knowing how to lament: "I do not know laments; let the woman who knows laments have

764

her husband die" (yilaudy bil'meymen, yilau bil'gen khatynnyng bayi ul'sin).

reason wailing women (yilauker khatyn) are invited to the funeral. This woman never sits on the ground but on a bed or on something else. She supports herself with both hands at her sides and leans her body forward. Among the Kirgiz she must sit on the ground turning her back to the door. She leans her left arm on her left leg which is bent under, while the sole of her right foot is on the ground. The elbow of her right arm is on the knee of her right leg, supporting her cheek. Her lament concerns the activity, trade and wealth of the deceased. The woman who weeps for her husband wears a black kerchief on her head (kara yaulyk). A woman who weeps for another man, for example, for her son, wears a white kerchief. (2)

2. There are laments (zhylau) in Supplement No. 9.

1 [Not translated - A]

The kinsmen of a wealthy man spend up to 1000 tillias for the regalement of the people at the funeral and memorial services (assu, asatau). The poor spend less, depending on their means, but it is impossible to dispense with this ritual for shame before the people.

According to I. I. Ibragimov, (3) there are never sumptuous 765

3. "Ocherki byta kirgizoz" /Studies of the life of the Kazakhs/, Drevniaia i Novaia Rossiia, 1877, No. 9, p. 51.

memorial services for a woman. However, Torgai arranged a memorial service lasting three days with bayga for his grandmother (ul'kun sheshem). Although memorials come at all times of the year, they are often more gala (ul'kun as) in the autumn.

Poor people, arranging modest memorials (kichkine as), send a messenger (shakyrushi) on the very day of the memorial and invite people only for one day. Bayga can be arranged for this day, and a combat before the arrival of the race horses. A singer (dzhirchi) who is invited or comes of his own accord does not sing during the day, but only in the evening and at night.

The rich announce the event earlier and let people know the name of the place /259/ where the village is to be found, the day of the uchakkazu, on which it is customary to "dig hearths"; the day of malsoyu, on which they will slaughter; the day of as beru or batasynoku, on which there will be a feast and prayer, and finally the day of atchabu, the day of the races. In the summer each guest

765 tries to bring the best kumys /mare's milk/. The kinsmen bring gifts, aza. Tents are set up for the guests, 50 to 100 steps from the village, one for every lineage, since only the best people from each lineage come and spend the night. Those who do not find a place in the tent come in by turns for the regalement. At the memorials all the things of the deceased are hung up in the tent on ropes: clothing, saddle, whip, gun, as the appurtenance of mourning (tuldab kaydy), while the widow sits on a bed with her hair loose, surrounded by lamenting women. (According to I. I. Ibragimov and Torgai). They play on the zurna /type of oboe/ at memorials among the Kirgiz.

[766] A traveler who dies on the road is buried by passers by with a short prayer. If the kinsmen find the body of their relative, already decomposed, they scrape away the flesh with a knife, collect the bones in a sack, and carry them home, wash them, close them in a shroud, and bury them according to the ritual (Perovsk uyezd).

765 682 Guests who are returning from a funeral are called syuyakchi, in distinction from ordinary travelers (yulauchi). There is a larger fine imposed for harm of syuyakchi. If the attacker denies his attack, but there were other witnesses of this fact, for example, witnesses from among the other syuyakchi, the attack is then accepted as proof of guilt in the murder of the deceased, and no oath is required. But if the defendant does not deny the attack but does deny the murder, then an oath is customarily imposed on this matter.

However if there is no suspicion of murder and if the attacker does not succeed in taking anything and does not inflict any wounds, there is no suit on a general basis (Torgai).

According to bii Sultan, in case of only one attack without any other evidence, this cannot serve as proof of guilt of murder.

765 /260/ In the Perovsk uyezd the syuyakchi each bring a vessel (sava) of kumys with them to the funeral feast. Before their departure horse fat (kacy, kyuyumshak) is placed in their empty vessels, with the words: "so that your vessels will not be returned empty" (savangyz kuru kaytpasyn).

The host of the funeral celebration takes the role of a guest himself, giving the presiding place at the feast (zhyinding biiligi) to an aksakal or bii kinsman. The cooking and serving of the food is taken on by one young kinsman who is called tavakshi.

The graves of different clans are placed in the cemeteries (mazar, kurum).

The cemeteries are located on hills and high places with firm ground, where water from snow cannot destroy the graves. Over the

graves of the rich they build cells with a cupola and small minarets, with an enclosure. The clan brands are often carved on the tombstones.

The graves are usually visited on Thursday. When they reach home, they order the reading of the Koran.

/261/ Proverbs and Sayings (1) 539

1. In part directly collected by A. A. Divaev; in part borrowed from the chrestomathy of Liutsh and from Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia/Materials for the Statistics of the Turkestan Region/ (Pt. II, the article of I. I. Ibragimov).

1) He who has the khan as his protector does not think of riding around the country in a boat.

2) You cannot cover the mouths of the people with a sieve.

3) When the population is sparse, pigs get to the top.

4) An insult inflicted by an outsider is easier to bear than one received from one's own.

5) If a bad man is given power, the stick will never go away from your head.

6) If you have a good mallet you will even hammer a felt stake into the ground.

7) Every scholar has his mistake.

8) Oh! Even if I had millet and salt I would boil kasha, but it is unfortunate that there is no butter.

9) If you have not seen water, do not take off your boots.

10) Shame the miser for his generosity.

11) The wind smashes mountains and stones, while man is damaged by calumny.

12) He who has not experienced misfortune cannot appreciate tranquility.

[214 cont.]

X648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
[664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
X648 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had
662 received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
[439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

X648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
● [765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

X648 [214 cont.]
[114]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

X648 765 result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

[152 661] Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

x648 765

[216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

x648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in [501 583] accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662 584] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

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583 this one can see that the marriage consists of a civil agreement under a show of gifts, and both sides have almost an equal interest in conforming to it. But the real advantage goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is not given so informally to the groom, and she must be taken by force, and yet certain customs are observed in this case as well. After the final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the celebrations begin at the groom's father's and at his expense. It is self-evident that the number of gifts and the elaborateness of the feasts are always in proportion to the means of both sides.

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765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [196] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the
526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this
524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

7 According to Kazakh custom an honored
4 figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

765 tries to bring the best kumys /mare's milk/. The kinsmen bring gifts, aza. Tents are set up for the guests, 50 to 100 steps from the village, one for every lineage, since only the best people from each lineage come and spend the night. Those who do not find a place in the tent come in by turns for the regalement. At the memorials all the things of the deceased are hung up in the tent on ropes: clothing, saddle, whip, gun, as the appurtenance of mourning (tuldab kaydy), while the widow sits on a bed with her hair loose, surrounded by lamenting women. (According to I. I. Ibragimov and Torgai). They play on the zurna /type of oboe/ at memorials among the Kirgiz.

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614 /216 cont. /
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
[968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[198] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
8) of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

584 anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the bii[1] had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the kalym paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the kalym had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the kalym itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the kalym in this case was much lower.[146]

568 587 If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions, ornaments, etc. If she died after two years of the marriage, or having died before the two-year limit had borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for kalym in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower kalym.[147]

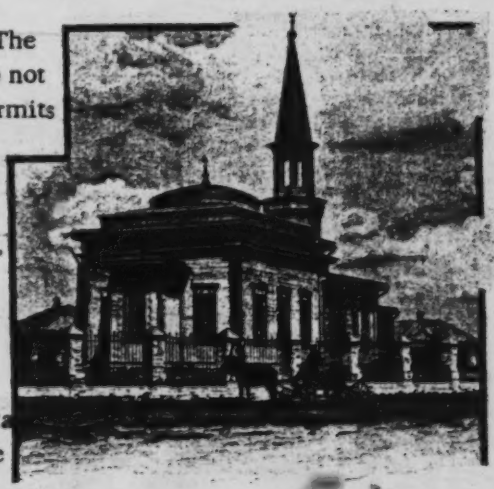
[146] Izraztsov, 81.

[147] Ibid., 82-83.

[1] On the bii or "elder", cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who
785 have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits
[779] taking food for three days or three periods of three days only for
[346] [493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta
[262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
● 769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
797 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

607 biological progeny, or on the fusion of two descent lines, which is more
597 complicated. According to this process, one village or lineage or clan may leave its ancestral camps and pasturages and request admission into another. The host clan agrees, accepts the newcomers not as guests but as kinsmen, and gives them a fictional genealogy and fictional kinship relations. These relationships have both religious and social
[569] significance.[1] In religious terms the fictions are needed to make the guests acceptable to the local and ancestral spirits; in social terms, these kinship relations are the social relations—or at least they were until recently, and they still exert a strong influence today. A fusion of two descent lines in this manner results from fission or cleavage within one descent line; this fission may be caused by quarrels between two leaders, or by loss of herds which may cause a kinship group to break up, leaving one segment to seek admission into another group.

[567] Fictional kinship extends also to slaves. A certain amount of slavery existed for debt or for punishment of criminals, but most of the slaves, who were never a numerous group, were captives taken in feuds and wars.[2] Such captives did not remain slaves long, as a rule; they were either put to death, or freed and accepted into the civil life of Kazakh society. If freed, they were given a fictional kinship status which soon became blurred over and indistinguishable from the rest of the society.

000 These are in broad outline the traditional patterns of Kazakh society. They must be borne in mind in order to understand many of the ideological and doctrinary battles between Moscow and the Kazakhs, especially Kazakh leaders.

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

596 The Kazakh family is by nature an extended family, composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. If the family is rich, it may also have further kin, both married and unmarried, who are poor and maintain themselves by working for the rich. The rich family may also contain servants
[592] who are not directly related at all, and finally slaves. The typical households, however, consist only of close kin.[3]

The authority in the family is patriarchal, resting ultimately in the hands of the father or the eldest of several brothers.[4] The authority passes from father to eldest son, or if there is no son, to the eldest surviving male of the immediate family, such as a brother or nephew. The authority of the patriarch is extensive—over women and children it is all but absolute—but it is subject to certain limitations. If it is noticed that a father is squandering his patrimony in idleness or frivolous undertakings, the village elders may remonstrate with him, and

[1]Hudenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 59-60; Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 291-292.
[2]Levshin (85), 1840, p. 330.
[3]Kharusin, 1889, pp. 107-108; Iarastsev, 1897, pp. 1-2.
[4]Valikhanov, 1904, p. 286.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani- [184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea- K [361] sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to K 262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. [171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, [272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and K 291 their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in [171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather [556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding K 769 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the 171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

8:Kostenko -35-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak R92

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[186] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [721 181] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who ●771] had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[233 cont.]

×648 the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the [663 same time the border commanders were directed not to permit 661] its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

[727 The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two 728] peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

[661] These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead [771] of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

[661] Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[279 cont.]

x648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[281 cont.]

to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, [721 662] replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg gov- [721 578] emment. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

8: Krader and Wayne Kazak RQ2

●771

[Information on the Moslem Religion among the Kazaks will be found in category 779.]

S:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. 101 177 181

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. 648 [181] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. 129

KN 563 665 Kazakhs who are tried-and-true Communists. Moscow, however, repeatedly criticizes the local Party for the small proportion of natives in positions of administrative responsibility. One result of this pressure is that the Party is forced to accept into its own ranks and those of government and industry marginally reliable persons who, if put to the test, would very possibly prove more loyal to their Kazakh nationality than to their Soviet citizenship. These marginal people—Kazakh and Communist at the same time—deserve particular attention as targets for psychological warfare, because of their psychological vulnerability and also their crucial position as mediators between two cultures. K [121]

RELIGION

KN 798 The religion of the Kazakhs provides the Soviets with yet another problem of policy, at both the local and the Moscow level. Totalitarian governments in general seem to view religion as a threat which must be either neutralized or made captive to serve their own ends. The Communists are no exception. In the Soviet Union they have developed an approach to each of the major organized religions, which has proved more or less successful in attaining these ends.

Most of the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia are thoroughgoing and conservative Moslems. Toward them the Soviets have adopted the familiar procedures of installing puppet leaders and attacking those aspects of the religion which they view as potentially dangerous. But their established techniques and procedures fail to fit the Kazakh pattern. The Moslem religion has had some influence on the Kazakhs, but the aspects of Islam which they have adopted are largely superficial in nature; they still believe in what is essentially a folk religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. During the Tsarist era this fact was apparently never clearly recognized. One assumes that the Communists know better, but their knowledge evidently has not equipped them to deal adequately with the unusual religious blend of Kazakh beliefs and practices. Also, because Kazakh religion is largely local in nature, it has no strong "commanding heights" of organization which can be subverted in order to deliver believers to Communist control. K [111]

As a result of this dilemma, most Kazakhs have been singularly free of attack on religious grounds. Actually, since the Soviets are forced for lack of a better designation to treat the Kazakhs administratively as Moslems, they are in effect in the paradoxical position of encouraging rather than discouraging the Islamic aspect of Kazakh religion. However, although continuing contact with Uzbeks in Southern Kazakhstan has increased the strength of the Moslem religion among some Kazakhs, the old folk religion has retained much of its strength and integrity, and it promises to remain for many years another bulwark of the traditional Kazakh way of life. K [117]

This summary has stressed those aspects of Kazakh culture and recent history most likely to be of pertinent use in planning divisive psychological warfare intended to deflect Kazakh energies away from the objectives of the Soviet regime. The manner of future psychological K 12

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[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [771]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1] Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orienta Moderno* (37), 1942, p. 372.
[2] Bennigsen (11), 1952.
[3] One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

8:Kostenko -34-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

628 At the present time these internal quarrels have almost all been ended, or, to be more precise, they cannot break out in the old form because the Russian forts and the Russian authorities prevent it. So the word baranta has gradually received a somewhat different meaning. Now it means either simply robbery, or else banditry, which is prosecuted very severely by the Russian authorities.

567 In earlier times the Kazakhs had slaves from all the surrounding nations of different religious faith. Even Moslems, - Shiites, e.g. Persians, who were considered heretics, were taken as slaves. Finally, since the religious principle is very weak among the Kazakhs, they took practically everyone who fell into their hands as slaves, without making a refined analysis of their trend of thinking. Now with the installation of Russian authority slavery on the steppe has gradually disappeared.

771 Religious instruction. The Kazakhs, as we know, are Moslems, and are usually considered Sunnites, although this is absolutely without foundation since, broadly speaking, these people are very undeveloped at the present time in regard to religion, and do not know themselves exactly to what religious sect they belong. Most Kazakhs have only a vague idea of the existence of two Moslem sects, Sunnite and Shiite. Not only that, the actual essence of the religion is completely unknown to them. This is probably explained partly by their nomadic form of life, and partly by the fact that they have lived and live still surrounded by peoples of various religions: Christian, Moslem and pagan, who are all equally antagonisti

8:Kostenko -35-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak R92

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[186] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

793 Any man who is the slightest bit literate can be a mullah. There are very few of them in the steppe, however. These are people for the most part who can scarcely read the Tatar language, and do not know a single word of Arabic, but have learned several prayers from the Koran by heart. These mullahs travel about among the auls, performing marriages and participating in funerals. But quite often weddings and funerals take place without them as well. In the Kazakh wedding, as has been said earlier, the civil part, that is, the property, plays the main role, while the funerals of the poor must perforce take place without mullahs, since there is no profit from the poor. There are among these mullahs some persons who have received some /349/ religious instruction in Samarkand and Bukhara and who are venerated by the people, but the majority are pitiful ignoramuses and parasites, extracting various advantages from a gullible people, resorting to sorcery for these ends and in general to rites and inventions out of their own imagination.

•771 797 In spite of this weak development of religious ideas among the people and the complete absence of a Moslem ecclesiastical hierarchy, it may be said that there is very little Christianity among the Kazakhs. One obstacle to the dissemination of the Eastern Orthodox faith is the veneration of ikons, which is oriented too sharply against the first principle of Islam and is completely incomprehensible to people who have grown up under the influence of diametrically opposite views on this subject. A more important reason for the lack of dissemination of Christianity among

771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/

CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from [773] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan
173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

4:Grodekov--4 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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The father of the Kirgiz sprang from a mirage (sagym). He reigned among the Kazakhs and married one of their girls, from whom he had a single daughter. The father appointed 40 female servants to her. At one time the Khan's daughter came with her 40 servants to a great river, where she noticed floating foam. As they watched the foam the girls heard words coming from it: "You are right and I am right" (antalkhak mende ak). (2) Out of curiosity the

2. The form of these words is more correct in the History of the Khanate of Kokand by V. P. Nalivkin, p. 15: ana el'khak mana el'khak (and that is the truth and this is the truth). The story is also found in Puteshestvie po Okrainam Russkoi Azii/ A Journey through the Borderlands of Russian Asia/ by M. Veniukov, St. Petersburg, 1868. p. 155.

maidens dipped their fingers in the foam and then licked them, and it soon turned out that all of them were with child. Khan Sagym expelled them to the high mountains for he did not wish to kill them. Finding food in the mountains, they gave birth to 40 sons and 40 daughters, a total offspring of 80. When they grew up, these children married among each other. The people which took form from them became called the Kyrgyz (kyrk-kyz, 40 maidens). The Kirgiz remained living in the mountains and the Kazakhs in the valley. In the course of time some of the Kirgiz became famous and left clans to follow them, others degenerated and disappeared without forming clans. The name of one clan chief was Ung /On/ (the right), the name of another Sol (the left). The first descended from the daughter of a khan, and the other from the daughter of a vizir. Kirgiz clans descended from both of them.

. . . .

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The Kazakh nobles or white bone (ak suyek, tiuria, sultan) do not reckon themselves as belonging to one horde or to one clan. They do not divide into lineage (undivided, "tagk"). They are descendants of khans ruling in the steppes, for example, Ablai-Khan. According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd, the Tiuri are descendants of the Caliph Abbas (ibni Appas), and at the same time also descendants of Chingiz Khan. /Inserted Plate 3/ Caption: The white bone.

3 [Not reproduced — Analy

4:Grodekov--5 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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Sadyk, son of Kenisary Kasimov. /

/5/ One of the local singers, by the name of Maikut, relates that a certain princess whose father never let her go out, but kept her shut up in a dark room, became pregnant from an accidental ray of the sun which entered. Her father threw her into the water, but a hunter named Dompol saved her from it. From the ray she bore the chief of the clan of the ruling families (Chingiz Khan), and from Dompol she bore the sons Burgeltai, Budanatai, Tabanatai and Targaitai, from whom the Tiuri among the Kazakhs are descended.

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The present Tiuri (nagz tiuria) are considered to be those whose mothers as well as fathers were of the white bone.

Hodjas and Seids also belong to the white bone. Hodjas are considered to be the descendants of the fellow champions of the prophet, and the Seiidy, who are not numerous among the Kazakhs, are considered to be descendants of the son of Hussein, the imam of Zeinulabuddin, and therefore the best of the hodjas.

The hodjas live in tents around holy places, for example, Baba-Ata, in the Turkestan uyezd, in the northern spurs of the Kara-Tau. They are engaged in agriculture, transport and learning, and bear more resemblance to Sarts. There are also hodjas from the nomadic Kazakhs, in the Kurama uyezd, around Toi-Tyube among other places. There are no hodjas among the Kirgiz of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Fergana region.

In contrast to the white bone, the remainder of the people are called black bone, kara suyek, and also subjects, karashi, pukara.

The law at present, and the customary law as an example of it, makes no distinction between the white bone and the remainder of the people. When the aksuiaks are courteous, they are shown special respect. But when there is friction with them they are told: "We too are given freedom; when we are treated roughly we reply roughly." (Mikebai, bii of the Perovsk uyezd). In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the privileges of the white bone are absolutely denied.

Marriages are now concluded between the white and the black bone without obstacle. As before, however, the woman of the higher /6/ estate who marries one of the black bone loses her estate advantages and undergoes a curse (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

The Tulenkut were clients and riders /dzhigit/ from the poor, serving the Tiuri and being adopted by them. Formerly they served for the allotment of property (inchi), or for a bride price or in general

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [173] [126]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [204]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 289-300.
[2] For a summary, see Togzhanov, 1934, passim.

choice of the figure Alash, the founding ancestor of Kazakhdom, reflects the general structure of Kazakh society. In reviving its cultural heritage, a society established on the principle of patrilineal descent and organized according to carefully traced genealogies naturally would seek to re-emphasize those genealogies and to glorify the founding ancestors, whether mythical, fictional, or actual. Mythical Alash was not, at least not entirely, for he lived in the time of Tamerlane. It is not clear that he is the ancestor of all Kazakhs, or even of all Kazakhs of the "white-bone" or nobility. He is the founding ancestor of all Kazakhs by a convenient fiction, a fiction which includes the descent lines of the nobles, for only a few of the nobility can demonstrate an actual descent from Alash. Nevertheless, he counts as the ancestor of all, and as such he enters the shadowy domain of half-myth, half-history, which suits the temper of the present Kazakh traditionalism admirably.

Descent from a wolf and a doe is no longer an acceptable expression for one's lineage; the world of the steppe has become disenchanted. But a great historical figure out of the past—distant enough and glorious enough—is a suitable expression of the Kazakh quest for social, political, and cultural unity. The emergence of Alash as a battle cry, the invoking of a distant ancestor in the formation of a modern party, is a Kazakh solution peculiarly their own. The concern of the Kazakh historians of the 1940's with similar figures, in this instance the leaders of resistance to the Russian conquest, emerges from the same cultural theme, with certain additions. The figures of the 19th century Kazakh rebels, Kenesary, Srym, Taimanov, and the others, are ancestors taken from the past. They are the ancestors of many descent lines whose living members are conscious of the relationship; they are symbols of an anti-Russian movement.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the [726] occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

848

the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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It is said by the baksy (sorcerer) Aike, of the Kurama uyezd, that when a woman in labor cannot give birth (balany bittirmeydi) or is giving birth improperly (egri), the sorcerer calls in the spirit Nurperi and others to give her more strength. According to the evidence of E. A. Aleksandrov, during birth they always send for a sorcerer, if there is one in the neighborhood.

844

When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzholdas) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, the [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

844 756 [illegible]

An hour after the delivery, when the woman who has given birth is bleeding, she is sometimes being pressed down (basady) by the demon (albasty) Martu. (1) Martu will cause her death if a man or a

1. Martu never frightens men.

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
776 how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

846 After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling (suuk).

553 When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another,
551 then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long life, for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut, Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta (stop). Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom) Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower) Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i. e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

100 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

764 gift. Praying with beads the mullah turns back one bead for every year of life, excluding the first 13 years of life, for a person does not commit sins until he is thirteen (gunaga batpaydy). Nothing is cooked in the house of the deceased person for five days, according to Mikebai, or 3 days, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd. The neighbors provide this house with food.

765 The kinsmen slaughter an animal and give a feast on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day and on the anniversary of the death. On the seventh day the clothing of the deceased is given to the person who washed the body. Now on the advice of the mullahs, as Mikebai thinks, they have begun to give them on the day of the death.

764 Among the Kirgiz the married daughter comes to the funeral with her husband and father -in-law. If they live far away, they appear a month later. Their horses are tied up by outside persons of the village of the deceased. They say a prayer, like "God is great, may He have mercy" (Alla akbar rakhmet kylsyn). At the funeral they arrange a bayga but not kukbure. If the deceased was an old man, they also give out yirtich. The rich even give a long coat to each related lineage (uru). No food is cooked in the tent of the deceased for three days. The food is brought by the neighbors. If they wish to cook before the three days have elapsed, they must move the tent, even though it be for a short distance. Otherwise the angel of death [776] Azrail suffocates the deceased, and from this the tent becomes stained with blood and polluted (makrukh). The memorial service on the 765 seventh day is called khatmi kuran (the full reading through of the Koran). They slaughter an animal. The memorial service on the fortieth day is called kyrkach, and for this they slaughter a sheep or a mare. The memorial service on the anniversary of the death is called chungach (great feast). They slaughter many animals, arrange a bayga, throw a black kerchief into the fire and the black clothing of the widow, allowing her to marry. (1)

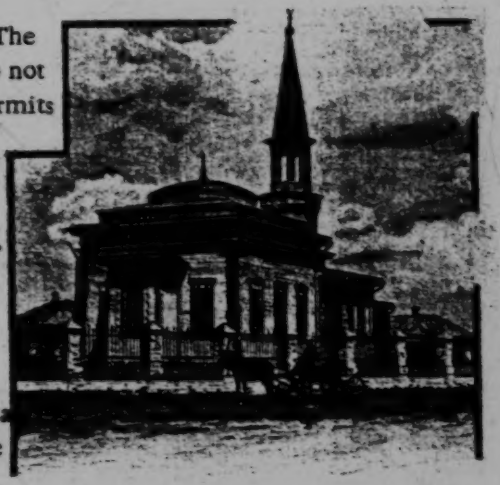
1. According to a communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, a black kerchief is set out on the tent of the deceased person for the course of a year.

764 /258/ Not all widows know how to lament, (1) and for this

1. When something is denied, they use the saying, taken from the denial of the wives of knowing how to lament: "I do not know laments; let the woman who knows laments have

/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, espe-
785 cially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not [779] observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods [346] of three days only for [493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta [262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
• 777 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

/222 cont./

777 bury a handful of salt in a small bag. When he starts out on the
789 dangerous day the Kirghiz /Kazak/ disinters the small bag and takes it with him, believing that this will insure him against misfortune. Amulets are quite widespread, being hung both on favorite animals and on children (on the chest for boys and sometimes in the hair of little girls).

756 From earlier paganism the Kirghiz /Kazak/ retain a belief in the baksi /bakshi/ (shaman). He is usually an old man to whom
797 they turn for the healing of sicknesses. Christianity is finding conversion among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ very difficult. The activity of the Semipalatinsk and Turgai Kirghiz /Kazak/ missions has not produced noticeable results. The preaching has had some success only among the poor people (dzhetak or baygush), for whom purely material considerations are not least important among the incentives for adopting Christianity. Cases of reconversion to Islam are not rare.

[187 cont.]

648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

[793] [778] 641

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver. [431]

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz
778 /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his
[606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 Any person in a yurt
672 is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and
[291]
[492]
[516]
to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

8:Kostenko -32-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

674 Stealing among the Kazakhs is a rather
685 widespread crime. They steal horses, primarily. If the thief is caught there is the custom of taking the stolen animal away from him and adding to this a fine of twice its value. As the Kazakhs say - in such cases it is almost always a question of horses - ' on the neck an addition, to the tail a support ' (in Kazakh: muinena kossau, kutenia-terkiau). This punishment is
695 called 'aip' or 'aibana'. In case there are no witnesses, the oath of some outside person is needed /346/ who is known for his honesty and who knows the accused. If such a person is found and wishes to give his oath on the innocence of the accused, then the latter is definitely released from the charge. It must be said that this is a very reliable way in
[577] general of learning the truth. It costs the Kazakh nothing to lie himself, but for some reason he will not consent to take someone else's lie upon himself.

In general, the oath, as soon as it happen between Kazakhs and not to aid an infidel, that is, a Russian, has a very serious significance and is considered sacred. At the present time it is usually given with the kissing of the Koran in the presence of an honored person or mullah, but earlier, various rites were observed. For example, it was necessary to lick the fingernail, looking at the sun, or to say the oath with the muzzle of a loaded gun in the mouth. This has already gone out of use
[778] today. In important cases, however, even now, those who are to swear are invited to some holy sepulchre and it is suggested that as they say the oath they cut off the branch of a holy tree there. It is a rare Kazakh who will consent to this sacrilege if it is a false oath.

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[186] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

• 779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in 779 addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a 795 deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz 793 /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are [872] medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

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793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
797 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

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785 cially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits [779] taking food for three days or three periods [346] of three days only for [493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

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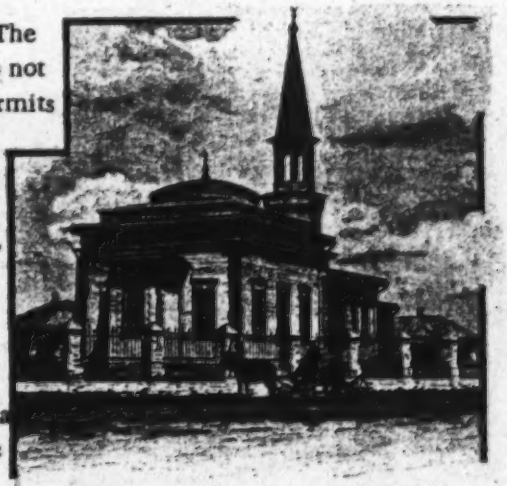

A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

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Chapter 4

RELIGION

THE MOSLEM RELIGION AND THE KAZAKHS

The Turkic peoples of Central Asia—Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Kashgarian, Altai-Turk, Taranchi, and Sart—are divided by habitat and occupation regarding their religious practices and beliefs. The city-dwelling Turk and the farming Turk have been under Islamic influence for many centuries; the Turkic cities of Central Asia have been among the great centers of Islamic culture. The herdsmen of the Central Asiatic steppe, on the other hand, are Islamic only in circumscribed aspects of their religious life. There is an interplay between these two divisions, farmers and herders, which deserves careful treatment, for it is of especial significance today.

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No adequate survey of the religion of the Kazakhs has been made. This is unfortunate, for analysis of the various components of Kazakh religion is a complex task and one with profound significance to the purposes of psychological warfare and political understanding. There is a widespread belief among both scholars and laymen that the Kazakhs are Moslems, and should be treated accordingly. The roots of this belief lie in the past, along with certain errors regarding the language of the Kazakhs. About 80 years ago, the Russian Orientalist and political adviser V. Grigoriev, in an article entitled "Russian Policy in Asia," appended to Schuyler's Turkistan, wrote the following:[1]

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> "We [Russians] imagined that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] were the same ethnographically as our Volga Tartars, and therefore for one hundred and twenty years we carried on all our correspondence with them in the Tartar language in the full assurance that we were communicating with them in the native tongue which they fully understood while, in fact, it was exactly the same as writing to Spaniards in Italian. . . . Still worse results followed: another misunderstanding of ours was, that the Kirghiz were Mohammedans, whereas in the last [18th] century they were almost all Shamanists, and a large number of them remain so to this time. At the epoch of their nominal union with Russia only a very few of the Khans and Sultans had a confused idea of the dogmas of Islam and performed some few of its rites. Not a single mosque then existed in the Kirghiz Steppes, not a single mullah performed there the rites of the Mussulman religion, and if since that time the Kirghiz have really become Mussulman to a considerable degree, it is only owing to our taking them for Mussulmans, and to our treating them as such. As incontrovertible proof that the

[1] Schuyler (110), Vol. 2, 1876, pp. 404-405.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the [565] Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of contact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. [538] The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1]Personal communication.
[2]Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1930, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

EVALUATION OF ISLAM IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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The folk religion of the Kazakhs has formed a distinct block to the process of Sovietization. This does not mean that Islam among the Kazakhs is regarded as a key threat by the Soviet regime, but it can be said that the folk religion of the Kazakhs, including certain elements which that religion shares with Islam, is dangerous to the Soviets.

One may gain a clearer perspective by contrasting the situation regarding antireligious propaganda in Kazakhstan with that in Uzbekistan. Islam is singled out in the press of Soviet Uzbekistan as a central heresy. When Osman Yusupov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, reported to the Party's 10th Congress, a large part of his report dealt with the problem of Islam among the Uzbeks. His statement concluded with a resolution to "battle against the Moslem religion."[1] A similar report given to the Fifth Kazakh Party Congress in 1951 by Shaiakhmetov, then first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, made no mention of Islam as a danger in Soviet Kazakhstan.[2] At about the same time Shaiakhmetov, in a report on ideological work presented to the 88th Plenum of the Central Committee in Kazakhstan, devoted himself to the various deviations from the Party line—bourgeois nationalism, xenophobia, autonomism, idealization of the feudal past, and so forth. Again there was no mention of Islam.[3]

On the other hand the sedentary Turkic and Central Asiatic populations of Kazakhstan, such as the Uigurs and the Dungans, are repeatedly attacked for "Islamic survivals." The following attacks on religious heresies in Kazakhstan were printed in Kazakhstankaia Pravda in a little more than a year:

12 March 1952—Article on the religious survivals (polygamy) in the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region (a district inhabited by Dungans).

12 March 1952—Critique of the religious mentality in South Kazakhstan Region.

14 March 1952—Article on the religious survivals among the Dungans of Dzhambul Region.

25 March 1952—Article denouncing the survival of the feudal mentality among the Komsomols (Young Communists) of Chimkent.

21 May 1952—Account of the work of the Congress of Scientific Establishments convoked by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata. This Congress denounced the survival of religious activity in the Kzyl-Orda and Pavlodar regions.

6 July 1952—Article denouncing the survivals of such Islamic institutions as the harem and the sequestration of women among the Dungans of Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

19 September 1952—Attack on the persistence of the Islamic tradition among the Dungans of the Kurdai District, Dzhambul Region.

[1] *Kizil Uzbekistan*, 2 Mar 49.
[2] *Kazakhstankaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28 Oct 51.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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4 March 1952	– At the Sixth Congress of the Kazakh Komsomol, the regional committees of South Kazakhstan, Dzhambul, Kzyl-Orda, and Alma-Ata regions, were denounced for failing to combat inequalities in female education.
7 July 1953	– Article of similar tenor on the Kzyl-Orda Region.
2, 3, and 4 April 1953	– Komsomol Congress. Again survivals of traditional religion are denounced with reference to Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, and South Kazakhstan regions.

All the regions cited in which the religious issue has been raised lie in the southern part of Kazakhstan, with the exception of the one case noted for Pavlodar, in the north. The south is the zone of sedentary agricultural tradition, heavily Islamicized for many centuries. Moreover, in many regions of the south there is a large Uzbek population.

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Even if Grigoriev's account of the lack of Islamic influence in the southern part of the Kazakh steppe was true for his day, this situation no longer exists. Tsarist and Soviet policies have combined the Uzbeks with the Kazakhs for administrative purposes, and cultural interaction between these two peoples has increased in the past century. As a result, more of Islam has appeared among the Kazakhs in the south than in the center or the north, a reversal of the trend described by Grigoriev.

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The policy of political combination on an ever-increasing scale has also been applied to the Kazakhs in the religious domain. As a consequence, Kazakh representatives have appeared at official Soviet-Moslem congresses sponsored by Moscow, and they occupy a high place in the Moslem religious administration. The world of Islam within the USSR is divided into four regional administrations under the supreme presidency of the grand Mufti-al-Islam, whose seat is in Ufa, the capital of Soviet Bashkiria. The present incumbent is the Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev. The four regional administrations are:[1]

(1) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the RSFSR, at Ufa, Bashkir ASSR.
(2) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at Tashkent, Uzbek SSR.
(3) The Spiritual Directorate of the Sunni Moslems of the North Caucasus, at Bunaisk, Dagestan ASSR.
(4) The Spiritual Directorate of the Shia Moslems and the Moslems of all Transcaucasia, at Baku, Azerbaijan SSR.

The second of the spiritual directorates listed governs the religious community of Islamic Central Asia; its territory comprises Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzkikistan. Its mufti, who ranks together with the three other regional Moslem chiefs directly under the Grand Mufti in Ufa, is Ishan Babakhan, and Uzbek; the second in command in Soviet Central Asia, directly under Mufti Ishan, is the Kadi Abdulgaffar Shemsuddinov, a Kazakh.[2]

The Moslem Administration of the Soviet Union has convoked a series of congresses whose timing is of great interest. A congress of all Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union was convened under the chairmanship

[1] Bessignes (11), 1952, pp. 12-13.
[2] *L'Oriente Moderno* (87), 1949, p. 11; *Islamic Review* (69), April 1949, pp. 80-81.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2] 648 779

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century. 177 648 779

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia. [M1]

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it 121 668

[1]Syria (83), 23 Jun 42; *L'Orient Moderne* (87), 1942, p. 372.
[2]Bennigsen (11), 1952.
[3]One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

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The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

KN [167]

The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

K [262] [179]

COLLECTIVIZATION

K 177 648

Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

K [167]

During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

this for himself.

/35/ In extremity, the father renounces his son, khatti bizar, bizar khatt, before witnesses. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, the bii places his seal on the document (for khatti bizar actually means "a letter of renunciation"). The form of the renunciation is: "If you are killed, I will not demand wergeld for you. If you kill someone, I will not pay wergeld on your behalf." In spite of this statement, however, a father cannot evade the payment of the wergeld for a murder committed by his son after that, unless, when he refuses to pay the wergeld, he permits his son to be killed as a punishment for the murder committed by him. A son who has been expelled by his father goes to one of his relatives.

Sometimes a daughter is given to an ishan or mullah (1) as an

1. The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov adds: there are cases when a sick father promises to give his daughter to his ishan if he recovers.

offering favorable to God (nazr), provided that he is not within the forbidden degree of kinship, and also sometimes to a blood brother.

It is said that under the pressure of poverty boys are sometimes sold in the Perovsk uyezd (for 20 sheep for example). The Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov states that now they do not sell children.

A daughter is not sold, for there is a possibility of marrying her off for a small kalym. Bii Sultan Kanev recalls that in a time of famine daughters were sold for 1 or 2 heads of livestock or for 20-30 fillias /monetary unit equal to about 3-4 rubles/, and after the famine was over they demanded before him, bii Sultan, the rest of the payment up to the full kalym. The bii awarded the rest of the payment up to the full kalym of the category of "7 kulundi biya (2) and 2

2. Kulundi biya is a mare with a suckling.

buidak." (3)

3. Buidak is a two year old sheep. On the kalym /bride price/, cf. Chapter VI.

According to customary law there can be no protest against

423 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their
671 property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

* * * *

233 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and
221 is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men,
[782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i.e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

[152 cont.]

175 their wives and children. Finally, the fugutives halted, but in
[167 barren localities offering no support to a nomadic people. It
731] was impossible for the Kazaks to endure such an unhappy situation for long. Of the two scourges which menaced them, it was best to choose the one which promised some advantages, if not for the present at least for the future. Despair drove them to make themselves masters of their old territories, which they could not do without. Danger had snuffed out the flame of dissension and replaced it with unanimity of sentiment, and the efforts of all
[646] were directed to the same end. It was decided in a general assembly of the people to advance, attack the common enemies, and drive them from the lands of the Kazaks. This undertaking was sanctified at once by a common oath to remain faithful to
[643 each other. Khan Abulkhair was chosen as [153] leader of the
782] nation, and the sacrifice of a white horse (1), which was made

1. See the article on "Customs" in the statistical section of this book, for more details. [Not translated.]

according to the custom of this people, was considered a pledge of future peace.

[726] After these preparations the Kazaks advanced, attacked the Dzungas, and won a number of battles against them, and recovered their old lands. But as they expected new attacks from
[727] Galdan Tsyren, they found it more opportune to move away from this dangerous neighbor, and some retreated to the north, while others moved westward. Only the Great Horde remained near the Dzungars, and they submitted to the latter almost in entirety, as we shall soon see. The Little Horde did not stop at the Emba
175 River, which was formerly the border, when they arrived there,
166 but crossed over to the right bank and attacked the Volga
726 Kalmuks, and after seizing a large part of their pasture lands, they moved all the way to the Ural River. The Middle Horde moved north to the Ori and the Ui, and drove out many Bashkirs from the vicinity of these rivers. Although the strength of the

/207 cont. /

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The patemal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
• [782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
787 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

S
563 /The New Uighurs/
517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S
563 7. Guardians of national customs
624 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are
554 Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The
577 people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S
563 1. The people
K
173 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S
563 The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern
K part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They
526 are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when
(131) they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to
(241) their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S
563 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomad-
K ic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite
771 times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.
782 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S
563 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods
K in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer
221 they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S
563 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape
K of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols,
342 except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

[Great Horde]

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
872 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 87.

[138] Ibid., 93.

[227 cont.]
had been successful in seizing Khiva. But unfortunately they did not even start toward the realization of the end proposed by Erali. The reason for this inaction was no doubt the insufficiency of the troops they could have opposed to the forces of Kaip and his father together.

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Such a guard would have been too unsafe, and it would even have been dangerous to allow the wives and children of the Kazaks to enter the forts. Thus the governor of Siberia was directed to pay no attention to [228] such demands (1). Shortly

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after this, part of the Middle Horde once more asked to be received under the protection of the forts. This time, because of the remonstrances of Nepluev and also because it wished to treat the Kazaks favorably, the government allowed them to live as nomads near the Uisk line and directed that in case they were attacked they were to be allowed to cross within the Russian border, but with hostages taken from them to guarantee their peacefulness.

This favor, which was granted them at the end of 1756,

/219 cont./

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

784

/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or
428 cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where sanxaul, shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1 [Not reproduced --A]

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the
[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits
351] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most
262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
[538
533] table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is
[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

1. We will note in passing that superstition
[784] prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

/220 cont./

793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
177 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, espe-
785 cially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits [779] taking food for three days or three periods [346] of three days only for [493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

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769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

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777 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important. 177 114 779

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Poiarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1] [131]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Poiarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Poiarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2] [171] 769 [182] [177]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so 756 [158] [180]

[1] Poiarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

/220 cont./

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avoids ailments which his power cannot cure, such as a broken leg. The shaman generally sets himself into a state of trance, in which he projects his soul into the spirit realm and there discovers the secret cause of some human disorder, cattle plague, or whatever problem faces him. The Kazakh shaman, called bagsha, belongs to a hereditary profession. The patrilineal organization of Kazakh society is reflected in this folk religion: "The profession of bagsha is transmitted usually from father to son; this inheritance pattern bears the name of bagshylyk."[1]

This form of shamanism is widespread among the Turks and the Mongols, where the former have not been absorbed into the world of Islam, or the latter into the world of Buddhism. Kazakh shamanism is connected most intimately with the social organization of the people. The practice of animal sacrifices conducted by the shaman in the case of severe or dangerous disease, the shaman's use of the drum or tambourine (Kazakh dabyl) in his ceremonies, the passing of a shaman's spirits to his son when the shaman dies, are all part of the fabric of Turko-Mongol religion and society, just as is the cult of ancestors. However, the Kazakhs have not lived in a vacuum sealed off from the Moslem world, for they have formed part of ancient empires thoroughly Islamic in faith; the empire of Tamerlane, to which the ancestors of the Kazakhs belonged in the 14th and 15th centuries, was a Moslem empire. The bagsha's spirits are known among the Kazakhs as djinns, a Moslem term for spirits; the bagsha frequently invokes Allah, and the Arabic devil, Shaitan, is accursed and admonished.[2]

Elements of Islam have thus slipped into the folk religion of the Kazakhs, a process over which the Russians have had no control; Tsarist recognition of Islam was not needed to introduce these elements among the Kazakhs.

For an exact appraisal of the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, another ancient practice must be examined. The Kazakhs have traditionally believed in and made pilgrimages to holy places. In Central Asia one finds a vast number of such places, tombs of saints or of other holy men. These tombs, called mazar by the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, stand alone or together with several others within an earthen enclosure which forms a sacred ossuary.[3] Among devout Moslems visits to these places can even replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In recent years the Soviet regime has been concerned about this practice. The Party Committee of the Pavlodar Region in May 1952 called for strengthening of the natural sciences and of antireligious propaganda, with special reference to a mazar in the Bayan-Aul District, which has existed for many years. The Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan was instructed to put an end to the legends regarding the saint in the tomb. The Academy formed a committee to visit the sepulchre and examine the matter, but the committee limited itself to inscribing certain remarks in the visitor's book beside the tomb. It was denounced by the Party for its lack of effort.[4]

[1] Castagne (27), 1900, pp. 67-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.
[3] Castagne (29), 1951, pp. 46-50.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 May 52.

771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/

/221 cont. /

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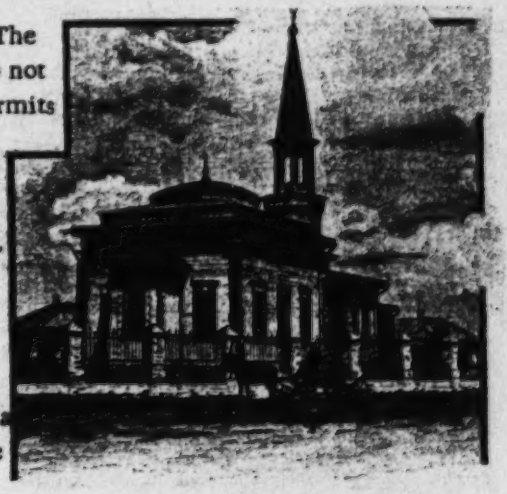

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/222 cont./

777 bury a handful of salt in a small bag. When he starts out on the
•789 dangerous day the Kirghiz /Kazak/ disinters the small bag and takes it with him, believing that this will insure him against misfortune. Amulets are quite widespread, being hung both on favorite animals and on children (on the chest for boys and sometimes in the hair of little girls).

756 From earlier paganism the Kirghiz /Kazak/ retain a belief in the baksi /bakshi/ (shaman). He is usually an old man to whom
797 they turn for the healing of sicknesses. Christianity is finding conversion among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ very difficult. The activity of the Semipalatinsk and Turgai Kirghiz /Kazak/ missions has not produced noticeable results. The preaching has had some success only among the poor people (dzhetak or baygush), for whom purely material considerations are not least important among the incentives for adopting Christianity. Cases of reconversion to Islam are not rare.

[227 cont.]
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[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),
567

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

576 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

• • • •

The support of the poor.

735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold,
732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

• • • •

Clergy and schools.

346 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure.

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people.

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year.

The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided.

They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

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/252/ Wagers

The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

[187 cont.]

X648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it [793 778 641] again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's [431] presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[663] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An
[721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a
● [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died
[775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars
[726] and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

779 795 793 [872]

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[Altai Kazakhs]

621 limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom he must support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks; the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

622 The leadership of the aul, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the aksakal, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination was based on wealth; but in any case, his social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.[281] He settled disputes and con-
[793] ducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers, sacrifices, etc., was generally left to the aksakal.[282] Such then was the nomadic
000 village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We

[281] Ibid., 56.

[282] Ibid., 50.

8:Kostenko -36-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

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[Great Horde]

619 642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

619 642 178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.[69]

619 61 182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

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The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure.

871

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people.

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year.

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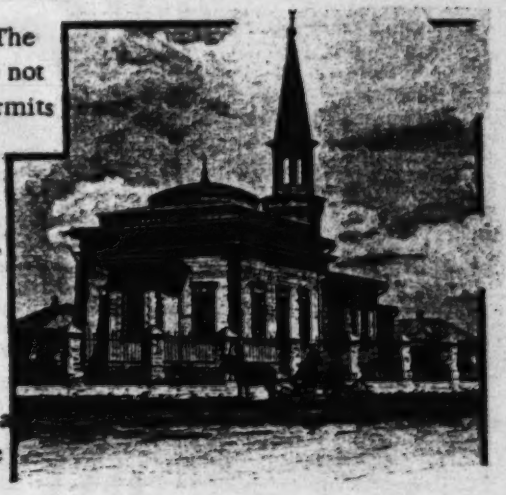
/221 cont./

796 the day lasts 18-20 hours. fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who
785 have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not
[779] observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods
[346] of three days only for
[493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta
[262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
777 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [196] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the
526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this
524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

527 554 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

[140 cont.]
175 Kirghiz-Kazaks without paying duty (3).
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3. See Miller, History of Siberia /Opisanie Sibirskogo Tsarstva.../, p. 87, and Karamzin, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 661.

The conquest of Siberia which took place not long after brought this people closer to the Russians.

[643] [141] Kuchum, the last khan of Siberia, was himself a Kirghiz-Kazak. When he had made himself master of Isker by force of arms and by putting to death the princes Yediger and [662] Bekbulat, who ruled there (1), it was indispensable that he have

1. See the Chronicles of Siberia; Fisher's History of Siberia /Sibirskaia Istoriia..., 1774/, introduction, article 84; Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, p. 644.

around him an army made up of his former compatriots. Thus Yermak and the companions of his adventures undoubtedly fought against the real Kazaks, or Kirghiz-Kazaks.

[721 Murtaza, Kuchum's father, was probably quite a powerful 797] sovereign, for he not only gave his son a year to conquer the land, but also sent him additional mullahs to spread the Moslem religion in Siberia (2).

2. See Miller's History of Siberia and Fisher's History of Siberia, introduction, articles 86 and 87.

175 After Yermak, Kuchum, as we know, was driven out of
648 Isker by Seidak, who later fell into the hands of the Russians.
662 Uraz Mehmet, the tsarevitch or sultan of the Kazaks and nephew of Tevkel, who called himself khan of the Kazaks and

/222 cont./

777 bury a handful of salt in a small bag. When he starts out on the
789 dangerous day the Kirghiz /Kazak/ disinters the small bag and takes it with him, believing that this will insure him against misfortune. Amulets are quite widespread, being hung both on favorite animals and on children (on the chest for boys and sometimes in the hair of little girls).

756 From earlier paganism the Kirghiz /Kazak/ retain a belief in the baksi /bakshi/ (shaman). He is usually an old man to whom they turn for the healing of sicknesses. Christianity is finding
• 797 conversion among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ very difficult. The activity of the Semipalatinsk and Turgai Kirghiz /Kazak/ missions has not produced noticeable results. The preaching has had some success only among the poor people (dzhetak or baygush), for whom purely material considerations are not least important among the incentives for adopting Christianity. Cases of reconversion to Islam are not rare.

8:Kostenko -36-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak R92

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771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/

[Great Horde]

613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 61 The evidence of Izraztsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izraztsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

[Altai Kazakhs]

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I	Naiman	VIII	Oletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekzhardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Bormoby	XII	Emu
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	N. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylised manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, N. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; N. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

[1] [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]

/202 cont./

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here./

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

in the hands of prosperous persons, for whom the poor constitute 423
workers.

The smaller the number of livestock, the more farming there is. 311
/103/ Since the time of famine in the year of the rabbit, (1) the

1. The famine of the winter of 1879-1880. For a description of [731]
this winter see Nos. 17 and 18 of the Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1885, in the article by Aleksandrov: "Iz zhizni stepnykh uezdov Syr-Dar'inskoi Oblasti" /From life in the steppe uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast/.

The cycle of twelve years, by which the Turks determine [805]
age and time elapsed, consist of the following names: 1) chichkan, mouse, 2) siir, cow, 3) bars, tiger, 40 koyan, rabbit, 5) ulu, crocodile, 6) dzhilan, snake, 7) dzhilky, horse, 8) koy, ram 9) meshin, monkey, 10) tauk, hen, 11) it, dog, and 12) tonguz, pig.

nomads, realizing the lack of stability of livestock raising on the principles accepted by them, have turned to the production of supplies of grass in winter, and to agriculture.

For the damage of a hayfield from cattle grazing, according to 685
Torgai, they pay the householder damages only if he himself has not ceased to use that hayfield.

If a man who is inscribed in another uyezd wishes to engage in 427
agriculture in a strange pasture or a strange summer camp, the community to whom the land belongs demands rent from him for its use, the amount of which depends on the conditions. The person in question is forbidden to plant trees and to build. But as soon as he is 423
inscribed in that uyezd and volost where his tilled land is, the land becomes his property and he pays the usual tributes (chubauz) and dues.

Swampy places (tugai), overgrown with rushes, etc. are still not sold, since they are widespread. Nevertheless they are becoming more and more associated with the person who winters in them and has stores of hay, with which he frequently leaves people during the summer. Persons of outside communes are not admitted to these winter camps. In case of misunderstandings, these persons pay money for the fodder under foot - chubauz (Perovsk uyezd).

To put through a new canal, one or more workers, depend- 425
ing on the amount of work, come out from each tent of the group of 476
ten, group of fifty, or of the village or in general that group of people 312

/202 cont./

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

[142]
291
[342]

221
594
[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

Kazak RQ2
Sart RN4

K 203 574 khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

K 177 Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable K rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences [811] are quite accessible to them and they understand K especially easily an analytic type of exposition. [609] They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101 The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members. [593] [562] [814] [181] [538]

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme. [601]

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1] [814]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case [584]

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

648 is little evidence of contact between the Alash-Orda and the Basmachi,
668 at least at the beginning of the 1920's. But of late the various movements have become combined in the minds of the survivors, and this integration is attributed by them to the past of 30 years ago. Among the most active in this connection is Zeki Walidi Togan, a Turkic historian, now in Turkey, and once a leader in these movements.

The Kazakh revivalists were actively sought out and suppressed by the Soviet regime in the late twenties and early thirties. However, when the USSR was attacked by Germany, Moscow sought to use all tactics at its disposal to encourage the peoples in the Soviet Union to resist Hitler. One such tactic was the encouragement of local cultural traditions among the various peoples, the creation of a native pride which they might fight to preserve. The Kazakhs were encouraged to develop their own history, with the sole proviso that the Soviet era be depicted as the culminating point in their development. This policy was related to the previously cited theory which viewed Tsarism as the lesser evil to Turkestan's being swallowed up by the English, the Germans, or the Chinese. The Soviet policy during World War II produced a great revival of Kazakh in-group feeling, centered around the glorification of Kazakh heroes of the past. Since the Kazakhs had developed their own historical studies
● [814] during the past century, a process which was accelerated in the Soviet period, the movement to popularize Kazakh heroes and their deeds was turned over to the historians.

Khan Kenesary Kasymov was much written about, discussed, and praised; his name became a popular byword among the Kazakhs in the 1940's, after a century of oblivion. One Kazakh historian, Gabidullah Bekmakhanov, wrote a full-length history of Kenesary's activities against the Russians; this work, prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1943, was published in 1947 in Alma-Ata. An official history of Kazakhstan written by Abdykalykov, a Kazakh, and the nominal co-author Pankratova (who since has become president of the Historical Section of the All-Union Academy of Sciences) likewise assigned a great and positive historical role to Kenesary. Other pronouncements of the period were less temperate; Sharipov, a Kazakh historian writing in 1949, pictured Kenesary as the prime national liberator. Two professors of history, Ismailov and Djumaliev, took the same line, the latter in a history book written for Kazakh school children.

The movement sought other heroes in the Kazakh past, especially those who had been active against the Russians: Batyr Srym was presented as a heroic figure by his official biographer, Viatkin; the historical significance of Isatai Taimanov, a rebel or liberator of the middle of the 19th century, was advanced by one Shakhmatov; an obscure figure who led a revolt among the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya against the Russians, Batyr Djankhodji Nurmuhammed, was described by T. Shoinbaev.

The historical tradition which developed was clearly Kazakh, the result of the Kazakhs' search for a native expression of their own, the recreation of a tradition which had lain dormant for several decades.

668 Kazakh nativism as a broad movement with a politico-religious orientation has taken the form of a many-faceted cultural revival. The

one cannot escape the fact that the various societies and peoples of the Soviet Union are being reshaped and remolded with the image of Soviet culture as the target. The political life is that of Moscow's creation, as is the economic; the religious is that which is permitted by the central regime. The language of each nationality—as it is taught in the schools, or written in the newspapers—is the one which Moscow has decided upon. The various nationalities themselves have been regrouped, often arbitrarily, for the purpose of greater convenience of administration by Moscow. 177

The grandiose and sweeping nature of the changes planned under Soviet nationality policy is sufficient to assure that major change is in fact taking place. A question exists only in regard to the direction such change will take and how far it will deviate from the plan. Whatever the direction of change, the cost in dislocation and suffering among the minority peoples will remain enormous.

KAZAKH ART AND LETTERS

In the chapter dealing with Kazakh religion and religious developments, a discussion of current trends in history writing in Central Asia was included to illustrate the rise of nativism, the idealization of native culture. While the connection between historiography and religion is not immediately apparent, there is an underlying relationship. This relationship may be more easily traced when one is applying the methods of cultural anthropology, as was the case in the discussion of religion. If one starts with the premise that the various aspects of a people's life are an interrelated whole, it follows that the religious life bears upon the economic, the economic on the religious, the political on the artistic. The concept of nativism has been used as a means of synthesizing the different cultural trends in Kazakhstan. The significance of the glorification of their past by native Kazakh historians during the Soviet era is clear. The historical traditions of the Kazakhs are important to them; around those traditions they were building in the 1940's the nucleus of an independent revival of Kazakh culture. The Soviets regarded this as dangerous, and the participants were either purged or warned away from the theme. 668 [814]

This sort of cultural revival is a type of nativism known in many parts of the world; the common feature such revivals share is a distinctive religious tone. But it is not the old religion which is being revived among the Kazakhs; rather, the old traditions are being treated in a religious fashion. These traditions become a religion, and the renewed interest in them a religious revival. The movement among the Kazakhs to revive the traditions of the past immediately became involved in politics. The Russian term kultura usually implies such political ramifications. In this sense there is a cultural politics in the Soviet Union.

The cultural taste of the regime in Moscow serves as a model for the rest of the empire. This cultural taste includes in part that which is pleasing to the political leaders of the Soviet Union. It includes 53 177

53 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces.
177 The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both
[341] Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

In the 1940's a Kazakh-literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[214] iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word
[538] meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

The form is also imposed by Moscow, whether it concerns the introduction of the novel form in literature or the imitation of the massive architectural style in public buildings. Only the ornament and embellishment are locally derived.

53 199

HISTORY

668 [819]

The same lines of criticism which the Soviets have directed at Kazakh literature and art have been applied to the writing of Kazakh history. The revival of Kazakh historical traditions during World War II developed into a great movement involving many Kazakh historians and writers. In 1950, Pravda published an editorial denouncing the entire movement, choosing for its main target the luckless Bekmakhanov, for his history of the Kenesary movement.[1] The Kazakh Party and press were slow in following the line laid down in Pravda. Only after a four-month delay did Kazakhstanskaia Pravda take up the attack, printing a policy statement from the Central Committee of the Kazakh Party, which commented on the Pravda editorial of the previous December and called for a formal Party hearing on the subject. This hearing took place in April and was reported in Kazakhstanskaia Pravda of 24 April 1951, in an article giving the general Party findings and those of the Party primary organization of the Kazakh Pedagogic Institute. Kenesary was denounced at one meeting as "an enemy of the Kazakh toiling masses" by 11 speakers representing the Party leaders and the academic world. The attack was directed at others: school textbook authors Ismailov and Dzhumaliev, both professors of history; Sauranbaev, director of the Social Science Section of the Academy of Sciences; and one Adilgireev, all in addition to Bekmakhanov. But this was only the beginning.

The attack on Kazakh revivalism continued, centered around the figure of Kenesary, with a different series of authors subjected to the sternest criticism. The line now advanced by Pravda, the Party press of Kazakhstan, and the History Section of the Academy of Sciences, was that there were two kinds of leaders in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries—good leaders and bad. The Kazakh leader Kenesary was bad; he was called a class enemy, a reactionary feudal lord. Other Kazakh leaders were classified as good, for they sought to lead their peoples into an alliance with the oppressed Russian masses, seeking a common solution for their jointly shared troubles. The Kazakh leader Isatai Taimanov, for example, revolted not against the Tsar but against Russian capitalists who were exploiting his people.[2] This indicates, the Soviets conclude, that the Tsars had parallel interests with the poor Russians, while the enemies of both the poor Russians and the poor Kazakhs were the Russian capitalists.

The central Soviet historical journal, Voprosy Istorii ("Questions of History"), published in April 1951 a lead editorial, "On Certain

[1] Pravda, 26 Dec 50.
[2] Kazakhstanskaia Pravda, 19 Apr 51.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar KN [341] architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [262] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, K 177 186 or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 668

The Soviet leaders have not attempted to block the national revivalism, but have sought instead to divert it to their own ends. The chief premises of the current Soviet thinking on the question of nationalities are as follows. First, the national culture of the peoples of the USSR evolved independently of all foreign influences; it is a purely autonomous and original development. Secondly, this national culture is superior to that of the peoples dwelling beyond the frontiers. Thirdly, the peoples occupying the present territory of the Soviet Union have long formed a great family, united and solidary, of which the Russian people have been the senior members; this united group has always opposed invaders from beyond the present-day borders. Finally, all citizens of the USSR are ethnically, culturally, and racially distinct from the Turkic and Iranian peoples living beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

KN 815 [189]

One sees, then, that in matters of literature and history, art is made to serve the state. The same may be said of science. A Soviet declaration states that the main task of the Academy of Sciences is to assist the great current projects of the Soviet regime. The Academy of Sciences of the KSSR was established shortly after World War II. It consists today of 20 institutes and many other separate scientific centers. It is active in nearly all fields, and is the body which establishes the official policy in the arts and sciences. The Academy has been severely criticized for diverging from the official line in the fields of history, literature, and linguistics. On the other hand, it has been praised by the regime for its record in such fields as engineering, technology, and agronomy, where liaison with industry, transport, and experimental agricultural stations has been satisfactory.[1]

KN [819]

K [815]

One source of trouble in the organization of scientific work in Kazakhstan has been the relatively small number of Kazakhs on the scientific staffs of their native republic. Of 102 degrees of Doctor of Science awarded in Kazakhstan, only 17 have been earned by Kazakhs. Out of a total of 811 other advanced degrees, about 160 were awarded to Kazakhs. Thus, of these 913 actual and potential leaders in science, 20 per cent are Kazakhs—about half of the proportion of Kazakhs in the total population of Kazakhstan.[2]

KN 812

The educational system of Kazakhstan is identical with that found throughout the USSR. Primary education is compulsory for all children aged eight or older. A decree of 10 August 1930 made education through the first four school years compulsory; in 1950 attendance was made compulsory through the seventh grade.

The schools are divided as follows: Primary school comprises the first four years, incomplete middle school covers the fifth through seventh years, and middle school covers the eighth through tenth years.

[1] *Central Asian Review* (30), 1953, No. 1, pp. 75-77.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.

[163 cont.]
He soon saw that the behavior of his predecessors toward the Kazaks had produced general misfortune, and that until this people was brought to reason by force of arms it would not stop tormenting his subjects. He acted in accordance with this political fact and assembled an army with which he attacked the Great Horde in 1798 (1). Luck was with him and he won great victories

1. See the unpublished journal of Pospelov, who was in Tashkent in 1800.

over the oppressors in the first battles. Encouraged by these fortunate beginnings, he continued to pursue them and added to the force of arms punishments which could only be conceived by the imagination of an exasperated Asiatic. He had the prisoners decapitated and formed pyramids of these heads in the sight of the enemy army. These frightful sights struck the hearts of the Kazaks with inexpressible terror. Lacking true courage and being accustomed to fighting only for pillage, they could not unanimously resolve to die to avenge the blood of their brothers. They dreaded slavery, and this fear obliged them to submit to Iunus Khodja.

Having thus proved the superiority of severity and decision, this prince seized from the Kazaks all the villages which were in their power and not only demanded complete submission in the future but also reparations, according to Asiatic custom, for the pillage and murder done against the residents of Tashkent. Finally he prescribed rules for their litigations and made them pay a tribute of one sheep out of every hundred. In a word, he reduced them completely to the state of subjects, and later he put them in his armies like his own subjects.

We repeat, however, that he did not subjugate the entire [164] Great Horde, for many Kazaks, even among those neighboring him, escaped his power. Several thousand tents retreated to the Irtysh River and joined the Middle Horde, while others gained the Ak-Tau Mountains with their troops, and still others various other places.

The Kazaks who had become subjects of Iunus Khan remained under the domination of Tashkent as long as this city, with the lands which belonged to it, including Turkestan, did not fall under

x648 [162 cont.]
726 preferred to humbly ask permission to pass beyond toward the Ili River. Erali pretended to consent but had the intention of striking
[662] a most terrible blow against the fleeing prince after having lulled him into security to some extent. And this is exactly what happened. Scarcely had the Kalmuks moved away from the Kazaks and set up their camp to spend the night when Erali and his allies attacked them abruptly, annihilated whole groups which had gone
[727] to sleep without taking precautions, and took an immense booty of prisoners, various objects, and livestock. The third part of the Great Horde, which had camped in the neighborhood of Tashkent from the time of Galdan Tsyren, did not move after the annihilation of the Dzungars but began to establish itself on the spot in the localities it occupied, and persecuted the neighboring cities and villages more strongly. Tashkent was the city which suffered most. Raids, the pillage of caravans, and the almost complete loss of arable lands brought about the absolute ruin of its inhabitants. Although they were not subjects of the Kazaks, they were dependent upon them for everything and were obliged to purchase all the necessities of life and trade from them at a high price.

In 1760 a large number of Karakalpaks [Kara-Kalpak] joined this part of the Great Horde. These Karakalpaks lived at the mouth of the Syr [Darya] River, but being hemmed in by the Little Horde, especially under Khan Nurali, they had retreated further east. It is not known why the Kazaks, who were so powerful, did not seize Tashkent completely and establish themselves there. But there is no doubt that this city has had to suffer from their aggressions until our day. The khans of this country, being weak and unenterprising, have tried to avert these raids by favors, gifts, and concessions more than by resistance and
● [829] vigorous measures. The Kazaks are accustomed to viewing indulgence as [163] a sign of weakness, and consequently this kind of behavior, far from disarming them, leads them to renewed violence.

Tashkent proved the truth of this by its own experience some time later when Iunus Khodja became ruler of this city.

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security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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Turkic savants, such as Abulgasi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a completely genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

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lineage to its horde is the relation of a son to the father in the case of the senior line of the horde."[12] That is, hordes act as persons, lineages act as persons, senior lineages are as father to filial junior lineages, mutually ranked according to the principle of primogeniture operating among the founders. In the same passage, Valikhanov finds operative among lineages and hordes the relationship of uncle to nephew, the significance of which will be left to later discussion of cognatic relationships. It is interesting, although not by itself decisive, that another characteristic of corporate structures, their status as persons, is also implied by Valikhanov.[13] It is not decisive because evidently Valikhanov is consistently arguing by analogy from relationships within the family, such as fraternal, filial, paternal, avuncular-nepotal, etc., in order to account for relationships among descent groups. But it is consistent with the total picture that such an analogy is available, and in fact necessary for the Kazakh philosopher to account for his system of social relations.

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[12] Valikhanov, 286.

[13] Lévi-Strauss in his article, Social Structure, discusses the use of native as opposed to scientific models of the social structure of a society. Valikhanov affords an instance of a native model with a significant advantage, that he has described a conceptual scheme which integrates family, lineage, and other relations. The five Confucian relations likewise are called to mind as examples of native models of this order.

619 they had names which harked back to the Chingiside era. Valikhanov draws an important implication from this: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union as a whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingiside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,[49] for they are properly speaking fictitious.

619 428 643 829 The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakh nobility who brought the original confederation to life are located by Kazakh tradition in the Little Horde.[50] We know that the Little Horde was not an original founding member of the confederation of hordes, but was rather the junior member. So reads the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov, and which must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the location of the original founder of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to regularize or legitimize the rank order of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to align the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through

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[49] Idem.

[50] Ibid., 292.

619 transmission via Khan Tiavka (c. 1700). This law decreed
428 that the right of succession to the father's status and
643 to his residuary possessions, went to the youngest son
829 or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.[51] N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code--the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan--and of the code transmitted by Khan Tiavka. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, not that of the father, the youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and
619 other incorporeal properties.[52] But the important thing
643 is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes
829 and decrees, but what the 19th century Kazakh believed them to be; what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a double fiction was applied. First,

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[51] Idem.

[52] Riasanovsky, Customary Laws, 7 ff; ibid., Fundamental Principles, 83 ff.

619 there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior-
643 horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its
829 nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

619 The clans which composed the hordes were common des-
173 cent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[53] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

[53] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

These apparent contradictions arise because Kazakh society is an amalgam of kin and political relationships. 182

Soviet writers in Central Asia find it difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Kazakh society; this difficulty is due in part to the series of readymade categories of evolution which Communism teaches. They are dealing not with abstractions but with living people, whose lives are complex. The Kazakhs have lived on the margins of great empires—Persian, Chinese, Russian—for many centuries. They themselves have participated in great empires, their own and others'. Not only the glory, but some of the institutions, have rubbed off on them; they have developed certain institutions which are normally part of states and empires. At times they have formed states and empires, and at times they have contracted to form smaller units. 177

During the 1920's, a group of Kazakh intellectuals, together with certain romantically disposed Russians, constructed a picture of Kazakh society in which each social unit formed a closely-knit cooperative core. All members of a village helped each other, since all were united by ties of blood and neighborhood. The Kazakh intellectuals included former leaders, such as Baitursunov and Bukeikhanov, of the Alash-Orda, the Kazakh political party of the period 1917-1922. Ryskulov and Sadvokasov, also Kazakhs, propounded the same idea; the Russian scholars Polochanskii, Kushner, and, as late as 1933, Fedorov continued along the same line.[1] 829 [668]

With the onset of collectivization, the Soviet government could no longer let these theories continue unopposed. In 1926 Moscow began to denounce the notion of the persistence of primeval communist conditions among the Kazakhs into the era of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet boss of Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin, attacked the concept of the Kazakh nomadic village as a communal, cooperative, undifferentiated whole. Between 1928 and 1930 the government of Kazakhstan handed over each year to the GPU hundreds of Kazakh families classified as enemies of the workers. The campaign to exterminate the rich Kazakhs as exploiters of the poor intensified between 1930 and 1933. The aim of this campaign was to bring the Kazakh herdsman into collective farm life, to settle him down as a tiller of the soil, as well as to find the equivalents among the Kazakhs of the rich peasants of Russia. The aul was equated by Goloshchekin with a peasant village anywhere; the wealthy Kazakh villager was equated with the Kulak, and thus regarded as subject to liquidation.[2] 177 648 [474]

This policy became the official line, and the forces advocating the theory of communal economy and polity were silenced. One theory advanced in support of the new line stated that the Tsarist colonialists supported the village leaders as a counterpoise to the khans and the sultans, and used the local leader as a lever to crush the rule of the khans. According to this theory, the khans were of foreign birth and the village leaders, pictured as allies of the Tsars, were of Kazakh birth.[3]

[1] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 6-8, 23.
[2] Goloshchekin, 1931, pp. 177-198, 208.
[3] Tegzhanov, 1934, pp. 38-39.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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MARRIAGE

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56. Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[57] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 399.

[58] *Le Vie des steppes*, 23.

[59] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[60] *Loc. cit.*

[61] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 93.

[62] *Idem*, 36.

Marriage in the Great Horde

595 A Kazakh proverb runs: "A sart (agricultural Turk
596 of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house;
a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."[122] In
this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are
made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth--
notably bridewealth; the relationship between polygyny
and wealth, in addition to the explicit content of the
proverb, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring
wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

835 The rules of marriage have been already mentioned
in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and
the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy.
The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised
in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage
exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at
the end of the 19th century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-
law's mother.

2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters.
In these two rules, relationship in the maternal
line is as powerful a determinant as that in the
paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted
to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed
on brothers marrying sisters.

3. Marriage with the step-mother, step-sister
or step-daughter is strictly forbidden.

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[122] Dingelstedt, 155.

[Great Horde]

.125 4. Marriage of a widow with her deceased husband's father is forbidden.

5. Marriage of a girl with her father's wife's brother is forbidden.

6. Marriage with a milk sister or with the wet-nurse is forbidden. (This is a Koranic influence.)

The following marriages are permitted, although no preferential pattern appears to be indicated:

1. Patrilateral cross cousin marriage (father's sister's daughter to mother's brother's son).

2. Marriage with the wife's sister only after the death of the wife, if the former is not already betrothed. Sororal polygyny is taboo.

3. Marriage with the brother's wife's sister on the death of the brother, when she no longer counts as kin. This is the same as the rule in the case of the wife's sister.

4. The son with his father's widow other than his own mother.

587 5. Marriage with the father's brother's widow. By this and the following, the levirate is established.

6. Marriage with the brother's widow.[123]

000 Despite the frequent reference in these rules of

[123] Grodekov, 29 ff.

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoïlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoïlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Kazakingizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a 836
pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de 585
briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitte ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[80]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a 836
fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[81] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there 848
would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child 836
might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[82] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an [847]
infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[83] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kazalinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

Elsewhere Grodekov reports that an unmarried girl who bears a child will marry the father of the child. Her relatives are usually able to claim from him at least a part of the bride price and if she is young, beautiful and of good family perhaps the whole amount.[84]

Adultery, by the old Mongol code[85] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan ○○○

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[81] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[82] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[83] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 97.
[84] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[85] Riasanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

583 considered a fairly good sized kalym to be around two hundred sheep and fifty horses, and a medium one perhaps forty sheep and ten horses. It might, however, amount among the rich to a great deal more and among the poor to considerably less.[71] A very poor man might have to go without a wife through inability to pay kalym but could usually find a girl without many prospects from an equally poverty stricken family whose parents were glad to be relieved of the necessity of supporting her.

The kalym was usually paid in installments over a period of several years. The first payment, according to my informants, sealed the marriage contract and no other man might thereafter marry the girl even though he were in a position to pay the full kalym at once. Tlenshiev said that in former times it had been customary to pay the entire amount in one sum but that in later days it was paid by degrees. The existence, however, of a complete terminology to describe the various stages in the payment of kalym indicates that the practice of payment by installments is probably of considerable antiquity.[72] It sometimes happened that the prospective bride grew old before her fiancé was able to complete the transaction. She was, however, according to Grodekov's material, not obliged to wait indefinitely. If by the time she had reached the age of twenty the youth were still entangled in his obligations, she might break the engagement. He could then apply the payments already made toward acquiring her younger sister or else admit his inability to cope with the situation and receive back a portion of what he had paid.[73]

836 As mentioned above, it appears to have been generally permitted for the fiancé to
583 visit his betrothed after the payment of the first installment of kalym. Levshin notes, however,[74] that in some places the bridegroom must remain at home and not visit the girl until the kalym had been paid in full. Where such visits were permitted there is considerable discrepancy in regard to the extent of intimacy between the two.[75] My informants said that sexual relations were in theory forbidden until the kalym had been paid in full but that they frequently occurred. The same may be inferred from Levshin's remark[76] that if the bride became pregnant the marriage was quickly completed even though the kalym had not been fully paid.

583 It is important to note here a possible change in the concept of the bride price and in the relationships of the individuals involved. Asfendiarov indicates, in a personal communication, that the character of kalym altered concommitantly with the development of feudal institutions in Kazak culture. Formerly, in his opinion, it had been part of a mutual exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom but later became an almost exclusively

[71] See also Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 323–24; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 358, note.

[72] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 324–25.

[73] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149.

[74] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[75] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149–50; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360.

[76] *Description des hordes*, 360.

1 [See cat. 116, p 47 -- Analyst]

Kazalinsk uyezd the boys marry from 9 to 12 years of age. The early 582
marriage of the daughters is dependent on the poverty of the parents, for whom it is difficult to support them. In the Chimkent uyezd the bride is usually sent away at the age of 20 to 25.

After the full payment of the kalym the marriage cannot fail 586
to be consummated. But unchastity or other faults (aib) of the bride 836
which have taken place without it being the fault of the groom, and also the incapacity of the groom for marital cohabitation can be reasons for not consummating the marriage even after the payment of the bride price.

A good groom keeps silent about the shortcoming of his bride which he knows about, especially since now a bride who is faultless is rarely found (Perovsk uyezd). If he makes a complaint but does not renounce the marriage he can be returned half the kalym. If he completely renounces the bride, they offer him the choice of another daughter or the whole (tegiz) kalym which has been paid. If the groom refuses the marriage without guilt on the part of the bride, he cannot demand the return of the paid kalym. Sometimes it happens that they do return part of the kalym to him. (2) From the Chimkent uyezd it

2. If the bride declares her unwillingness before the Russian authorities, to marry the groom chosen by her father, then if she is still in her father's house, this is equivalent to the annulment of the ritual of marriage, and she is permitted to marry according to her own choice, with the return of the part of the kalym received from the former groom.

is reported that in /56/ the case of such a refusal, if the groom had been living with his bride, he pays a fine of eight horses and one camel.

If the bride complains to her mother of the groom's having relations with her before the wedding, then his clothes are torn and the belly of his horse is ripped open.

If a girl who is not betrothed has a child, she is considered the 588
wife of the child's father, without having received a kalym. Her father or kinsman may sometimes demand a full kalym for her, depending on the beauty and youth of the bride and the wealth of her parents.

After the death of the groom, the bride is counted on for his 587
brother and /schitaetsia za ego bratom/ in general for his nearest kinsman, which proves that the bride was and is now considered the property of the clan

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[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai, often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new
429 husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-
593 father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do. She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the
562 husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only
837 the latter is not customary. (1)

1. According to Makovetskii, I.P. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

4:Grodekov--84 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes). 562 837

A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz). 562 421 573

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife. 421 562 612

The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd) Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry. 428

If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept such a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, clan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen. 562 [595]

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A widow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, etc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or 562 695

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

586 If after the departure of the husband a child is born after 9 months and 10 days or more, the husband divorces the wife, and she 837 marries her lover, who pays the former husband a kalym, either his daughter or a kinswoman. If the husband does not wish a divorce, he 848 receives the wife with the strange child and a fine from the lover of 2-3 camels (in former times he received a full kalym). If the child was conceived by the lover, but not during the absence of the father, it is considered the lawful child of the husband. According to Torgai, children of widows, born out of wedlock, remain /97/ with her until her death. Before she dies they ask about their father and look for him.

848 It is impossible to speak of illegitimate children of unmarried girls, according to Torgai, for on the steppe all the girls marry (kyz dalada kalmaydy). In the Kazalinsk uyezd such children are buried in the ground. According to Aleksandrov and Makovetskii, a child born of a widow and the brother of her deceased husband is considered a legitimately born member of the family. (1)

1. Staff Captain Grombchevskii reports the following concerning the attitude of the Kirgiz of the Fergana region to illegitimate children. Bringing a child into the world from fornication not only covers the family of the girl with shame, but also her entire clan. In order to avoid the scandal they try to marry the girl [847] upon the first signs of pregnancy. When this is not successful, they have recourse to stopping the prenancy. This is either done mechanically, or by giving the patient an infusion of the "usma" plant, or finally they put the child to death immediately after birth. Illegitimate children do not succeed the father, and are usually banished from the village as soon as they are big enough to herd livestock or to support themselves by other means. They are called kharam, kharmzade, valadizina, and in the Ketmen-Tiube volost also gartakum (born of a libertine). There are cases, however, when the birth of a child out of wedlock is not considered a scandal, namely, 1) from a groom and bride, if they later marry, 2) from a widow and

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[60] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qЫz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.
597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship, as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya[illegible] tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

[Little Horde]

582 adornment, but the girl left her natal aul and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

583 But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 584 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her 581 economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the kalym or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the kalym which they had already

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[197] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

1 [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478--Analyst]

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the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzho!das) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, they [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

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2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

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751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom), Alva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower), Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i.e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

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/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

8:Kostenko -26-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
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• 844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world without causing any particular worries to his relatives. Only when there is a difficult [754] birth do they call in the assistance of their own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers. It is self-evident that in most cases their devices are actually harmful. In fortunate cases they consist only of whisperings and grimaces, but in more decisive instances more 846 violent measures are taken. In most cases little peace is allowed the woman who has borne the child. Rest before and after delivery is 553 set at a very short period. The mother has /342/ only one right: to name her newborn child. She does this in a very original way, acting entirely upon inspiration, often naming the child after the first object she happens to look at after the birth. As a result names occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

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pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de 585
briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitté ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a 836
fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there 848
would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child 836
might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an [847]
infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[53] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kazalinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

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[51] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[52] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[53] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 97.
[54] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[55] Riasanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

[882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other
[675] arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

586 If after the departure of the husband a child is born after 9 months and 10 days or more, the husband divorces the wife, and she 837 marries her lover, who pays the former husband a kalym, either his daughter or a kinswoman. If the husband does not wish a divorce, he 848 receives the wife with the strange child and a fine from the lover of 2-3 camels (in former times he received a full kalym). If the child was conceived by the lover, but not during the absence of the father, it is considered the lawful child of the husband. According to Torgai, children of widows, born out of wedlock, remain /97/ with her until her death. Before she dies they ask about their father and look for him.

848 It is impossible to speak of illegitimate children of unmarried girls, according to Torgai, for on the steppe all the girls marry (kyz dalada kalmaydy). In the Kazalinsk uyezd such children are buried in the ground. According to Aleksandrov and Makovetskii, a child born of a widow and the brother of her deceased husband is considered a legitimately born member of the family. (1)

1. Staff Captain Grombchevskii reports the following concerning the attitude of the Kirgiz of the Fergana region to illegitimate children. Bringing a child into the world from fornication not only covers the family of the girl with shame, but also her entire clan. In order to avoid the scandal they try to marry the girl [847] upon the first signs of pregnancy. When this is not successful, they have recourse to stopping the prenancy. This is either done mechanically, or by giving the patient an infusion of the "usma" plant, or finally they put the child to death immediately after birth. Illegitimate children do not succeed the father, and are usually banished from the village as soon as they are big enough to herd livestock or to support themselves by other means. They are called kharam, kharmzade, valadizina, and in the Ketmen-Tiube volost also gartakum (born of a libertine). There are cases, however, when the birth of a child out of wedlock is not considered a scandal, namely, 1) from a groom and bride, if they later marry, 2) from a widow and

son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitte ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement. 836 585

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls. 836

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace. 848 836

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea. [847]

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884 582

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

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Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, det us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

[848]

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

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Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld 562
is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man. [681]

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those [612]
who are not relatives is left to her good nature.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys [231]
are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials.

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to 848
to seek their father.

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to [628]
kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd).

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does 588
exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in

588 question, if they do not come to terms with their lovers, demand payment in court for their service. Such a complaint took place in the Kazalinsk uyezd in 1887, by a woman who had lived with a man more than 10 years. The bii rejected her suit against the man.

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the younger brother of the deceased, whom the widow is supposed to marry, 3) from a master and a servant woman or slave. In such cases the child is not considered kharami, but nikokhsiz, i. e., born without a wedding, outside wedlock, and remains a member of the family, is not despised, and even inherits on an equal basis with the other children.

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It is said by the baksy (sorcerer) Aike, of the Kurama uyezd, that when a woman in labor cannot give birth (balany bittirmeydi) or is giving birth improperly (egri), the sorcerer calls in the spirit Nurperi and others to give her more strength. According to the evidence of E. A. Aleksandrov, during birth they always send for a sorcerer, if there is one in the neighborhood.

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When the moment arrives for the delivery of the child, one woman takes the woman in labor in her arms, placing her knees to the latter's spine, and presses her stomach. The woman in labor says: Press, press! (tart, tart). If the woman's strength is not great enough, a dzhigit /rider/ takes her place. Levshin says that everyone entering the tent during this event is supposed to give the woman in labor a skirt and say: Go out (chyk). According to Torgai this is not done. /98/ When the afterbirth (ui or dzholdas) does not appear soon after the birth of the child, a woman takes a pestle from a mortar (kelesab) and starts to pound the ground in the courtyard. She asks: Has it come out? (tusti me). The women inside the tent answer three times: It came out! (tusti).

Neighbors who know of the confinement do not enter the tent, but anyone who enters accidently, man or woman say: It is born, it is born (tuar, tuar), and must tear half his clothing (itegin yirtady), to make the labor easier. When the woman in labor is in great pain, the [845] assume that the child is in reverse position (ters kel'di). Then one woman lifts the woman in labor with the legs up, asking one of the old women: Is it straight or reversed? (ong ba terebe). The latter answers three times: straight (ong). After this the woman in labor is put back on the ground.

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An hour after the delivery, when the woman who has given birth is bleeding, she is sometimes being pressed down (basady) by the evil demon (albasty) Martu. (1) Martu will cause her death if a man or a

1. Martu never frightens men.

[Great Horde]

428 survived her husband, the youngest son and the mother shared a double portion. Izraztsov gives the following instance: a woman with four sons received from her husband a herd of 200 head of livestock of various kinds. She then divided the herd into five parts; two parts, or eighty head, were reserved for her youngest son and herself, the three older sons, forty head each. This, however, did not require the elder sons to move away, for all the herds could continue to share in a common pasture, and to be otherwise indistinguishable, the natural increase being proportional to all.[111]

428 The widow's portion again was held in trust for her
• 548 minor sons. A distinction was made between children born
589 out of wedlock as follows: if a widow has borne sons to her deceased husband, any further sons she bore could not share in her husband's estate, but were reckoned to their natural and actual sire's line, a consequence of the doctrine that the son of an unmarried woman participated with full rights in his biological father's estate.[112] On the other hand, sons born to a widow who had borne no sons previously were reckoned to her husband's line if they were born within a few years after the death of the husband, and thus social fact overrode the biological.

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[111] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[112] Dingelstedt, 154.

8:Kostenko -27-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan

851 marriage. Usually the Kazakhs especially the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when still very young, that is, not asking their consent, and for the most part they have in view equality of wealth and not equal age. In general, Kazakh marriage has much in common with a civil contract, of course within the crude concepts of this people; the religious element here is only very weakly developed.

584 The most important stages of the marriage are
583 the following ones. Whether the children were betrothed earlier or not, the match-making begins with gifts from the groom's side to the bride's father, and the latter on his part is obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has been no earlier agreement, the father of the bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by general council the amount to be paid for the bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep, depending on the wealth of the families. In addition to the kalym, however, the groom must give 'bas' and 'ayak-yakhshi' (a good head and a good foot). These two gifts, depending on the amount of property owned, are usually 9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi. Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses, and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and receives it according to the following reckoning: for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40, for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted as future offspring. The groom first pays the

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [601] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 576 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 551 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eb yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

/219 cont. /

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly
This redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

[Great Horde]

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the
872 Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering
782 her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Great Horde]

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

8:Kostenko -26-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak RQ2

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest
son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be en-
countered more rarely, for danger forced them
to move as nomads with large auls. Now this
reason for keeping together is considerably
less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are
beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world
without causing any particular worries to his
relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their
own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers.
It is self-evident that in most cases their
devices are actually harmful. In fortunate
cases they consist only of whisperings and
grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases
little peace is allowed the woman who has borne
the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has
/342/ only one right: to name her newborn child.
She does this in a very original way, acting
entirely upon inspiration, often naming the
child after the first object she happens to
look at after the birth. As a result names
occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and
so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them
for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word
Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to
Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and
in general is circumcision inaugurated by
festivities, but does not occur until after
the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 608 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe", like the real mother.

• • • •

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was
582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

/212 cont. /

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

262 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten
252 either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
275
443

415 are kept in cases and in chests of various sizes and various outside trimmings. Clothing and all soft things are wrapped up in more or less new and costly rugs, and napless rugs, and even in ordinary ones, and carefully locped on to packages conveniently transportable on 353 camels. With these packages, as well as chests, 513 cases, and with sometimes also cupboards, the yurt is barricaded up to the top on the side opposite the door. Wooden folding beds are placed on the right and left sides, which are very low and short, but with unusually slanting backs which fold back. With this kind of arrangement the bed does not take up much space in the yurt with its legs, which are held in an oblique position by a special kind of wedges, and much can be laid and stood up under the back. At the same time the upper part of these legs form a back /401/ at the head and foot of the bed which is at an extremely obtuse angle with the plane of the bed, so that when the bed is covered with many felts, taking the place of a mattress here, the Kazakh can lie down on it at full length. The felts are covered also with many quilted blankets, covered with calico, of various sizes and values, and with several pillows, also padded with calico. Others also have another arrangement for a bed, something like ours, sometimes iron folding beds, and also feather comforters and pillows with clean white pillowcases, but all this, especially the last, is extremely rare. Many do not even have the simplest type of bed. They spread out felt bedding in such cases in the same places where others have the beds. The Kazakh •854 crib is similar to our children's cribs. They not only do not rock but also do not have

854 inside them any little rocking boxes. Not all people have these very convenient cribs, however, and therefore they carry the children in basket beds, fastened on their backs, wrapping the children in felts. They are also carried in these same baskets, tied onto the sides of the camels, during the migrations.

353 The bed, or that side place where the bedding is placed, is almost always separated from the rest of the tent by a calico curtain. If the second wife of the householder lives in the same tent with the first, which does sometimes occur, although rarely, then the other side part of the tent, opposite the first, is also hidden behind a curtain.

Between the bed and the pile of packages laid near the back wall stand more or less voluminous [415] sacks, filled in summer with kumys. These sacks usually have a square bottom, one side of which is 28 to 56 inches long. The tops of the sacks, which gradually narrow, end in a slender neck, more or less beautifully made, sometimes bound in copper and sometimes in silver, which is tied to one of the uks by a string, so that the sack [355] will not fall to the floor. Around these huge tursuks /kumys skins/ there is sometimes placed a low cupboard for vessels of special construction in which various other necessary small things are kept, such as knives, razors, needles, trays, thread, brushes, /402/ sewing work which has been started, and the like. Among some wealthy people the corners of such little cupboards are decorated with bunches of ostrich feathers. In addition they also have other devices, wardrobes and cupboards

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [601] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɩz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group [61] [621]
permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] [233] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumbic, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirkgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow

132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and

857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the

[132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222 Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the

231] Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits

35] in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517 The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes

273] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most

262] of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the

[538 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to

533] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

534] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is

[484] in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

793

tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now 796
they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure.

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every 871
Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people.

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molla 875
damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year.

The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried 793
by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided. 875

They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the 627
inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (chubti buzbaydy).

/252/ Wagers

526

The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

[283 cont.]

*648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

[431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[642] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

*648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

*648 646 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

H.S. /172 cont./

175 87 At the beginning of the 1880's the first private society for cultural enlightenment was opened in the region "for the care of elementary education" (in Omsk). In general, education began to make considerable strides in the region beginning from the 1860's. In recent times attention has been turned to agricultural education and the spreading of skills and crafts through the region. Lower agricultural schools were opened in the uyezds in 1885 for this purpose. Finally it would be impossible not to mention the opening (in 1877) in Omsk of the Western Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which occupies an eminent place in the history of enlightenment in the region, both in the study of the region and as an educational society, and which is rallying the best local cultural forces around it.

K 175 871 191 The dissemination of reading and writing among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population was founded long ago. Their first elementary schools were opened even considerably earlier than those for the Russian population, but there is very little literacy in Russian among them.

This lack of literacy in Russian among the indigenous population is explained, perhaps, by the fact that at the beginning in these schools there was not as much effort made to teach the children to read and write Russian as there was to give them a definite ideological direction. Thus the first schools were

K 175 871 opened by the administration in 1782 in many mosques, and Tobolsk Tatars were hired as teachers in order to block the influence of the Central Asian mullahs on the Kirghiz /Kazak/ population subject to the Russians. At the same time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were given full access to Russian schools. In the 1870's boarding schools were opened in all the uyezd towns in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts exclusively for Kirghiz /Kazak/ children (later transformed into lower agricultural schools). At present nomad village schools are being opened here.

H.T. 175 87 /172 cont./

In the Turgai oblast the beginning of public education coincided in time with the founding of the oblast (1869), and 800 rubles were set aside for it. The first school, however, a Russian-Kirghiz /Kazak/ one with two classes, was not actually opened until 1879. After this the development of schools continued with considerable success. In 1883 a teachers' school was opened in Orsk in the Orenburg guberniya (next to the Turgai oblast), and a craft school in Turgai. In 1887, Russian schools appeared; in 1891, girls' elementary schools were opened in Turgai, Aktyubinsk, Kustanai, and Kara-Butak, and in 1892 mobile nomad village schools were established especially for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, with a program equal to the first two divisions of the one-class schools of the Ministry of Education. There are also about 20 church parochial schools. The largest number of schools (up to 54) are in the most populated uyezd, that of Kustanai, while there are fewer (up to 12) in the Turgai uyezd. /173/ There are no intermediate schools in the Turgai oblast. In the Ural oblast elementary education has been established quite satisfactorily. In addition to the Kazak /Cossack/ military schools here, there are schools of the Ministry of Education (Russian and Kirghiz /Kazak/) and church parochial schools. Statistical data for 1900 give a picture of the situation with regard to elementary education in the region as follows (see the table on this page /on the next page in the translation/).

K [871] [175]

K [175] [871]

H.T. 871 The Ural oblast is first in number of schools, and the Semipalatinsk oblast is last. There is one school for every 3,065 persons in the region. The number of effective schools, as we see, is still very inadequate, and the idea of universal education in the region is an almost inaccessible dream.

The position of the region with regard to intermediate and special education is no better. Such important and, comparatively speaking, fairly rich cities as Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk do not have to this day a single intermediate school (not counting the progymnasium for boys recently opened in the former). Meanwhile the need for them is strongly felt, since the intermediate schools which exist in Omsk are overfilled. In Uralsk there is a (military) professional school and

[Text continues on p. 61]

/202 cont./

142 of his skin is pale yellow, somewhat darker on the face. The hair on his head is black, straight, and thick. His nose is broad at the base and sometimes hooked, his cheekbones protrude slightly, his mouth is small, and his eyes hazel with thick black brows. His muscular strength is quite considerable (but less than 147 that of the Russian peasant). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ is hardened from youth on the steppe, living under the open sky, and this gives him great endurance and little sensitivity to external in- [151] fluences (change of temperature, bruises, wounds, etc.). For this reason the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have developed little sense of taste and smell and a blunted sense of touch, but have highly developed eyesight and hearing. The body temperature of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is higher on the average (0.73° C.) than that 145 of the Russian. Sexual maturity begins at approximately the same time as for the Russian, although somewhat earlier in the 165 women. With all their comparative organic strength, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are not distinguished for their longevity. Octogenarians among them are rare. /Illustration appears here./

142 In general the female type is similar to the male, but somewhat weaker and finer. Quite often the head is larger in relation to the body than it is among the men (which is evidence of mental development). The facial features are more regular and expressive than among the men. Beautiful Kirghiz /Kazak/ women are not especially uncommon.

153 Among the intellectual abilities of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one should mention first his memory for the setting surrounding his life (nature, people, events). In this sense the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is considerably superior to the peasant. Memory of a higher order, especially for the mastery of abstract concepts, is weak. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ has less love of knowledge than curiosity. Study (especially of mathematics) is not difficult for 871 him, and many of the students have good capabilities. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not receive schooling, and almost all of 802 them are illiterate. The people can count only up to 10,000 -- "tmen'" (Russian "t'ma") -- the Kirghiz /Kazak/ know no numbers higher than that. (In the ordinary routine of their life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)

771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/

871 somewhere into the midst of the numerous winter camps, and collect the children, almost exclusively boys, for several hours every day. The little girls learn to read and write very rarely, and only at home with their parents. [876] The instruction consists of learning verses by heart in chorus and in a singsong voice, supplemented by dictation of Tatar phrases. In the instruction there is no unity and no definite rules. As a result it often happens that the pupils of one mullah can make out only with difficulty what is written by the pupils of another, because they have learned ortography by different rules.

674 Moral training. The evidence from juridical statistics for the nomads is very incomplete, because most of the misdemeanors and crimes remain unknown to the authorities due to the extent of the territory and the mobility [186] of nomadic life. In addition, many crimes are concealed consciously from the Russian administration by the nomad leaders because they consider it a sufficient accounting to settle them in the native manner. Furthermore it cannot be said that justice suffers particularly because of this. In any case the people are satisfied with it and prefer a judgment according to their ancient customs to our criminal or civil court practice, which is definitely inaccesible to their concepts.

181 The character of the Kazakhs has all the qualities of the character of young nations and those, so to speak, not yet formed. In its main features their character is similar to the common Asiatic one, that is, the Kazakh has a conditional honesty and bravery as long

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in 779 addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a 795 deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz 793 /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are [872] medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

KN 874 [932] There are trade schools whose courses include on-the-job training; these run through the seventh year. In addition there are schools for the physically handicapped. Beyond the middle schools there is a system of technicums, or technical schools, which supply training in such fields as agronomy, zoological technology, medical knowledge (or advanced practical nursing), and pedagogy. More advanced education is given in the higher educational institutions, called VUZ, which KN 873 are the equivalents of colleges and universities. There is, however, only one university proper in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata; it gives training through the doctorate in many fields.

KN 874 Beside these formal educational establishments, there are many correspondence courses run by the schools. Some extension work is done among farmers, but this is one of the weakest points in the entire KN [665] Soviet system of education and agriculture. The Party schools prepare leaders and agitators (see Chapters 6 and 8).

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

KN 872 [873] The pattern observed in the higher scientific and educational fields is also found at the lower school levels. The number of Kazakhs attending school is smaller than their ratio to the population as a whole would warrant. The percentage of Kazakh children in the primary and secondary schools is, however, somewhat higher than the 20 per cent of Kazakhs K 872 in the advanced educational establishments. This means that the proportion of Kazakhs receiving education, which is low to begin with, [873] decreases as one goes up the educational ladder.

In 1927, when the Kazakhs composed about 57 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan, 30 per cent of the children in school were Kazakh (see Table 18); apparently the Kazakhs were underrepresented in the schools at the beginning of Sovietization. In 1939, the Kazakhs constituted approximately 43 per cent of the total population of their republic; this ratio probably has decreased since 1939 to about 38 per cent. In 1946, however, only 30 per cent of the children in primary school were Kazakh.

The 1930 law making school attendance compulsory through the first four years accounts for the great increase in the number of children in school between 1930 and 1933. The increase between 1949 and 1951 reflects the extension of compulsory schooling through the seventh year of school. A slight decline followed the initial advance after the passing of each of these laws. The 1930 law had the immediate effect of increasing the number of Kazakh children in school to 40 per cent of the total school population. This proportion was not maintained; in the following decade the proportion of Kazakhs dropped to the 1927 figure of 30 per cent. Similarly, after the 1950 law the total number of children in school increased to 1,346,000 in 1952; by 1954 this total had dropped to 1,200,000.

KN The Soviet regime seems to have adopted a policy whereby it will make provision for no more than 30 Kazakh children out of every 100 [563] children in school in Kazakhstan. This is inferred from the proportion

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Table 18

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Number of Schools	Total Number of Children in School	Kazakh Children in School[b]	Kazakh Proportion of Total Number of Children (%)
1914	ND	105,000	8,400	8
1920-21	2,410	144,000	ND	
1927	3,944	274,000	82,000	30
1929-30	ND	352,000	ND	
1932-33	ND	576,000	230,000	40
1935	ND	797,000	ND	
1939	8,381	1,130,000	ND	
1945-46	7,899	797,000	244,000	30.5
1948-49	ND	1,000,000	ND	
1951-52	ND	1,346,000	ND	
1954	ND	1,200,000	ND	

[a]Tashiev 1967, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoie Stroitel'stvo*, 1946, pp. 58, 251; *Sol'skaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 1st and 2nd eds.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all children instructed in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

of Kazakh school children and from the proportion of Kazakh school teachers (see Table 19). Unfortunately, no data are available on the proportion of Kazakh teachers after 1946, which was the first full school year after the war. Nevertheless, the 1946 percentage of almost 32 per cent is consistent with the last published figures on the proportion of Kazakh school children in the schools of Kazakhstan.

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Table 19

TEACHERS IN KAZAKHSTAN SCHOOLS[a]

Year	All Teachers	Kazakh Teachers[b]	Kazakh Proportion of all Teachers (%)
1914	3,725	ND	ND
1939	42,500	13,500	30.1
1942	30,000	12,900	40.3
1946	37,835	12,000	31.7

[a]Includes primary and middle schools (through the 10th grade). Tashiev, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoie Stroitel'stvo*, 1946, pp. 58, 251; *Sol'skaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 1st and 2nd eds.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all those teaching in the Kazakh language.
ND: No data available.

KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, K [872] are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools.

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. K 177 The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged.

Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The K [369] Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, K [569] of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime.

Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which K KN 872 education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in KN 563 the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2]

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 53.

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by a number of details. In the city of Balkhash the proportion of teachers who have had higher pedagogic education is lower in the Kazakh school than in the Russian schools. As of November 1953, there had been no school inspector in the Kazakh school system of Balkhash for several years; mathematics, physics, and chemistry were not taught in the Kazakh middle school, and the Kazakh textbooks were generally condemned as inadequate.[1] The situation of minorities within Kazakhstan, such as the Uigurs, is even worse. In 1953, 18 out of 20 Uigurs failed in their language examinations in Alma-Ata; the quality of language instruction was specifically condemned.[2]

It is a matter of record, therefore, that Kazakhs are second-class citizens in the school system of their native republic. A smaller proportion of them attend school, and those who go to the Kazakh schools receive poorer instruction than that offered in the Russian language.

[1] Ibid., 13 Nov 53.
[2] Ibid., 17 Oct 53.

KN 874 [730] There are trade schools whose courses include on-the-job training; these run through the seventh year. In addition there are schools for the physically handicapped. Beyond the middle schools there is a system of technicums, or technical schools, which supply training in such fields as agronomy, zoological technology, medical knowledge (or advanced practical nursing), and pedagogy. More advanced education is given in the higher educational institutions, called VUZ, which KN 873 are the equivalents of colleges and universities. There is, however, only one university proper in Kazakhstan, in Alma-Ata; it gives training through the doctorate in many fields.

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PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

KN 872 [873] The pattern observed in the higher scientific and educational fields is also found at the lower school levels. The number of Kazakhs attending school is smaller than their ratio to the population as a whole would warrant. The percentage of Kazakh children in the primary and secondary schools is, however, somewhat higher than the 20 per cent of Kazakhs K 872 [873] in the advanced educational establishments. This means that the proportion of Kazakhs receiving education, which is low to begin with, decreases as one goes up the educational ladder.

In 1927, when the Kazakhs composed about 57 per cent of the population of Kazakhstan, 30 per cent of the children in school were Kazakh (see Table 18); apparently the Kazakhs were underrepresented in the schools at the beginning of Sovietization. In 1939, the Kazakhs constituted approximately 43 per cent of the total population of their republic; this ratio probably has decreased since 1939 to about 38 per cent. In 1946, however, only 30 per cent of the children in primary school were Kazakh.

The 1930 law making school attendance compulsory through the first four years accounts for the great increase in the number of children in school between 1930 and 1933. The increase between 1949 and 1951 reflects the extension of compulsory schooling through the seventh year of school. A slight decline followed the initial advance after the passing of each of these laws. The 1930 law had the immediate effect of increasing the number of Kazakh children in school to 40 per cent of the total school population. This proportion was not maintained; in the following decade the proportion of Kazakhs dropped to the 1927 figure of 30 per cent. Similarly, after the 1950 law the total number of children in school increased to 1,346,000 in 1952; by 1954 this total had dropped to 1,200,000.

The Soviet regime seems to have adopted a policy whereby it will KN make provision for no more than 30 Kazakh children out of every 100 [563] children in school in Kazakhstan. This is inferred from the proportion

175 to the Crimea and left his thirteen year old son Ṣafā Girāi in Ḳazān. The only original document that survives from the period of the principality of Ḳazān dates from the brief reign of Ṣāḥib Girāi: it is a decree dated Ṣafar 13, 929 (= Jan. 1, 1523), confirming a family as *Tarḫān*'s, that is nobles freed from all taxes. The taxes are detailed so that the document is of some importance for the domestic history of the principality.

After vain efforts to come to an agreement with Russia, Ṣafā Girāi was driven from the throne by the Russian party in 1530; at the wish of the people it was not Shāh ʿAlī but Ḏjān ʿAlī that was elected Ḫān; he was killed in 1535 in a rising of the national party, Ṣafā Girāi recalled and supported by his father Ṣāḥib Girāi, then Ḫān of the Crimea. The Russian attempts to restore their suzerainty had therefore for a long time no success; it was only in the year 1546 that Ṣafā Girāi was driven out and Shāh ʿAlī put in his place; but Ṣafā Girāi returned immediately after the departure of the Russians and held the throne till his death in 1549. He was succeeded by his two year old son Ötemiš, who was taken to Russia in the following year, christened by the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. The brief and cruel reign of Shāh ʿAlī ended with his banishment. Yādiyār Muḥammad, a prince born in Astrakhan, was summoned from the land of the Noghai to Ḳazān as Ḫān. The Grand Duke Iwan who had already conducted two unsuccessful campaigns (1548 and 1550) against Ḳazān now appeared before the town with a larger army; after hard fighting Ḳazān was stormed on Oct. 2, 1552, and all armed men put to death.

361 The conquered town retained its former appearance and its military importance under Russian rule for a long time. The town had ten gates and a citadel separated from the other quarters of the town by a ditch; the old wooden wall was replaced by one of stone in 1555. The town was then about 600 cubits (= a mile) in length and 500 cubits (1500 yards) in breadth. To injure the commercial importance of the city, the Russian government as early as 1524 had founded the annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod; at the same time merchants were forbidden to go to the fair at Ḳazān. Christianity was industriously preached. Ḳazān was the see of an archbishop from 1555 and later of a metropolitan. The immigration from Russia proper assumed considerable importance.

Little is left of the old town; a tower in the citadel still bears the name of the princess Sūyūnbigi, wife of Ṣafā Girāi (she was previously married to Ḏjān ʿAlī and later to Shāh ʿAlī). Under the [668] influence of national Tatar movement the memory of this princess is kept green; in 1914 a biography of her appeared and a periodical for women is published under her name; but it is not definitely known when and how the tower received this name, and what parts date from the Tatar period and what from the Russian. During the xviii^th century Ḳazān had lost all military importance and was easily taken — with the exception of the citadel — by Pugačev in July, 1774; there were then 2,867 houses in it. Even at this date Ḳazān was of much greater importance than Nijni-Novgorod as a centre of government and of culture. The university founded in 1804 became famous especially for its Oriental faculty (strictly the Oriental section of the faculty

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1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
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874 of history and philology). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental faculty in the University of St. Petersburg, instruction in Oriental languages in the university of Ḳazān was stopped and the library and other accessories for the most part brought to St. Petersburg.

Instruction in Muḥammadan languages was resumed in the university of Ḳazān in 1861. Ac-
161 cording to the census of 1897, Ḳazān had 131,508 inhabitants, in 1911 182,477, of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

113 *Bibliography*: Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 363—429; K. Tuks, *Kratkaya istoriya goroda Kazani*, Kazan 1817, reprinted in Kazan 1899; W. Welyaminow-Zernow, *Issledovaniya o kasimovskikh tsarakh i tsarevitakh*, i., 1863, *Trudi Vost. Ota Arkh. Obshch.*, vol. ix., German transl. by J. Th. Zenker, Leipzig 1867; G. Kentzevich, *Istoriya o Kazanskom tsarstve i Kazanskiy letopisets*, St. Petersburg 1905, with survey of the literature; Hādī Aṭlāsof, *Ḳāzān Khānlighi*, Kazan 1914, mainly from Russian sources: on p. 133 text of the ediet of Ṣāḥib Girāi (review in *Zap.*, xxiii. 421 *sq.*); P. Zarinskiy, *Otcherki drevnei Kazani*, Kazan 1877; M. Khudiakow, *Otcherki po istorii Kazanskago khanstva*, Kazan 1923. On the university see especially N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriya Imp. Kazanskago universiteta*, Kazan 1902; W. Barthold, *Materiali dlya istorii fakul'teta vost. yazykov*, iv., St. Petersburg 1909.

(W. Barthold)

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tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

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The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure.

871

There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people.

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molda, damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year.

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The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided.

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They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

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When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (chubti buzbaydy).

/252/ Wagers

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The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Table 18

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Year	Number of Schools	Total Number of Children in School	Kazakh Children in School[b]	Kazakh Proportion of Total Number of Children (%)
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[a]Tashiev 1967, pp. 67-68; Abdykalykov and Pankratova; *Kul'turnoie Stroitel'stvo*, 1948, pp. 58, 251; *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 1st and 2nd eds.; *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 19 Feb 54.
[b]Includes all children instructed in the Kazakh language.
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of Kazakh school children and from the proportion of Kazakh school teachers (see Table 19). Unfortunately, no data are available on the proportion of Kazakh teachers after 1946, which was the first full school year after the war. Nevertheless, the 1946 percentage of almost 32 per cent is consistent with the last published figures on the proportion of Kazakh school children in the schools of Kazakhstan.

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Table 19

TEACHERS IN KAZAKHSTAN SCHOOLS[a]

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1939	42,500	13,500	30.1
1942	30,000	12,900	40.3
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871 somewhere into the midst of the numerous winter camps, and collect the children, almost exclusively boys, for several hours every day. The little girls learn to read and write very rarely, and only at home with their parents. [876] The instruction consists of learning verses by heart in chorus and in a singsong voice, supplemented by dictation of Tatar phrases. In the instruction there is no unity and no definite rules. As a result it often happens that the pupils of one mullah can make out only with difficulty what is written by the pupils of another, because they have learned ortography by different rules.

674 Moral training. The evidence from juridical statistics for the nomads is very incomplete, because most of the misdemeanors and crimes remain unknown to the authorities due to the extent of the territory and the mobility [186] of nomadic life. In addition, many crimes are concealed consciously from the Russian administration by the nomad leaders because they consider it a sufficient accounting to settle them in the native manner. Furthermore it cannot be said that justice suffers particularly because of this. In any case the people are satisfied with it and prefer a judgment according to their ancient customs to our criminal or civil court practice, which is definitely inaccesible to their concepts.

181 The character of the Kazakhs has all the qualities of the character of young nations and those, so to speak, not yet formed. In its main features their character is similar to the common Asiatic one, that is, the Kazakh has a conditional honesty and bravery as long

593 fourth time are they obliged to return what they have taken. The
685 son of a married daughter, who has not succeeded in being granted something from his grandfather, takes it without permission and does not give it up for /34/ the first three times. The fourth time the bii sentences him to return the thing without a penalty, but a penalty is fixed for a fight at the time the thing is taken. All this relates also to the close kinsmen in general.

When the thief denies his guilt, the bii interrogates witnesses, but he is not sworn among kin. Incidentally the bii consoles the father (or kinsman) by the fact that he takes from the son in his turn when the latter becomes rich (collected in the Perovsk uyezd).

593 Patricide is unknown in the steppe. For this crime they would
682 banish the offender from the society after a preliminary disgrace E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, says that the customary law is silent concerning patricide. The killing of children can happen by mistake, and in such a case it is not punished. (1)

[847] 1. It sometimes happens that the Kazakhs in a fit of anger and in general in matters of dispute, in showing their opposition throw their children under the /horse's ?/ legs of the adversaries, who not infrequently trample them in fighting. Women especially practise this kind of opposition, throwing unweaned children under the feet of horses. Wergeld
[628] in such cases is sought from the persons in the tent or in the village.

593 Children who have not received their allotment cannot have their own separate property. But once they have received their allotment the father ceases to distribute his property to them.

● [882] Until the age of 12-15, children are not yet of serious mind
[675] (akyl toktatpaidy), and therefore sales, purchases, loans and other arrangements by them are invalid. Buying and selling done against the will of the father by a son who has not yet received his allotment is not broken.

The power of the mother rests on the power of the father. Children obey her for fear that she will tell the father.

When a father wishes to free himself from an incorrigible son, he gives him a small allotment, leaving him to his own devices to earn the kalym /bride price/ if he is unmarried. If this son is already married, the father expels him without an allotment, leaving him to earn

may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[1] Izvaitsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 42.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[601] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qlbz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Očerk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

593 marrying off a daughter by force. Only the Russian law takes her into its protection.

[888] The support of old parents is the duty of the children. In cases of complaint the bii judges it in this manner. A father with no property can move in with a married daughter only with the consent of his son-in-law. (4)

4. E. A. Aleksandrov, Kazalinsk uyezd.

853 /36/ A woman whose own milk is not adequate gives her
608 child the milk of a cow, or with the permission of her husband, hires a wet nurse (eneke), who is called by the child "sheshe", like the real mother.

* * * *

884 Majority is considered to have been reached at the age of 15, or according to other reports, at 12 (Perovsk uyezd). From this time on the young man goes away, hires himself out and does his work alone, without permission. According to Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd, they are called minors (yas, sagyr - young, not of age) until the age of 13, and from 15 or 16 they are of age. A youth of 14 years can be considered of age or not of age, depending on his mind. In general, if a boy declares that as a minor he cannot answer before the court, or if he declares that in spite of his youth he is capable of carrying out an affair, the court will not find an obstacle to fulfilling his wish, without regard to his exact age. Among the Kirgiz, as Kurpetai Dauletkulov reports, majority begins from the age of 13. According to the report of the chief of the Chimkent uyezd, N. E. Blagovidov, boys are counted as of age at 12, and girls at 9. However girls are not permitted to give testimony as
884 witnesses in court. According to bii Khamahammed, if a girl was
582 spoken for (bata okugan) at the age of 4-8, then the betrothal is equal to marriage (bataning uzi bular iken) and she cannot refuse if the groom does not permit her to (chigalmaidy eri koymagansha). When the daughters of a rich man or of a butcher reach the age of 10, and the daughters of a poor man reach 15, then the customary law permits them to declare their unwillingness to marry the groom chosen by the father (tiymeymen dese adat kuteredi). This is explained by saying that the daughter of the rich man, who is fed and dressed better (achimi, yemi, kiymi taza), just as the daughter of the butcher who

884 582

lives on meat, reaches full age earlier (from the age of 10) than the poor man's daughter (from the age of 15). Then Khamahammed added: "I cannot speak for others, but I only know that I reached my majority (balagatka yettim), /37/ at 12, since from that time on I became capable of being the father of a family (kedkhudachilikke yarab idim). Other weaker people (nacharrak adam) mature only at 15."

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Children enjoy the protection of the mother's clan (turkun), when the father's clan is inactive or absent. There are cases when after the death of the father from the clan, let us say, of Chumekey, the boy is raised among his mother's kin, let us say, Dzhappas, and calls himself Dzhappas among them, to avoid coldness in his relations. However, in case the boy is killed, his own clan demands the wergeld and not his mother's clan.

If the deceased father has no relatives, the children go to the mother's clan. The son is free to go or not, for he can take a trade, but the daughter must go. They demand her in court.

[848]

No one can belong to his mother's clan. Even illegitimate children (kharami nikasyz) seek out their father, and are considered to be of his clan. Children born of a widow several years after the death of her husband, are in some places considered on an equal with the children of the deceased. (Perovsk uyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, those who have grown up in a strange clan do not cease to consider themselves of the clan of their father. But kharami bala, without a father, consider themselves in the mother's clan.

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Adopted children, inchiles bala, as the name itself indicates, are sharers of the property alloted by their titular parents. The adopted son pays fines and wergeld and receives them just as the real children. When the parents of the boy to be adopted are alive, their consent is necessary for the adoption.

Mutual adoption or exchange of children is possible only between kin. The adoption of a child is announced before witnesses and is accompanied by the slaughter of an animal, from which a witness, the aksakal, puts the asyk /38/ yilik bone into the hand of the adopted child if it is a boy. The adopted one, showing it in his hand, takes some to eat. A girl can be given the tokpan yilik.

596 The family estate was not communal family property in the usual sense, nor can the paterfamilias be regarded as the owner of the family estate which he controlled. The family estate, both the physical and the intangible wealth, was an estate held in trust, and this definition fits the conception of the family (and the lineage) as a corporate structure.

Inheritance in the Great Horde

428 Properly speaking, only a small proportion of the family physical property was transmitted on the death of the father. Prior to his death, his sons, with the exception of the youngest son, had allotments made over to them of various kinds. In the normal course, these sons would have had a tent or yurt set up for them by the father,[106] which was generally done on marriage, but sometimes earlier, when they came of age; these two events, of course, might also be simultaneous. Thus, [384] youths among the Kazakhs were generally regarded as coming of age between their twelfth and fifteenth years; among those who could afford it, the marriage likewise [583] took place at or about this time.[107] The father likewise paid the kalym or bridewealth for these sons; and he gen-

[106] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 477.

[107] Dingelstedt, 153; Israetsov, 72.

S 563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
K 342 tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud
or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the
wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one
K room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
[556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
K sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor
[361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in
one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year
around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for
protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs.
K 262 They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to
have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
[272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities.
Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they
substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for
K 29 color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and
their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
[171] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather
[556] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are
hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long
turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple
of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-
K in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
[885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family,
and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives.
Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uigh-
ur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same
K 769 as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding
ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a
wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion
only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and
family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and
food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There
are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

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